

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

AND

NEIGHBOURING NATIONS;

FROM THE

DECEASE OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH,

TO THE

TIME OF CHRIST.

BY HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D. D.

DEAN OF NORWICH.

FIFTEENTH AMERICAN, FROM THE TWENTIETH LONDON EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

CONTAINING SOME LETTERS WHICH HE WROTE IN DEFENCE AND ILLUSTRATION OF CERTAIN PARTS OF HIS CONNEXIONS.

THE WHOLE

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND PLATES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1860.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

DANIEL, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

PRESIDENT OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,—It being by your recommendation to your noble father, that I was by him made Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Norwich, while he was Lord Chancellor of England, and it being also by your Lordship's like favourable recommendation of me to her late Majesty, Queen Anne, that I was promoted to be Dean of the same church, I humbly offer unto your Lordship this product of my studies, in a grateful acknowledgment of the favours I have received from you. And, if the public receive any benefit from it (as I hope some may,) nothing is more just and reasonable, than that they should receive it through your Lordship's hands, who, in having been so much a patron to the Author, have acquired thereby the best title to all the fruits of my labours. What I now offer unto your Lordship is only the first part of what is intended. If God gives life, the second shall follow, and beg its passage into the world under the same patronage. The only additional favour I am now capable of receiving, is your Lordship's kind acceptance of this expression of my gratitude; which I humbly pray from your hands; and I am,

MY LORD,

Your most obedient, and

Most obliged humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX

THE AUTHOR'S LIFE

DR. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX was born at Padstow, in the county of Cornwall, on the 3d of May, A. D. 1648, being the third son of Edmund Prideaux, Esq. by Bridgett his wife, who was the daughter of John Moyle of Bake, Esq. in the same county. He was by both his parents descended from ancient and honourable families, well known in that county. The doctor being a younger brother, and designed by his parents for the church, as soon as he was of fit age he was sent abroad to school, first to Liskard, in Cornwall, then to Bodmin, in the same county, and from thence removed to Westminster, under the famous Dr. Busby, where he was soon chosen King's scholar; and after having been in that college three years, was from thence elected to Christ-church, Oxford, and admitted into a student's place in the year 1668, by Dr. John Fell, dean of that college; and in Trinity Term, A. D. 1672, he commenced bachelor of arts.

As soon as he had taken that degree, he was employed by Dr. Fell, who had at that time the management of the public printing-press in that university, in an edition of *Lucius Florus*, and directed to add notes thereto, which he did accordingly. These notes contain only references to other authors, showing where other ancient historians have treated more at large of matters, which Florus has only related in epitome.

After this, there was put into his hands, out of the Bodleian library, a manuscript copy of Johannes Antiochenus Malela, a Greek historian, in order to have it fitted for the press by his care: but he, on perusing it, thought it a very fabulous and trifling book, not worth the printing; and upon his giving this judgment of it, the design was quite laid aside. This book, however, has been since published by the learned Dr. Hody, professor of Greek in the same university.

About this time, the doctor had the misfortune to lose his brother Nicholas, for whom he had conceived a particular affection, on account of his promising parts, and the great progress he had made in literature. He died of the small-pox, in the eighteenth year of his age, at *Corpus Christi* college, *Oxon*, where he had been a scholar three years; and lies buried in the cloister near the chapel, with a mural monument erected to his memory, which is still to be seen there.

It was about this time that the Lord Henry Howard, then earl of Norwich, and afterward duke of Norfolk, made a present to the university of Oxford, of those marbles, which are called the Arundel marbles, being the collection of his grandfather Thomas, earl of Arundel: and these being set up in the court before the theatre, as there were several very curious and valuable inscriptions upon them, it was thought proper, that they should be published with a comment to explain them; and Mr. Humphrey Prideaux, at that time the only bachelor of arts, was appointed to this work. Accordingly he undertook it, and two years afterward, in May, 1676, published his book, entitled *Marmora Oxoniensia*, in one volume in folio, printed at the university press, and dedicated to the said earl of Norwich. In this work he has given us all the aforesaid inscriptions at large, with a comment after each, tending to illustrate and explain them, and has added by way of appendix, an account of some marbles collected by Mr. Selden, and Sertorius Ursatus's *Commentarius de notis Romanorum*. This book being published when he was but twenty-six years of age, a year after he had taken his master of arts degree, gained him great reputation in the university, and was well received in the world, especially among foreigners in Germany, France, and Italy; and the demand for it among the learned was such, that it grew very scarce within a few years after it had been printed, and was not to be had, but at an advanced price. The learned Huetius in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, prop. 4. cap. 2. § 14, says of it, "Plurima hujusmodi suppeditat Li-

ber Inscriptionum Gruteri: at nihil in hoc genere marmora Oxoniensia æquiparare queat, quibus Insigniores Præcorum Græcorum Epochæ, Fœdus Smyrnæorum et Magnentium, aliæque egregia vetustatis Monumenta inscripta sunt." This book has suffered much in passing through the press, and is full of typographical errors; which was owing to the negligence of the public corrector of the university press, who took no sort of care in correcting it, but suffered it to come out with all the faults, as it came from thence. The author for these and other reasons (particularly as he was called upon for a sheet every week, whether he was ready or not) never had any opinion or esteem for this work, and speaks of it himself in his preface in the following manner: "Ac sic tandem post exactum Anni spatium iisdem semper gradibus, quibus typographus progressus faciens, operi meo citius timeo quam felicius finem imposui, illudque jam trado, candide Lector, in manus tuas: si in eo invenias me aliquid rectius dicere, utere in commodum tuum; si in nonnullis errasse, ne incuses; spectes ætatem meam; spectes difficillimas scribendi conditiones; reputa quam pauci sunt qui, in his circumstantiis positipossunt melius: iis igitur condona quicquid in hoc opere culpandum est: a maturioribus studiis si Deus vitam dederit et valetudinem ferendis Laboribus idoneam, spera meliora."

Mr. Prideaux having been ordered at the first publication of this book to present one to the lord chancellor Finch, this introduced him into his lordship's patronage, who soon after sent to him, at Christ-church, Mr. Charles Finch, one of his lordship's sons, to be his pupil. He was afterward elected fellow of All Souls College, and there commenced doctor of laws; but died soon after, before he could make any appearance in the world.

In the beginning of the year 1679, the rectory of St. Clemens in Oxford, which is in the gift of the great seal, falling void, Mr. Prideaux was by the lord chancellor Finch presented to it, and instituted and inducted accordingly. This living he served constantly for several years.

The same year Mr. Prideaux published two tracts out of *Maimonides* in Hebrew, to which he added a Latin translation and annotations. The book bears the title of *De jure Pauperis et Peregrini apud Judæos*. This he did in consequence of his having been appointed Dr. Busby's Hebrew lecturer in the college of Christ-church; and his principal view in printing this book was to introduce young students in the Hebrew language into the knowledge of the Rabinical dialect, and to teach them to read it without points.

In the latter end of the year 1680, the parliament meeting at Oxford, he attended on the lord chancellor Finch there as his chaplain; but this was of short continuance; for the parliament was dissolved within ten days after its first meeting. The 12th of May following his patron the lord Finch was created earl of Nottingham on the decease of Charles Howard, the last earl of Nottingham of that family, by whose death the title was now become extinct.

About midsummer following, A. D. 1681, Dr. Herbert Astley, dean of Norwich, dying, Dr. John Sharp, formerly chaplain to the said lord chancellor, prebendary of Norwich, and rector of St. Giles in the Fields, was promoted to that deanery; upon which his prebend in that church, which was in the gift of the great seal, falling void, the lord chancellor wrote a very kind letter to Mr. Prideaux at Oxford, to let him know that he gave it him; and accordingly on the 15th of August after, he was installed into it, and kept his first residence at that church, in the months of December and January following. The other prebendaries of the same church, at Mr. Prideaux's first admission into it were, Mr. Joseph Loveland, Dr. Hezekiah Burton, Dr. William Hawkins, Dr. William Smyth, and Mr. Nathaniel Hodges: but Dr. Burton dying soon after, Mr. Richard Kidder, afterward dean of Peterborough, and bishop of Bath and Wells, succeeded him. With him Mr. Prideaux contracted a very particular friendship, which continued to the time of Dr. Kidder's death, who was unfortunately killed by the fall of the roof of his bedchamber, in the great storm, A. D. 1703.

On the 15th of November, 1682, Mr. Prideaux was admitted to the degree of

bachelor in divinity, and soon after had the misfortune to lose his patron, the lord chancellor Nottingham, who died on the 18th of November following, and was succeeded by sir Francis North, lord chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

On the 17th of February, A. D. 1682-3, he was instituted to the rectory of *Bladen cum Capella de Woodstock*, in the county of Oxford. Dr. Thomas Marshall, then dean of Gloucester, and rector of Lincoln College, was his predecessor in this living, who having resigned it, Mr. Prideaux was presented thereto, by the lord keeper North, it being in the gift of the great seal, held it with his student's place, at Christ-church, by virtue of his being library keeper of that college; for as there is no salary belonging to that office, except forty shillings per annum paid to a deputy, the student, who has it, has the privilege of holding one living without vacating his student's place by his institution thereto.

On the 15th of October, A. D. 1683, Mr. Prideaux lost his father, who died in the 78th year of his age. He was descended of a family, that had flourished in many places both in Cornwall and Devonshire, at Prideaux, Orchardton, Addeston, Thuborough, Soldon, Netherton, Ford Abby, and Padstow; as appears from the herald's books, *Camden*, *Leland's Itinerary*, *Fuller's Worthies*, *Risdon's Survey of Devon*, *Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, and *Prince's Worthies of Devon*; who all make honourable mention of this family. He was a gentleman of great worth, sobriety, and discretion, and well learned in most parts of literature, that became a gentleman to know. He studied first at Sidney College in Cambridge, where he was under the care of Dr. Paul Michelthwait, afterward master of the temple: from thence removed to Exeter college in Oxford, at the invitation of Dr. John Prideaux, then rector of that college; and from thence he went to the Inns of Court, in order to make himself acquainted with the laws of the realm; and after this travelled abroad, and spent some time in foreign countries. By these means he improved his natural understanding, and acquired those accomplishments, which made him honoured and respected beyond most of his time in the county where he lived; to which he was very useful in the commission of the peace and lieutenantancy. From the restoration to the time of his death, he had the chief management of affairs in the county of Cornwall, which, on account of his known wisdom and integrity, were mostly referred to him.

Mr. Prideaux now wholly gave himself up to his studies, and attended to the duties of his function, going constantly to Bladen and Woodstock every Sunday from Christ-church. And that there might be no deficiency in the ministerial duties at any time, he kept a curate resident at Woodstock, to attend them; so that both churches were constantly served morning and afternoon every Sunday.

And that they might always continue to be so served, Dr. Fell, who was then bishop of Oxford, as well as dean of Christ-church, projected the building an house for the minister of Woodstock; and having accordingly purchased a piece of ground on the left-hand of the gate, going into the park from the town of Woodstock, and formed the model for the house; committed the care of building it to Mr. Prideaux, under whose direction it was finished in the year 1685, and afterward settled for the use of the minister for ever, in case he shall reside thereon; otherwise for the use of the poor of the town of Woodstock. It is built in the form of a cross, upon the park wall over against Chaucer's house. The purchase of the ground, and the building of the new house thereon, was wholly at the expense of the learned and pious bishop Fell, which cost him above 600*l*. but the converting the old house, which stood there before, into out-houses and offices, and fitting up the same, was wholly at the charge of Mr. Prideaux.

From the time that he was master of arts, and a tutor in the college, he was always very zealous and diligent in reforming such disorders and corruptions, as had from time to time crept into it, and made use of all opportunities in his power for suppressing them. This of course drew on him the ill-will of many of his fellow-collegians, as must always happen to those, who endeavour at the reformation of discipline. But at the same time he had the friendship and

esteem of the best men, and such whose reputation was highest in the university, particularly of bishop Fell, Dr. Pocock, the learned Hebrew and Arabic professor, Dr. Marshall, dean of Gloucester, and rector of Lincoln college, Dr. Beilard, Savilian professor of astronomy, Dr. Mills, the editor of the Greek Testament, Dr. Henry Godolphin, late dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Guise, of All Souls College, and many other learned and valuable men.

On the 6th of February, A. D. 1684-5, died king Charles the II^d, and his brother James the II^d was proclaimed king the same day. The summer following happened the invasions of the earl of Argyle in Scotland, and the duke of Monmouth in England, which having both miscarried, and both the conductors of them being cut off, king James now looked upon himself as thoroughly settled on the throne; and began to take open measures for subjecting these realms to popish superstition. At the same time, bishop Fell declining very fast in health, Mr. Prideaux foresaw the confusion, which afterward followed in the college upon his decease, when the king imposed a popish dean to succeed him; and therefore determined to retire from it, and settle on his cure, and on the 16th of February, A. D. 1685-6, he married Mrs. Bridgett Bokenham, only daughter of Anthony Bokenham of Helmingham in the county of Suffolk, Esq. who was the son of a younger brother of sir Henry Bokenham of Thornham, in the county of Suffolk; and her mother was the daughter of Thomas Townsend of Horstead, in the county of Norfolk, Esq.

In the year 1686, at the public act, Mr. Prideaux proceeded doctor of divinity, and having exchanged his living of *Bladen cum Woodstock*, for the rectory of Saham in Norfolk, as soon as that act was over, left Oxford, and settled upon his prebend at Norwich.

The last thing he did at Oxford, was to attend the funeral of his friend bishop Fell, who died on the Saturday of that act; and was buried on the Tuesday following, in the cathedral of Christ-church, under the dean's stall in the Latin chapel. As soon as Dr. Prideaux had seen him put into the ground, he immediately left Oxford, and never afterward returned thither. This good bishop was, for his piety, learning, and wisdom, esteemed one of the most eminent prelates of his time; and the college, which long enjoyed the benefit of his wise and useful government, is so much indebted to him on that account, as well as for his buildings and other benefactions, that he may deservedly be esteemed the second founder.

Dr. Prideaux always looked on him as the author of the book, called *The Reasons of the Decay of Christian Piety*, which came out in the name of the author of *The Whole Duty of Man*; and his reasons for it were, that in the summer of 1676, he made a visit to Sir William Morice at Werrington, in the county of Devon, (who was his uncle, having married a sister of his father's) when among other discourse that passed between them, Sir William told him, he thought bishop Fell was the author of that book; for that whilst he attended at court, as secretary of state, a little after the restoration, he heard the bishop preach a sermon in the king's chapel, with which he was so much pleased, that he desired to have a copy of it, which was accordingly presented to him; and thence some years after, on the publication of the book called *The Decay of Christian Piety*, he found the sermon in the very same words in that book; and thence concluded, that the person who preached the one must be the author of the other. Dr. Prideaux was afterward farther confirmed in this opinion; for as he attended the press in the theatre at Oxford, whilst another of the books ascribed to the same author was printing there, he often found whole lines, and sometimes two or three together blotted out, and interlineations in their stead, which he knew to be of bishop Fell's handwriting; and this was a liberty, which it was unlikely any but the author should have taken. So that his opinion upon the whole was, that the book called *The Whole Duty of Man*, was written by an author still unknown; but that all the other books assigned to the same author were written by bishop Fell and Dr. Allestry. And that whereas the first of them,

that was printed, either by design or mistake of the bookseller, came forth under the name of the author of *The Whole Duty of Man*, they suffered all the others to come out under the same disguise, the better to conceal what they intended should be a secret. And as to what bishop Fell says in a preface to a folio edition printed at Oxford, in which all these books are comprised together, where he mentions the author as lately dead, it was generally understood to be meant of Dr. Allestry, who was then lately deceased.

On Dr. Prideaux's settling at Norwich, the whole management of the affairs of the cathedral fell into his hands; and this burden remained upon him ever after whilst he lived. On his first undertaking them, he found all matters there in the utmost disorder and confusion; for they had no rentals, whereby to receive their rents, nor any treasurer's book, whereby to pay the salaries of the officers and other outgoings; but the audit book of the former year was the only guide, which either the receiver or treasurer had for what was to be done in the following year; and that was very confused and defective. By these means the affairs of the church being kept in an intricate and dark state, the seniors often imposed on the juniors. In order to remedy these inconveniences, the doctor was at the pains to examine all the leger books, and out of them he made an exact rental in the order of the alphabet, which being every year writ over in a book, the receivers have ever since continued to receive the rents thereby. At the same time he made a book for the treasurer in a due and orderly method, according to which the salaries and all other payments and expenses of the church have ever since been made; and by the help of these two books, he reformed the audit book, supplying what was defective therein, and putting the whole in a proper method; and these his regulations have ever since been followed in all their books of accounts; by which means every thing is made plain and easy. He examined also and sorted all their charters and evidences, and disposed them in drawers according to their proper order, by which means they may easily be referred to; whereas before this, they lay in a very confused and disorderly manner, on the floor of a room, which was unpaved and covered with dirt, and the windows broken; all which he repaired. The register books likewise, and other books that lay neglected and dispersed up and down, he had bound up in order, to the number of thirty volumes; so that all the evidences and muniments of the church were settled and disposed of in perfect order and method.

The tomb of Herbert Losinga, bishop of Norwich, and founder of the church, having been demolished in the civil wars, the doctor caused it to be repaired, and put a new inscription on it of his own composing; giving some account of the founder, and of this and his other foundations. It is placed before the high altar, with the arms of the bishop at the upper end, the dean's on the lower, and the six prebendaries on the sides. This was done in the year 1682.

The first audit the doctor was at, he found that the chapter were always at a loss on the renewal of their leases, both as to the value of their estates, the fine last set, and other circumstances; and that they were obliged to refer themselves to the memory of the seniors for information, which was very imperfect and uncertain. To remedy this inconvenience therefore, he contrived a book called *The Private Register*, in which are entered the time of every renewal, the name of the tenant, the term demised, the old rent, the provision rent, with the times of payment, the reservations, covenants and conditions of the lease, the date of the former lease, the real value of the estate, what was taken for the fire, and on what consideration it was either raised or abated, with all those other circumstances and particulars relating to it, which might be of use to be known at future renewals. This book begins from the time of the restoration, though it was twenty years after, that he set about composing it. As to the preceding time the doctor gathered up his information as well as he could from the leger and audit books of the church, and from the memories of the senior members of the chapter; but the rest he formed from his own knowledge. This book he kept, continually

making the entries with his own hand, till about two years before his death; when he directed it to be done by another.

About this time the doctor was engaged in a controversy with the papists: for king James, upon his coming to the crown, having made an open profession of their religion, they imagined, that supported by his authority, they should carry all before them, and bring the whole nation over to their persuasion; and to this end, sent out emissaries into all parts of the kingdom. Now those who were sent into the country, they would not trust with the whole controversy, for fear of overburdening their abilities, but assigned a particular point to each, which he was to insist upon, and beyond which he was not to meddle. And the point assigned to those, who came to make conversions in Norfolk and Norwich, was 'The Invalidity of the Orders of the Church of England,' which they were directed to make out by such arguments as their superiors had furnished them with; and from hence they were to infer, that having no priesthood, we could have no sacraments; and consequently could be no church, nor any salvation be had among us. The first who appeared there with this argument, was one Webster, who had formerly been curate of St. Margaret's, in King's Lynn, for the dean and chapter of Norwich, who have the appropriation of that church, and being turned out from thence for his notorious misdemeanours, went to London, and there kept a private school. But on king James's coming to the crown, seeing the great encouragement that popery met with, and imagining it would turn to his advantage, he early embraced that interest, hoping to rise by it, and for a greater show of zeal came into Norfolk, as a missionary for popery, with the argument above mentioned, and had the confidence to send a challenge to the bishop of Norwich, appointing a time when he would come to him at his palace, and dispute that point with him. On this the bishop desired Dr. Sharp and Dr. Prideaux to be present at the time appointed, when Webster came, bringing with him one Mr. Acton, a priest of the order of the Jesuits, and who resided at Norwich, for the service of those of the Roman communion in that city. When all were seated, Webster began to read a paper, which he called a preface to the disputation; whereupon the bishop interrupting him, called him to an account for his apostacy, and reproved him for that, as well as for the present insult, in the manner he deserved; upon this Webster being much offended, rose up in great anger, and departing abruptly, broke off the conference. Both Dr. Sharp and Dr. Prideaux offered to answer his arguments, if he would have proposed them; but he let them know, that he disdained to dispute with any but the bishop himself; and so the conference ended. Not long after, Mr. Acton having perverted a brewer in Norwich, this produced a dispute on the same point, between Mr. Acton, on the one part, and Mr. Earbury and Mr. Kipping, two Protestant divines, on the other; upon which a gentleman of Norwich, who was present at the conference, pretended not to have received satisfaction from what was said for the validity of our orders, addressed himself in a letter to Dr. Prideaux about it; to which he returned an answer the day after, November 11, 1687. Hence followed several letters on both sides upon the same subject; and the last the doctor wrote on this occasion was a very long one, containing the whole state of the controversy. But by the time he had finished it, understanding that the gentleman, to whom it was intended to be sent, was gone over to the popish communion, and irrecoverably determined in it, the doctor did not think it worth his while to get a copy of it wrote out for him; or concern himself any farther about him, and therefore threw aside his papers in his study, as no farther useful to the end they were originally intended. In the beginning of April following, this gentleman died, owning himself a member of that communion, upon which the papists were resolved to bury him in the cathedral church, and bring him thither in a solemn procession, by way of triumph: but the doctor being then in his residence at the church, was as fully determined to obstruct this design, and gave orders, that no grave there should be made for him. This being matter of great disappointment to them, they held a meeting at the goat

tavern in Norwich, to consult about it, and from thence sent a message to the doctor to expostulate with him, and demand his reason for such his proceeding. In answer to this, he wrote them a letter to the following purport, that Mr. N—, not dying within the precincts of the cathedral church, they were under no obligation to bury him in it; but he recommended it to his relations to bury him as the law directed, in the church or churchyard of the parish in which he died, against which there could be no exception: and this his answer the doctor chose to send in writing with his name subscribed to it, that it might not be in the power of the messenger, by any addition or alteration of his own, to represent it otherwise than he intended it. On the delivery of this note, a certain knight, who lived near Norwich, and had several times turned Papist and Protestant, forwards and backwards, as either religion was most likely to be uppermost, sitting as chairman of the consultation, declared, that there was nothing written in it for which they could make the doctor suffer, and therefore advised them to send to him again in order to provoke him to give another answer; and accordingly the brother of the deceased, who had also gone over to popery, was sent on this errand, who coming to the doctor's house demanded of him in an impetuous manner why he would not let his brother be buried in the cathedral? to which the doctor answered, that he had sent his reasons in writing, which he supposed the other had seen. His reply to this was, that he had seen the writing, but that the reason there given was not sufficient, and he would have another. To this the doctor said, he had no other for him; and so leaving him retired to his study; on which the other went off in great wrath; and the consult not being able to gain any advantage against the doctor, followed his advice, and buried the deceased in the church of the parish where he died.

At the same time there was another affair, which further exasperated these men against him; for the doctor observing, that the clergy of Norwich were much intimidated, by the severe measures the king took for the propagating of his religion, especially after what had happened to the bishop of London, and Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, and that they wholly abstained from meddling with this controversy, at a time when there was most need to exert themselves, resolved by his example to encourage them no longer to be silent on so important an occasion, but speak out in defence of the holy religion they professed. Having therefore two turns for preaching in the cathedral, the first on Good-Friday, and the other the Sunday seven-night following; he took for his text, the 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th, verses of the ixth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the words are as follow: "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into Heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.

"Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high-priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others:

"For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now once, in the end of the world, hath he appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

"And as it is appointed for all men once to die, but after this the judgment;

"So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them, that look for him, shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation."

And from this text he formed both his sermons against the mass-sacrifice of the church of Rome, endeavouring to prove, what the 31st article of our church says of them, viz. "that the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." In the last of these two sermons he had these words: "And now I doubt not but that there are some, who will not be a little offended with me, for what I have said both in this, and my former discourse on this text; but unto such I have these two things to say:—

"First, that we being ministers of Jesus Christ, think ourselves indispensably

obliged by the law of our mission, and the vow we have entered into on our taking this holy office upon us, to declare God's truths to all those to whom we are sent, and to warn them of those errors, which if they fall into, will endanger their everlasting salvation. And when any party of men are so unreasonable, as to take it ill at our hands for discharging our duty and our consciences herein, we shall say unto them the same, which the apostle did unto the Jews in the like case, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken to you, more than unto God, judge ye.

"But secondly, as God and our consciences oblige us to the discharge of this duty, so do we take it, that we have full license from the king's most excellent majesty to authorize us so to do; and that not only by his laws, which are the most authentic expressions of his will, but also by his late declaration, wherein, out of his abundant clemency, he hath given full liberty to all men in this realm to own and profess each their own religion, according as their consciences shall direct.—And seeing by virtue of this liberty, so many now-a-days do take it upon them to oppose the doctrines of our church, and set up their own errors against them; who can with any reason deny us the benefit of this same liberty to defend ourselves; for since so many make use of the privilege of this liberty now granted to them, not only to preach up their erroneous doctrines against us, but also to hunt after the souls of men from house to house, seeking whom they can devour; without permitting those, whom they think they can have any advantage over, either to live in quiet or die in quiet, in our communion; if we only, amidst this liberty, were to sit still with our hands upon our mouths, and silently behold those to be daily torn from us, for whose souls we are to answer, if they perish through our neglect, our case would of all men be the hardest. It can never enter into my thoughts that so just a prince as our present majesty is owned to be, ever designed to put any such thing upon us. This declaration is general to all his people, which is demonstration to me, that he intended the benefit of it for all, that is, as well to those who had the laws on their side, as to those who have not. And therefore by virtue of that declaration, as well as the impulse of my own conscience, I have thus taken it upon me to discharge my duty in this particular; and think nothing can be more unreasonable, than that those, who have no right at all but by this declaration, should take any exceptions at it. But be that as it will, since God hath called me to this ministry, I am not ashamed of, neither will I be afraid to preach, the gospel of Jesus Christ."

These two sermons having angered the papists, Mr. Acton, the Jesuit, who was chief mass priest of a popish conventicle, then set up in Norwich, at a place formerly made use of as a granary, sent two of his perverted disciples to the doctor, to demand an account of the said sermons; to which he answered, that he knew no obligations he had to be accountable to the men of the granary for what he had preached in the cathedral: if they had a mind to know what he delivered there, they might come and hear him, and that was all the answer he would give them. This expression, 'the men of the granary,' gave great offence, and produced a very angry letter from Mr. Acton, in which among other expressions of his resentment, he told the doctor, "that it was expected the king, ere long, would be at Norwich, when he hoped to see him upon his knees in their oratory; and must he be then called one of the men of the granary too?" This was such foolish stuff, that the doctor thought it proper, from thence, to despise the man, and take no more notice of him.

All these particulars of the doctor's behaviour having made him very obnoxious to the popish party, as they had nothing else to object to him, they challenged him for not answering a letter written by Mr. Acton, which the doctor supposed could be none but the last he received from Mr. N.; for he knew, that all the controversial letters sent to him in his name, were written by Mr. Acton. Upon this, he gathered together the papers he had formerly written in that controversy; and in order to let those, who had called upon him for an answer, know that he was prepared to give it, sent them to the press, from whence they were published

in the ensuing summer, under the title of *The Validity of the Orders of the Church of England, made out against the objections of the Papists, in several letters to a gentleman of Norwich, that desired satisfaction therein.*

After Dr. Prideaux had preached in the cathedral the two sermons above mentioned, most of the other ministers in Norwich taking courage from his example, preached in their respective churches against the errors and impiety of popery. This was an opposition, those of that sect could not bear with any patience, in a cause which now they reckoned as their own; and looking upon all as excited by the doctor's example, resolved to be revenged on him, for this and the other matters, in which he had offended them: and to this end, applied to a popish gentleman of considerable figure in Norfolk, and who had an interest in king James's court, to go thither, and complain of him to the king. But this had no effect; for as they had a design there, to strike at the whole body of the Protestant clergy, it was no longer worth their while, to concern themselves with a particular person apart.

And this design was laid in the following manner: the king had about a year before published his declaration of indulgence and general toleration to all the different sects of Christians in his dominions, that all might worship God in their own way, and thereby had let the papists into the public exercise of their superstition in all parts of the kingdom. Now that he might farther and more effectually advance their interest, he took a resolution, and accordingly by his own authority, ordered, that this declaration should be read by the ministers, in all the churches in this realm, during the time of the celebration of divine service, with an intention of ejecting all such, as should refuse to comply with him herein, from their respective churches, and supplying the vacancies with priests of the church of Rome. This order bore date the 4th of May, 1688, and enjoined the said declaration to be read at the usual time of divine service, on the 20th and 27th of the same month, in all churches and chapels within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles round about, and upon the 3d and 10th of June following, in all other churches and chapels throughout the kingdom; and the bishops were thereby commanded to send and distribute the said declaration through their several and respective dioceses, to be read accordingly. For which purpose, bundles of the said declaration were sent from the king's printing-house to every bishop in the kingdom, according to the number of churches and chapels in their respective dioceses. What followed upon this, how the bishops petitioned the king, were imprisoned for the cause, and brought to their trial, are all particulars so well known, that they need not be here mentioned.

Two or three of the bishops, whose inclinations were in all things to comply with the king's measures, and had been promoted by him for that end, scandalously obeyed his order, and sent out this declaration to the clergy of their dioceses, to be read by them in their churches on the days appointed; but all the rest refused, and thereby screened their clergy from the blow that was aimed at them.

However, that they might not be surprised by having this declaration and order obtruded upon them from such other hands, as were then busily employed in promoting the popish cause, a letter was drawn up by the earl of Halifax, directed to all the clergy of England, persuading them not to read the declaration. And this carried with it such strength of reason, as convinced every one, who intended to adhere to the Protestant religion, rather to incur the king's displeasure, than obey his orders in this matter. This letter was privately printed and carefully dispersed in all parts of the kingdom, before any copies of it were given out in London; so that it had every where its effect, and the court was prevented from any opportunity of opposing it.

Dr. William Lloyd, then bishop of Norwich, was not wanting on this occasion to exert himself to the utmost for the Protestant cause. Archbishop Sancroft, who had great confidence in his wisdom and integrity, sent for him, as soon as the order came out, to consult together with the other bishops then in London, what

THE DOCTOR'S LIFE.
was properest for them to do in this critical juncture; and that his letter might not be stopped at the post-office, where all suspected letters were every night opened, sent his servant on the Norwich road, with orders to give it in at the first country post-office he should meet with, to be sent forwards with the Norwich bag. But it happened by the neglect of the post-master, to whom it was delivered, that it did not reach Norwich till a post after it was intended; so that before the bishop could get to London, the petition of the seven bishops was presented, and the petitioners sent to the tower. However, they had this advantage thereby, that his lordship being at liberty, had the opportunity of serving them as their solicitor, and conveying to them those advices of the nobility, lawyers, and other friends, by which they governed their conduct through the whole course of this affair; and this his assiduity was so much taken notice of, that he was more than once threatened to be sent to keep company with those whose cause he so diligently solicited.

The letter of my lord Halifax above mentioned being just printed off on his arrival at London, he got two thousand of them for his diocese, and sent them down to Dr. Prideaux to be dispersed among the clergy. And this was executed so successfully, that before the third of June, on which the declaration was to be read, every clergyman in the diocese was furnished with one of these letters against it, which had so good an effect, that out of one thousand two hundred parishes in the diocese of Norwich, there were not above four or five in which it was read, and in those the ministers were obliged to read it out of the Gazette.

Dr. Prideaux, in the distribution of these letters, undertook a dangerous task: they were conveyed down to him in the stage coach, in a box, under the care of an old gentleman in the neighbourhood, whose niece the doctor had married; and as soon as the old gentleman was come home to his house, the doctor immediately went thither to inquire for the box, where he found the old gentleman's servant opening the box, to give one of them to a lewd physician of Norwich, who had gotten into his acquaintance. This coming of the doctor's was very fortunate, and prevented the whole design from being betrayed; for had the box been opened, and but one of the letters been delivered out, it would have made the affair too hazardous for a prudent man to have meddled any farther with it. The physician above mentioned was a spy for the papists, and in all respects a profligate abandoned man; and the doctor not knowing how far the secret might have been communicated to him by the old gentleman, was under some difficulty how to proceed any farther; for having already highly provoked the popish party, should he distribute these letters, and they discover that it was his doing, he might be very certain they would do their utmost to ruin him. However, his zeal for the Protestant religion soon got the better of these apprehensions: determining therefore not to decline any danger, where the interest of that cause was concerned, he undertook this affair, and had the good fortune to carry it through without being discovered. And this was chiefly owing to a contrivance he made use of in the management of it, which was as follows: having made up about a dozen packets with several of these letters enclosed in each of them, he superscribed them in feigned hands, to as many ministers in the city of Norwich; and sent a person, whom he knew he could trust, to Yarmouth, with directions to disperse them in several wherries, which came up every night from thence to Norwich: and this being faithfully executed, the letters were delivered the next morning as directed. Now as they were sent from Yarmouth, it was generally believed, that they came from Holland; and the doctor, by this device, escaped all suspicion of having any hand in the affair. As to the rest, he sent them by the carriers, who go from Norwich every week, into all parts of the country, so that they were dispersed over the diocese without its being known from whose hand they came, till all the danger was over.

At this time there was one of the prebendaries of Norwich strongly inclined to popery, and prepared to give in to all king James's measures in favour of it especially in publishing the above mentioned declaration in the parish church in

the country, of which he was minister. But the two days, on which it was ordered to be read, being the 3d and 10th of June; and that month and July happening to be the two months in which the said prebendary was to keep his residence at the cathedral, he sent to Dr. Prideaux, desiring him to excuse his coming for the two first weeks in June, and that he would reside for him those two weeks. But Dr. Prideaux being apprised of the reasons for which he was desirous of being excused his residence those two weeks, sent him back word, that he would by no means comply with his request; that the third of June, being Whitsunday, and the 10th of the same month Trinity Sunday, that year, the service of both those solemn days would fail, unless he came to attend it; and that the consequence of such failure would be the forfeiture of the revenue of his prebend for the whole year; and as Dr. Prideaux was treasurer of the church, he farther assured him, that he would certainly exact it, and not pay him one penny. This message immediately brought the prebendary to Norwich; for the consideration of losing his money soon got the better of his zeal for popery: but afterward he complained with a good deal of regret to those of the same persuasion, that he was not allowed the opportunity of showing how ready he was to comply with the king in this particular. This same man, when the new oaths came out, was as forward to swear allegiance to king William and queen Mary, as any one of his order.

After this followed the trial of the bishops, in which the popish party were worsted. This, however, did not discourage them from pursuing their designs against the parochial clergy. Therefore out came an order to all chancellors, commissaries, and archdeacons, to make return of the names of such of the parochial clergy, within their several jurisdictions, as did not read the above-mentioned declaration in their respective churches on the day appointed. This, in the beginning of August, brought most of the chancellors, commissaries, and archdeacons in England, to London, to consult together what answer they should make to this command; but while this was debating, the news came of great preparations making in Holland, for an invasion upon England; and this put a stop to all further proceedings.

In the beginning of November following, the prince of Orange landed at Torbay in Devonshire, and soon after king James abdicated the government, and withdrew himself beyond sea; upon which the states of this kingdom having met together in parliament, to consult for the good of the nation, after many solemn debates and mature deliberation, it was resolved, that our deliverer, the prince of Orange, with his consort, should be proclaimed king and queen of these realms, which was done accordingly. Thus were we happily freed from the fear of arbitrary power, and the galling chains of popish superstition; whilst he who had been the tyrant of his country, fled from his people to their enemies, among whom he spent the remainder of his life, the dupe of French politics, the tool of designing priests, odious to his people, and justly contemned by all mankind.

Every thing being left in great confusion on the king's flight, the mob rose in many places, and created great disorders all over the nation. At first, they began with rifling the houses of papists, and such as were reckoned to be popishly affected; till at last, any body was accounted so, in whose house plunder was to be had; and these disorders raged nowhere more than at Norwich. The mob there, having plundered several houses in the city, at last made an appointment to do the same by some houses, within the precinct of the cathedral, which they had marked out for that purpose. But Dr. Prideaux having timely notice of their design, ordered the gates of the close to be shut up; and the inhabitants arming themselves for their defence, repulsed the rabble, who attacked them, to the number of five hundred men, and made them desist from their enterprise: upon which somebody crying out, 'to the bull,' they all went to the bull, which was a tavern kept by a papist in the city, and having plundered and gutted this house, finished their expedition. The next night every body following the

doctor's example, armed themselves, and stood upon their defence all over the city, and this soon put an end to these disorders.

About this time, Dr. Battely, having resigned his archdeaconry of Suffolk, on being promoted to that of Canterbury; Dr. Prideaux was, on the 21st of December, 1688, collated to it, by Dr. William Lloyd, then bishop of Norwich.

On the 13th of February, 1688-9, the prince and princess of Orange were proclaimed king and queen of England: upon which it was thought proper, that instead of the former oaths of allegiance and supremacy, two new oaths should be framed, which were enjoined to be taken by all persons, who were in any office or place, civil, military, or ecclesiastical in the kingdom. By the first of these, allegiance was sworn to the new king and queen; by the second the papal and all other foreign jurisdictions are renounced; and by the statute, which enjoins the taking these oaths, it is enacted, not only that all such as shall from that time be preferred to any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, but that all others, then in actual possession of any such, should take the said oaths before the 1st of August following, on the penalty of suspension for six months following; and that at the end of the said six months, if they still persisted not to take the said oaths, they were *ipso facto* to be deprived. This created great trouble and disturbance to the church; for archbishop Sancroft and six others of the bishops, refusing to take them, as thinking them inconsistent with the oaths they had taken to king James, fell under the penalty of the law, were first suspended, and afterward deprived; and several others of the clergy following their example, were in like manner outed of their benefices: and these being for the most part men of conscience and integrity, the church suffered a great loss, in being deprived of their service. Many of them indeed afterward indulged themselves in such a humour of peevishness, discontent, and uncharitable aversion to all others who were not of the same opinion with themselves, as was by no means consistent with a true Christian temper: and this was the occasion of a scheme, that is not yet quite ended. Dr. Prideaux, though he was of a different opinion from these men himself, and thought that the new oaths might very safely be taken, and took them accordingly, and acted up to them faithfully all the rest of his life; yet looking upon those who refused them as honest men, who sacrificed their interests to their consciences, always treated them with kindness and respect.

In the May following, A. D. 1689, he made his first visitation of his archdeaconry of Suffolk; and the new oaths and the lawfulness of them being then the general subject of debate, especially among the clergy, his chief business in this visitation was, to give the best satisfaction he could to those who had any doubts about them; in which he had such success, that though there were not above three hundred parishes in that archdeaconry, there were no more than three ministers in all that jurisdiction, who stood out, and refused to take them.

On the 1st of August this year, all who refused the said oaths being suspended, and that suspension followed with deprivation of such as persisted in their refusal on the 1st of February following; the diocese of Norwich lost their worthy bishop, Dr. William Lloyd, who not being satisfied of the lawfulness of the said oaths, persisted in the refusal of them, and choosing rather to sacrifice his interest than violate his conscience, was by virtue of the statute above mentioned deprived of his bishoprick.

The winter following, A. D. 1689, a convocation being called, and authorized to act by a royal commission, Dr. Prideaux attended it as archdeacon of Suffolk. The business, which they were called to was, "To treat, consult, and agree, of and upon such points, matters, and things, as should be proposed to them, concerning alterations and amendments of the liturgy, and canons, and ordinances, and constitutions, for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, for the removal of scandalous ministers, for the reformation of manners, either in ministers or people, and for the examination of such persons as deserve to be admitted into holy orders; and all other points, causes, and matters, as should be

thought necessary and expedient for advancing the honour and service of Almighty God, the good of the church, and the government thereof."

Thus was the intention of their meeting expressed in the commission; and in order to prepare matters, which were to be laid before them, on all these heads, another commission was granted to thirty persons, consisting of bishops, deans, and other eminent divines of the church, to meet, consult, form, and agree upon, all particulars to this purpose; who having met accordingly, agreed on such alterations and amendments in the liturgy as were thought proper. And these were what were first to have been proposed to the convocation, to be by them settled and agreed on; but the majority of the lower house having met together, with resolutions fully fixed against all alterations whatsoever, obstructed all further proceedings, and made the whole design miscarry.

Those who were for the alterations, designed Dr. Tillotson, then dean of St. Paul's, for prolocutor of the lower house; and the court were desirous he should be the person, hoping, that one of his moderation and wisdom in the chair would be able to influence that house, to concur in promoting those ends, for which the convocation was called. But all this was defeated by setting up Dr. Jane, dean of Gloucester, and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, to be his competitor, who carried it against Dr. Tillotson by a great majority. And this man, as soon as he got into the chair, opposing every thing that was proposed or intended by the royal commission, was the principal occasion that nothing succeeded.

The project of placing him there was first laid, and afterward carried on, by the intrigues of two noble lords, who, on account of their near relation to the queen, expected, when the government was, at the revolution, settled on king William and queen Mary, that they should have held some of the higher employments under it: but in this both being disappointed, grew discontented, and, out of resentment, endeavoured all they could to perplex and embarrass the government, in which they could obtain no share, and among other schemes for that purpose, set themselves to baffle whatever was intended by this convocation. For as soon as the convocation was called, and those who had wished well to it had expressed their desire of having Dr. Tillotson for prolocutor of the lower house, these two noblemen determined to set up a competitor against him; and having pitched on the dean of Gloucester, went to Oxford on purpose to work him to their designs. There they found him as much out of humour as themselves, on account of a like disappointment, and very ready to join with them in all they proposed. The reason of his discontent was, it seems, that when the prince of Orange was at Hungerford in his march towards London, the doctor with three others were sent from the University of Oxford, to make him an offer of their plate, which, though the prince handsomely refused, the doctor thought he had merited whatever he should think proper to ask, and accordingly asked the bishoprick of Exeter, which was void by the removal of bishop Lamplugh to the archbishoprick of York; and not succeeding according to his desire (for it had before been promised to Dr. Trelawney, bishop of Bristol) this so far disgusted him, that he was ever after a professed enemy to king William and his government, of which his conduct in this affair was a very strong instance.

On the opening of the convocation, which was held in king Henry the Seventh's chapel, the earl of Nottingham having brought thither the king's commission for their acting, and with it a gracious message from his majesty concerning the same, the first thing that came under their consideration, was to return an address of thanks to his majesty for both; and to this purpose a form was drawn up in the upper house, and sent down to the lower, for their approbation. This form being rejected here, a proposal was offered, that they should address separately, in a form of their own. This too, upon being canvassed, was laid aside, as improper and unprecedented. At last therefore the lower house set themselves to mend the form that had been sent them; and after many debates and conferences had about this affair, which lasted for several days together, a form was agreed on by all parties; and the address presented to his majesty at

Whitehall the 12th of December. By this time it was clearly seen, that much the greater part of the lower house was determined against making any alterations or amendments in the liturgy, which was the matter next to be proposed to them: they were therefore on the 13th adjourned to the 24th of January following; and so ended this convocation, after having sate about ten days, without advancing one step in the business for which they were called.

The last thing attempted in the lower house was to fix their censure on such books as had been published at their first meeting, concerning affairs that were to come before them in the convocation; for some of those, whose opinions were against making any alterations at all, having published in two or three pamphlets what they had to say on this subject; in answer to these came out several of the other side, one of which was written by Dr. Prideaux, and bears the title of *A Letter to a friend relating to the present Convocation at Westminster*; which met with so great approbation, that several thousands of it were sold off within a fortnight after its first publication. This exasperated the other party a good deal, who having discovered that Dr. Prideaux was the author, though there was no name to it, would willingly have fallen upon him with their censures. On the other side it was objected, that they ought to begin with censuring those pamphlets which were first published; and this was so notoriously just and reasonable a proposal, that it could not be contradicted. In order to evade it, therefore, they were contented to drop the whole affair; and let their adversary, as they reckoned him, escape unpunished, rather than expose their friends to the same censure.

Dr. Prideaux, who had great expectations from this convocation, hoping that many things would have been done for the advantage of the church, especially in improving and amending the liturgy, was much grieved at their ill success. For it is the opinion of many, that there are some defects in our present liturgy, such as that there are whole offices wanting in it, as for the receiving of penitents, the preparing the condemned for their deaths, the consecration of churches, &c. And that some of those offices, which are established, do not in all particulars answer the occasions for which they were appointed, as may be instanced in the office of the visitation of the sick; in which it is objected, that there are some particulars, which cannot always with propriety be said. In the office for the burial of the dead, we express our hopes of the salvation of all that are buried, though they may be atheists and deists, and such as have declared themselves so to the last. In the litany, we pray for the strengthening of the king in the true worship of God; whereas it may happen, that the king is openly and declaredly in a false worship, as was the case of king James the Second. In the prayer for the parliament, the king who reigneth over us, whoever he be, is styled our most religious king; whereas it may happen that we may have a king who hath no religion at all, as some say was the case of king Charles the Second. And besides these, there are many other particulars in different parts of the service that are objected against, especially by those that dissent from us, which Dr. Prideaux was of opinion might be much easier corrected than defended. And were all those places in our liturgy, which are with any justice excepted against, corrected and amended, and what was wanting therein supplied, as many hoped would have been done by this convocation; it is hardly to be doubted, but that all our offices might have been rendered so complete, perfect, and unexceptionable, that not only many of the dissenters among us, but also foreign churches of the Protestant communion, might have been persuaded to introduce them into their public religious assemblies, and unite in the same form of worship, as well as in the same faith with us.

Dr. Prideaux, on his return from the convocation, finding the cathedral church fully settled under the new dean, who, as he had no other avocation, constantly resided there; and the popish controversy being brought to an end by the revolution, he quitted Norwich, and retired to his parsonage of Saham, in the county of Norfolk, which he served constantly every Sunday, morning and afternoon, during the four years that he lived there, excepting only while he was keeping

his two months residence at Norwich, or visiting his archdeaconry of Suffolk, which he did constantly twice every year, until disabled to bear the journey by the unhappy disorder that afterward came upon him. For the first three years after the revolution, he took upon himself the office of preaching at every place where he held his visitation, which was a caution then very necessary, for preventing such of the clergy, as were not satisfied of the justice of the revolution, from launching out on topics that might give offence to the government, when it should come to their turn to preach. In all the sermons he preached on this occasion, he, with great earnestness, pressed upon the clergy the faithful discharge of the duties of their function; that so they might to the utmost of their power, both by the good examples of their lives, and the soundness of their doctrines, promote the honour of God, and the salvation of souls among the people to whom they were sent; and being well informed, that in many families of the clergy, prayers were wholly omitted, and God not at all called upon either morning or evening; in one of his visitations, he made it the subject of his sermons in all the several divisions of his archdeaconry, to urge them to the performance of this duty. When the Jews pray thrice every day, and the Mahometans five times, he thought it a shame to Christians, especially the clergy, not to do it at least twice every day; prayer being one of the prime duties, which by the nature of their office the clergy are designed to; and the rubric of the common-prayer (to the observance of which they have all subscribed) obligeth every one of them, as well deacons as priests, to be constant and faithful herein: for the words of the rubric, in the beginning of the *Common-Prayer Book*, under the title, *Concerning the Service of the Church*, are as follow: That "all priests and deacons are to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause." It is true, the words immediately following this clause in the rubric direct these morning and evening prayers to be said openly by the minister, in the church or chapel where they minister; but this being impracticable in country parishes, by reason of the difficulty of getting the people together, from their several distant habitations; the next thing that is practicable, is to be said in its stead, and that is family prayer; for this is open prayer as well as the other, in the sense of the rubric, which is manifest, in that it is there opposed to private prayer. Both, therefore, are included in the obligation of this rule; so that where the former cannot be performed, the other at least must. But however this be, as it is the duty of every man, that is master of a family, to take care that God be daily worshipped in it, more especially it is so, if he be of the clergy, who are all consecrated, and set apart for the work of prayer, as well as that of preaching the word; and therefore ought by their example, as well as by their instruction and exhortation, to excite all men thereto; and consequently are of all men most unpardonable, if themselves neglect this duty. The doctor carried this matter so far, as to tell them, that prayer was so much the duty of the clergy, that every one of the order should not only be diligent and constant in daily offering of it up unto God, every morning and evening, with his whole family, but that in whatever other family he should at any time happen to lodge, he ought to offer his prayers to the family, if they should not be otherwise provided for that duty, and exhort them to join with him in them; and should they refuse to hearken to him therein, let him look on that house as unfit for a clergyman to make his abode in, and avoid it accordingly.

The bishoprick of Norwich being vacant on bishop Lloyd's deprivation, Dr. Compton, bishop of London, and Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, were appointed by commission to govern the diocese, till a successor should be nominated; and they consulted and advised with Dr. Prideaux, in most things, which they did by virtue of this delegacy, who served them on all occasions much to their satisfaction.

The cause of bishop Lloyd's deprivation was his not taking the oaths to king William and queen Mary, as has been mentioned above; for on his first refusal, August the 1st, A. D. 1689, he was with several others of the clergy, who were

of the same sentiments with him as to this matter, suspended from his office, and on his persisting in the same refusal, was on the 1st of February following deprived and wholly outed out of his bishoprick, according to the tenor of an act of parliament in that behalf made; and thereby the diocess was deprived of a very able and worthy pastor; for he was an excellent preacher, a man of great integrity and piety, thoroughly understood all the parts and duties of his function, and had a mind fully bent to put them all in execution, for the honour of God, and the good of his church on all occasions. He was first bishop of Llandaff, from thence translated to Peterborough, and from thence by another translation, promoted to the see of Norwich. After his deprivation, he lived very retired, in some of the villages near London; first at Hoxton, next at Wandsworth, and afterward at Hammersmith; where he died on the 1st of January, A. D. 1709, being full twenty years after he had been deprived of his bishoprick.

Whilst Dr. Prideaux lived at Saham, he contracted a friendship with several of the neighbouring gentry, particularly with sir John Holland, and sir Edward Atkins. The former of these was a gentleman, who retained a remarkable vigour in a very advanced age, being past ninety, when the doctor first became acquainted with him; and afterward lived to be within one of an hundred. He was a person of great understanding and wisdom, and had made a very considerable figure in the long parliament, where he was always for moderate measures, and sided with those who were for composing matters with the king; till at last finding that all attempts of this kind were constantly defeated by the violence of parties, sometimes on the side of the parliament, sometimes by the king, and that there were no hopes of bringing matters to an accommodation, he began to despair of being any longer serviceable to his king or his country, and therefore retired into Holland, where he lived most part of his time, till the return of king Charles the Second, when he was appointed one of the commissioners sent by the parliament to bring him home. As to sir Edward Atkins, he lived much nearer the doctor, and conversed with him more frequently. He was a man of great piety, probity, and goodness, and had in the reign of king James the Second, been Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and acquitted himself in that post with great justice and integrity, especially towards the clergy, whom he would never suffer to be oppressed, and of whose rights he was remarkably careful, whilst he presided in that court. On the accession of king William and queen Mary, having refused to take the oaths, this excluded him from all place under the government in that reign, on which he retired to Pickenham in Norfolk, and there lived quietly, greatly respected and esteemed by all his neighbours, to whom he was very useful in reconciling their differences. For being a man of great reputation and integrity, whenever any controversy arose among them, they usually referred it to his arbitration, which he always decided with justice and equity, and generally to the satisfaction of both parties. This was his chief employment and delight in this retirement, scarce a week passing, in which he had not several of these causes brought before him; for as his fame spread all over the country, people came from considerable distances to lay their causes before him. As to the oaths, though he always refused to take them himself, he condemned no one else who did. His usual saying was, when he was discoursed with about this matter, that the devil was busy with men on their death-beds; and therefore he would keep his mind free, that when he should come to die, he might have no doubts or fears on this account to disturb his conscience. About a year after Dr. Prideaux left Saham, Sir Edward also left Pickenham, and removed with his family to London, where he not long after died of the stone.

In the beginning of the year 1689, it being thought proper to fill up the vacant dioceses, Dr. Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, was declared archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Beveridge, bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Fowler, bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Moor, bishop of Norwich, Dr. Patrick was translated from Chichester to Ely, and Dr. Grove made bishop of Chichester

in his place, and Dr. Ironside, bishop of Bristol, was translated to Hereford, and Dr. Hall was nominated to the bishoprick of Bristol in his stead. But Dr. Beveridge having refused to take the bishoprick of Bath and Wells, on account of his friendship with bishop Ken, who had been deprived of the same for not taking the oaths, Dr. Richard Kidder, dean of Peterborough, and one of the prebendaries of Norwich, a particular friend of Dr. Prideaux's, was appointed bishop of that diocese in his stead. About the same time, Dr. Lamplugh, archbishop of York, dying, Dr. Sharp, dean of Canterbury, was appointed to succeed him. And all these being settled in their several bishopricks before the next session of parliament, took their seats there, and supplied the bench of bishops, which, till then, had been very thin ever since the revolution.

While the filling of these sees was under deliberation, the bishops of London and St. Asaph both earnestly recommended Dr. Prideaux for the bishoprick of Norwich, without his knowledge or desire. For had their recommendation taken place, and the doctor thereon been named to that bishoprick, he must have followed Dr. Beveridge's example, and refused it on the same account as Dr. Beveridge did; that was, because of his great friendship with bishop Lloyd. For one of the last things that good bishop did in his diocese, was making Dr. Prideaux archdeacon of Suffolk; and should the doctor after this, have accepted of his bishoprick, it would have sounded ill with many, and carried somewhat like the appearance of ingratitude towards his benefactor; not but that the doctor well knew there would have been no justice in such a censure; for if bishop Lloyd could not with a safe conscience bring himself under these oaths, which the law of the land prescribed as a necessary qualification for holding his bishoprick, he certainly did right in quitting that, rather than offering any violence to his conscience in this matter: but there is no reason why the church of that diocese should remain without a pastor, or another, who did not labour under the same scruples with bishop Lloyd, should decline the acceptance of that office, for which the other was by law disqualified, and that without any injury or injustice to him. However, Dr. Prideaux considered, that it was necessary, especially for one in that station, to avoid all appearance of evil. And that a bishop must have the good esteem of his people, in order to make his ministry efficacious among them; that this esteem was as much diminished by actions mistakenly reputed evil, as by those which are truly so; and in short, that a bishop should be as Cæsar would have his wife, not only clear of all guilt, but free from the imputation of it likewise.

In the first session of parliament, after the new bishops had taken their seats there, two bills were brought into the House of Lords relating to the church, in both of which Dr. Prideaux happened to be concerned. The first was to take away pluralities of benefices with cure of souls, the other to prevent clandestine marriages: that which was for taking away pluralities of benefices with cure of souls, was chiefly pushed on by Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury; and before any thing on this subject was offered to the parliament, that zealous and learned bishop communicated the design with a draught of it to Dr. Prideaux, and asked his advice upon it. The doctor in his letter, which he wrote to the bishop in answer to this, made three objections against it. First, that it was too long; for that the privilege the lords have of qualifying their chaplains for pluralities, being what they will be very unwilling to have taken away or lessened, it is to be expected that the bill will meet with great opposition in the upper house, and every word of it will be there scanned and canvassed, in order to throw it out; and therefore the more words there are in it the larger scope will be given for objections. Secondly; it takes away all pluralities without exception; whereas there are a great number of parishes in England so meanly provided with maintenance for their ministers, that unless they be allowed to be served by some of the neighbouring clergy, they will be wholly deserted; and therefore it is necessary, that for such cases at least, exception be made, and pluralities allowed of. Thirdly, it seemed to out those of their pluralities, who had by legal dispensations

been settled in them before the date of the bill; which would be thought a great hardship on the present possessors, who have purchased those dispensations, and make the bill to pass the parliament with greater difficulty. His advice therefore was, that the bill, without any retrospect to what was thus passed, should only provide, that all pluralities for the future should be restrained within the limits of five miles distance, measuring it by the common road from one church to another; and that all this be expressed in as short a bill as possible: and such a bill the doctor drew up, at his lordship's request, and sent him, with a short treatise concerning his reasons for the same. This bill was by his lordship offered to the archbishop, who, at a meeting of the bishops at Lambeth, having laid it before them, with several other draughts prepared for the same purpose, Dr. Prideaux's bill was unanimously approved of, and chosen by them, before all the other draughts; and it was then agreed, that this should be the bill which should be offered to the parliament. But the lords, as Dr. Prideaux had apprehended, were so fond of their privilege of qualifying chaplains for pluralities, that they would hearken to nothing which should diminish or restrain it; and therefore would not allow the bill so much as to be once read in their house. Dr. Prideaux, however, in hopes that the good of the church might at some time prevail so far, as to have this considered again with better success, and that this bill and treatise might then prove of some use for regulating this matter, caused them both to be printed in the year 1710, and published at the end of his book concerning the origin and right of tithes.

As to the other bill against clandestine marriages, it was brought into the House of Lords by one of the peers: and the purport of it was, to make it felony in ministers to solemnize or officiate at such marriage. Upon this a long debate arising, Dr. Kidder, then bishop of Bath and Wells, wrote to Dr. Prideaux, to desire his opinion about it: the doctor, on the receipt of his lordship's letter, which came to him on Monday, wrote an answer, and sent it by the next post, the Wednesday following. It contained about three sheets of paper, in which he shows, that the original law for preventing clandestine marriages, ordains that the bans of matrimony shall be three times published in the church or chapel, to which each party belongs, before any marriage shall be solemnized between them. Secondly, that this law is not to be dispensed with, or any license granted thereon to marry, without the said publication of bans, but to persons of good state and quality. Thirdly, that all such dispensations and licenses be granted only by the ecclesiastical judge, who hath power to examine upon oath, whether the said marriage may be legally celebrated or not. Fourthly, that the judge, on his examining into the case, must have it vouched to him by the oath of one of the parties at least, that there is no let, impediment, or precontract, consanguinity, affinity, or any other cause whatsoever, nor any suit commenced in any ecclesiastical court to bar or hinder the proceedings of the said matrimony; and he must farther have it attested by the oaths of two other witnesses, whereof one is to be known to the judge, that the party to be married (if under age) have the consent of parents, or guardians, in case the parents are dead: and when he is satisfied of all this, and hath also taken security for the same, he may then, and not before, decree for the dispensation, and grant license accordingly, for the celebration of the marriage, without publication of bans; provided he direct it to be done in the church or chapel to which both or one of the parties belong, and not elsewhere. And fifthly, the doctor farther showed in the said letter, that in case all these rules and precautions were duly executed and observed, it is scarce possible any clandestine marriage should ever happen. But should they be all observed, not one-third part of the licenses now made sale of would be granted out, which would very considerably diminish the income, which chancellors, commissaries, and their registers make of their places; and therefore, they have, by a general conspiracy, all England over, set them aside for the sake of promoting their own unjust lucre. For now, instead of observing the rules, and taking the precautions and securities above mentioned

in granting matrimonial licenses, chancellors and commissaries seal them up in heaps, leaving blanks to be filled up for any that will pay for them; and thus send them to market all over their jurisdiction, to be put off, as it happens, to any who want them, without any other examination than of the purse of the purchaser, whether he hath money enough to pay the fees. Thus it comes to pass, that abundance of ruinous matches are constantly contracted under the authority of these illegal licenses; and the scandal of all falls upon the church. In the same letter, the doctor takes especial notice of another particular, which is, that whereas the canons of 1603 do more than once enjoin, that all marriages shall be celebrated in the church or chapel, to which one or both of the parties belong, lest the minister might be surprised into the celebrating of an illegal or unfitting marriage, by his not knowing the parties; they take upon themselves the liberty of acting contrary to this rule at their pleasure; and without any regard to the canons which prescribe it, direct their licenses to be executed in any church or chapel within their respective jurisdictions, which the parties or either of them shall desire; and this hath given an opportunity to the bringing about most of the stolen marriages that are complained of, which, had this rule been duly observed, would in all likelihood have been prevented: for all persons being usually well known in the parishes where they live, especially to the minister, the fraud of such a marriage cannot but be seen and discovered, when it comes to him to be executed; and in consequence, if he be not a very bad man, hindered and prevented by him. On the other hand, places, where the parties are least known, are the properest for acts of fraud and illegality; and such they will never want, as long as chancellors and commissaries take the liberty of granting the licenses above mentioned, and thereby encourage and help forward the iniquity which they are in duty bound to prevent.

Dr. Prideaux's advice therefore to the bishop of Bath and Wells was, that he should endeavour to prevail with his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops, to put the laws in execution, which are already made against clandestine marriages; for better laws cannot be contrived to reform this abuse, than those which are already to be found in our ecclesiastical constitutions for this purpose; and were these laws duly observed, and vigorously prosecuted against all that violated them, there would be no need of making acts of parliament, or establishing sanguinary laws against the clergy for preventing this iniquity.

As to the bill itself, Dr. Prideaux in his letter declared, that should it pass into an act, it would be, in his opinion, the greatest hardship that ever was put upon the clergy in any Christian state; for it would be a continual snare of ruin and destruction to them, since it would subject them to be tried for their lives every marriage they solemnized. That it would not be a sufficient salvo to say the license would be their security; for who would care to have the safety of his life depend on a slip of paper, which the rats might eat up, or a hundred other accidents happen to destroy; and then the minister must suffer death for want of it? And farther, for his part, the doctor declared to the bishop, that after the passing of this bill, whatever should be the consequence, he would never marry any more persons; and was of opinion, that all other ministers, who had any regard for their own safety, would take the same resolution; and then the bill, instead of preventing clandestine marriages, would operate so far as to put a stop to all marriages whatsoever. These considerations, when offered to the house in the debate, were thought to carry such weight with them, that those who brought in the bill were content to drop it, and pressed it no further. The bishop of Bath and Wells, on his perusal of this letter, forthwith sent it to the press, without Dr. Prideaux's knowledge or consent; and the next week after, to the doctor's great surprise, it came down to him in print. This he would have had great reason to be offended at, had not the bishop spared him so far as not to put his name to it.

In the same year, 1691, towards the end of the long vacation, died Dr. Ed

ward Pocock, the eminent Hebrew Professor at Oxford, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. On his death, Dr. Prideaux was offered to succeed him in his professor's place, but declined it for several reasons, which at that time made it inconvenient to him to accept it, but afterward it proved much to his detriment that he did not.

About Whitsunday, A. D. 1692, bishop Moor first came into his diocese, and Dr. Prideaux then attended him as one of his archdeacons for the examining of candidates who offered themselves to be ordained, which afforded him matter of great concern; for he used frequently to lament the excessive ignorance he had met with, in such as offered themselves for holy orders, at their examinations; that men, who were themselves unacquainted with the common doctrines of Christianity, necessary to the salvation of their own souls, should take upon them the sacred office of conducting others to salvation: and this he attributed in a great measure to the neglect of family devotion; for while religion remained in families, and God was daily worshipped, children were early bred up by their parents, and instructed in the knowledge of Him; and the principles of Christianity, thus first instilled into them, continued to grow up with them into further knowledge, as themselves grew to be further capable of it. And whilst young men were thus educated, when any of them were sent to the university, there to be fitted by their studies for the ministry of religion, they carried some knowledge of it thither with them, and thereby became the sooner and more effectually qualified to become teachers of it. But since family devotion and family instruction, through the causes already mentioned, have been neglected, and this neglect through the corruption of the times has grown so fast, as now in a great measure to have overspread the land, young men frequently come to the university without any knowledge or tincture of religion at all; and having little opportunity of improving themselves therein, whilst under-graduates, because the course of their studies inclines them to philosophy and other kinds of learning; they are usually admitted to their first degree of bachelor of arts, with the same ignorance as to all sacred learning, as when first admitted into the universities; and many of them as soon as they have taken that degree, offering themselves for orders, are too often admitted to be teachers in the church, when they are only fit to be catechumens therein. These considerations made the doctor often lament the loss of Dr. Busby's benefaction, who offered to found two catechetical lectures, one in each university, with an endowment of 100*l.* per annum each, for instructing the under-graduates in the rudiments of the Christian religion provided all the said under-graduates should be obliged to attend those lectures and none of them be admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts, till after having been examined by the catechist, as to their knowledge in the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, and by him approved of. But this condition being rejected by both universities, the benefaction was rejected therewith, and the church hath ever since suffered for the want of it. He used likewise to complain of another abuse, which he frequently met with at ordinations; that is, false testimonials; for how defective soever any of the candidates may be in their learning, and how faulty and scandalous soever in their manners, they never want ample testimonials, with the full number of neighbouring ministers' hands thereto, vouching the contrary. By this means bishops are often so deceived as to admit into orders such as are notoriously unworthy of them. This the doctor thought was a scandalous abuse in those ministers, who misguided and imposed on bishops by such false testimonials; for the remedying of which it would be proper, that any minister, who should thus endeavour by unjustifiable means to procure orders for an undeserving person, should himself be suspended from his own, till he was made sensible of his error; and ever after stand unqualified for giving any more testimony in the like cases.

After the act of toleration had passed the royal assent, the first of king William and queen Mary, many people foolishly imagined that they had thereby full liberty given them, either to go to church or stay away, and idly dispose of

themselves elsewhere, as they should think fit; and accordingly, the public assemblies for divine worship on the Lord's day were much deserted, and ale-houses much more resorted to than the churches. Dr. Prideaux, in order to put a stop to this growing evil, drew up a circular letter, directed to the ministers of his archdeaconry, in which, after he had informed them, that the said act gave no toleration to absent from church, but only to such, who, dissenting from the established religion, worshipped God elsewhere, with one of the dissenting sects mentioned in the said act, and that all who absented themselves from church and did not thus worship God elsewhere, were under the same penalties of law as before, and ought to be punished accordingly; he desired them to send for their churchwardens, and having fully instructed them in this matter, exhort them to do their duty herein, and present, at all visitations for the future, all such profane and irreligious absenters from church, in the same manner as formerly used to be done before this act was made. This circular letter he sent to London, and having there gotten as many copies of it to be printed as there were parishes in the archdeaconry; on his next visitation, which was Michaelmas, A. D. 1692, dispersed them among the ministers of the said parishes, giving each of them one. It was afterward published at the end of his *Directions to Churchwardens*, and underwent several editions. This letter, he found, had, in some measure, its intended effect, though it could not wholly cure this evil.

On Michaelmas, 1694, he thought proper to leave Saham, and return again with his family to Norwich, after he had resided there about four years. His reasons for leaving this place were, that the country thereabouts subjecting people to agues, his family were hardly ever free from that distemper all the time he lived there. He was himself sick of it a considerable time; and two of his children were so long ill, and contracted so bad a state of health from it, as afterward cost them both their lives. Besides, being obliged to leave most of his books at Norwich, as not having room for them in his house at Saham, this hindered him from carrying on his studies according to his inclinations; and in these he was further interrupted, whilst he tarried there, by the avocations he frequently met with in country business, which made him weary of the place; and on all these considerations, he determined to leave it. On his quitting Saham, he gave it up altogether, without reserving to himself any of the profits, as he might have done, by putting a curate on the parish; and resolving that as far as in him lay, the benefice and the office should go together, he resigned both into the hands of the bishop, and wrote to the warden and fellows of New-College, in Oxford, who were patrons of the living, to present another, which they did accordingly.

On the doctor's return to Norwich, the whole business of the cathedral fell again into his hands, and he was obliged to undertake the burden of it, to prevent all from running to confusion. The dean resided mostly at London, and hardly ever came to Norwich till towards the latter end of his time; and Dr. Prideaux, after he had left Saham, being constantly there, this gave him a full opportunity to make himself master of the affairs of that church; which he continued to take care of till the time of his death.

On the 12th of February, A. D. 1696, he was instituted into the vicarage of Trowse, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Norwich. It is a little village, within a mile of Norwich, and a very small benefice, being hardly worth to him more than 40*l.* per annum. However, having no cure since he had resigned Saham, he took this small vicarage, rather for the sake of exercising the duties of his function in that parish, than out of any regard to the small profits arising therefrom: for though his prebendship of Norwich, and archdeaconry of Suffolk, which were all the preferments he had at this time, fell very much short of a sufficiency to support him, yet, as he had private fortunes of his own, he needed not so small an accession for his maintenance. Having taken upon himself this cure, he diligently attended it, serving it himself every Sunday for several years together, till he was disabled by the calamitous distemper of the stone, from going any more into the pulpit, and then resigned it; as will be hereafter

mentioned, it being his resolution not to keep any cure, which he could not serve himself.

In Easter term, 1697, he published his life of Mahomet, which was so well received in the world, that three editions of them were sold off the first year. He had long designed to write a history of the Saracen Empire, from the beginning of it, till it fell into pieces, by the governors of provinces setting up each for themselves, A. D. 936, which was three hundred and fourteen years from its first rise under Mahomet. By this partition, all the power and grandeur of it had an end, though its name, with a small territory round Bagdat, continued under the succeeding caliphs some ages after. This history, as it was to have given an account of the rise and progress of this empire, and of the Mahometan religion with it; so was it likewise to have comprehended the decay and fall of the Grecian empire in the east, and the Christian religion, which sunk with it in those parts; for the power of the one empire being built on the decay and ruins of the other, their histories are necessarily connected and interwoven with each other. The doctor began his history from the death of Mauritius the Greek emperor, which happened A. D. 602, and had gone some way in it, before he went to Saham; but not being able to go on with it there for want of his books, which he had left behind him at Norwich, as was mentioned before, the work stood still some time. However, on his return to Norwich, he resumed it again, with an intention of perfecting it; but whilst he was thus engaged in it, some reasons occurred to him, which made him desist from prosecuting it any farther. He came to a resolution therefore to publish only that part of it, which contained the life of Mahomet, and drop all the rest. What the reasons were that induced him to alter his design, being fully shown in his preface to that book, there is no need of repeating them here.

The doctor found, in his archidiaconal visitations, that the churchwardens of his archdeaconry of Suffolk, as in all other archdeaconries, instead of presenting what was amiss, as they are bound by their oaths, at those visitations, usually gave in their presentments as if all was right, and that for those parishes where the contrary was most notorious. This afforded him, as it must every honest and considerate man, matter of melancholy reflection, that three or four hundred men should thus deliberately perjure themselves twice a year. In order therefore to put a stop to this evil, as far as it was in his power, he wrote his directions to churchwardens, instructing them in all the branches of their duty, which they had sworn to observe, and exhorting and directing them faithfully and carefully to discharge their offices. This tract, as it was written for the use of his archdeaconry, he immediately dispersed through all the parishes of it, as soon as it came from the press. The first edition bore date December the 20th, 1707, and since that, several other editions have been published: the third, which bore date in September, 1712, is the completest; for this the doctor published, after having revised the two former editions, and made many considerable additions and enlargements. This, therefore, as it came from the author's last hand, and those editions which have since been published from it, I should choose to recommend to such as have occasion for the book.

In December, A. D. 1701, a convocation being met at London for transacting the affairs of the church, Dr. Prideaux went thither, and took his seat among them as archdeacon of Suffolk. On his arrival, he found them divided into the high-church and low-church parties. The first thing that came under their consideration, was the choice of a prolocutor. The high-church party set up Dr. Woodward, dean of Salisbury; and the others proposed Dr. Beveridge, archdeacon of Colchester. The former carried the election by a great majority, and took the chair accordingly, in which he conducted himself with candour and abilities much beyond what was expected from him. And now, a debate arose concerning the privileges of the lower house, where a majority of the members claimed to be on the same footing, as to the upper house, that the Commons in Parliament are in regard to the House of Lords; that is, to adjourn by their own authority,

part from the upper house, when, and to such time as they should think fit. This the upper house, that is, the bishops, would not admit of, but insisted that the ancient usage, which had been all along continued, was, that the president adjourned both houses together, and to the same time; and that this was signified by a schedule sent down to the lower house; and that this practice they would abide by, and allow of no other; and so far Dr. Prideaux concurred with them, as thinking them in the right. But as to their requiring, that the lower house should break up, as soon as the schedule come down to them, and appoint no committees to sit and act on the intermediate days, he was clearly of opinion, that in both these particulars they were wholly in the wrong; for as the bishops usually break up very early, to attend the service of the House of Lords in Parliament, and then send down the schedule of adjournment to the lower house, if on the receipt of this schedule the lower house must immediately break up also, what time could they have to despatch the business before them? It seems natural from the reason of the thing, that the day of sessions be allotted for the business of it; and if so, what leisure can there be, unless on intermediate days, for any committee to sit and do the business referred to them? Two months of this meeting were taken up in arguing and debating these matters, which were contested with a great deal of heat on both sides, as well without doors (where there was abundance of pamphlets printed about them) as within the house. At length the lower house appointed a committee to consider of some method for accommodating and ending this dispute, that so they might be able to proceed in the other business for which they were called. Dr. Prideaux was one of this committee, who sat some time; but before any report could be made, the prolocutor fell ill and died: upon which, there arose a new debate about appointing his successor; but this did not last long; for within a few days after, on the 8th of March, 1701, king William died, which put an end to the convocation.

On the 10th of May following, A. D. 1702, died Dr. Henry Fairfax, dean of Norwich, in the 66th year of his age, after having held that deanery upwards of eleven years; and Dr. Prideaux being appointed to succeed him, was installed into his deanery the 8th of June following.

As soon as he was settled herein, he set himself to work, in reforming such disorders and abuses as were crept into the cathedral, which he had no other means of doing, than by purging it of several obnoxious and scandalous persons who were the occasion of those disorders, and filling up the vacancies with the best men he could get. This he did; and by admonishing the rest, at length brought the whole choir into perfect good order; and so it continued for several years to the time of his death.

The 3d of December, A. D. 1702, being appointed a public thanksgiving-day, on account of our success in the expedition against Vigo, in Spain, dean Prideaux preached the thanksgiving sermon, at the cathedral church of Norwich, and, by desire of the mayor and aldermen of the city, had it printed. This was the only sermon he ever published; and had he followed his own inclinations, it would have been one of the last of all he had preached from that pulpit, which he had chosen for that purpose: for, according to the general turn of such sermons, it contained little more than an harangue on the occasion of the day. However, after it had been once published, the booksellers thought proper to reprint it, at the end of his Ecclesiastical Tracts printed at London, A. D. 1716.

In Easter term following, A. D. 1703, he published a tract in vindication of the present established law, which gives the successor in any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, all the profits from the day of the avoidance. The occasion of his writing this tract was as follows: As the law now stands, if a beneficed clergyman dies a little before harvest, his successor shall go away with all the profits; and by this means, often leaves the family of his predecessor in great poverty and distress for the want of them. This was by many thought a very hard case, and several of the clergy clamoured hard for a new law to remedy it; which induced some of the bishops to think of bringing a bill into parliament

for this purpose; and the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burnet, being particularly zealous in this matter, undertook to draw the bill. Dr. Prideaux hearing of this, set himself to examine into the case; and after having considered it, wrote this tract about it; in which, as his sentiments happened to concur with those of the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop recommended it to the rest of the bishops, who, on perusing it, were so far convinced, that all in general consented to drop it, and there have never since been any thoughts of reviving it. This piece was likewise reprinted with his Ecclesiastical Tracts.

In the beginning of the year 1705, the dean had a very signal deliverance from great danger. Dr. Hayley, late dean of Chichester, being then in the neighbourhood of Norwich, dean Prideaux went over to make him a visit; and while he was there, the servants of the house (without the knowledge or privy of their master) made his coachman so drunk, that, on his return, he fell off the coach-box; and upon his falling, the horses immediately took fright, and ran away with him near three miles full speed, till at length they were accidentally stopped by a poor labouring man returning from his work: and happily the dean received no harm. This was a deliverance which he was ever after very thankful to God for, whilst he lived. And there were two circumstances, which seemed providentially to concur in saving him: the first was, that on his return, instead of driving the direct road, through which he went, he ordered his coachman to turn to the right-hand into another road, which led to a farther part of the city, where some business called him. Now this road being smooth and plain, there was less danger from an accident of this sort; whereas had he gone the other road, which was the nearest way to his own home, there was a steep precipice in it over which the horses would in all probability have fallen, and beat the coach in pieces, and destroyed him. The second was; that a little while before this happened, being in company with some of his friends, the case of bishop Grove, who lost his life by an accident of the like kind, was talked of; and it was then made apparent to him that the safest way in such a case would be to sit still, and wait the event of an overthrow, or the stopping of the horses by some other means. And had he not been thus forewarned, he had certainly endeavoured to have leaped out of the coach, which, in all probability, must have been fatal to him; for whilst the horses were running full speed, it was hardly possible for him to have been so quick in getting out, but the hinder wheel would have caught him in the attempt, and overrun him to his destruction. And this was the ruin of bishop Grove, who, whilst the horses were running away with him, endeavoured to leap out; but the hinder wheel of the coach overtook him, ran over him, and broke his leg, of which he died. Both these circumstances the dean ever after looked on as instances of God's mercy, providentially operating to his deliverance, and, as long as he lived, was thankful for them.

The maintenance of the parochial clergy of Norwich, depending mostly upon voluntary contributions, gathered from door to door in every parish, in the year 1706, it was endeavoured to bring it to a certainty, by act of parliament; and in order to this, a petition from the city being necessary, the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, were solicited to make this petition. While this was in agitation, for the furthering the success of so good a design, Dr. Prideaux published an award made by King Charles the First, and passed under his broad seal for the settling of two shillings in the pound, out of the rents of all grounds, buildings, and edifices, within the said city of Norwich, for the said parochial clergy, to which he annexed a discourse in vindication of the legality, justice, and reasonableness of that award; and in this treated particularly of the nature and legality of personal tithes, and the manner of paying them in the city of London; and though this treatise did not at that time answer the end for which it was intended, and produce the desired effect; yet, as he was in hopes it might some time or other be of use for that purpose, he had it reprinted again among his Ecclesiastical Tracts, A. D. 1716.

In the year 1707, the bishopric of Ely falling void by the death of bishop Patrick. Dr. Moor, bishop of Norwich, was translated thither; and Dr. Charles Trimmell, one of the prebendaries of Norwich, was promoted to the see of Norwich. From the translation of bishop Moor to the naming his successor, near half a year intervened; and during this time, the dean had many letters sent him by his friends, advising and encouraging him to make interest for the bishopric: but this he could by no means be persuaded to do, nor did he think it consistent with his interest to accept of it, in case it had been offered him; for he was then near sixty years of age; and as the revenues of his deanery and archdeaconry would better support him in his present situation, than those of the bishopric in the situation of a bishop, he thought it better to continue as he was; especially as the coming into that bishopric in first-fruits, fees, providing a suitable equipage, furnishing his house, and other incidental expenses, could not cost him less than 2000*l.* all of which he must save again out of the bishopric, or his family suffer by his promotion. There have been frequent instances of bishops, who dying too soon after their promotion, have left their families in such poverty, as to want charity for their necessary subsistence. This was the case of bishop W—k, and this was the case of bishop G—ve, and would have been the case of archbishop T—n, had not his widow been assisted after his death by a pension from the crown, and what she got of the booksellers for his posthumous sermons. Dr. Prideaux indeed was in no danger of leaving his family in such distress, as he had a temporal estate sufficient to provide for them whenever he should happen to die; but then as he had got nothing by the church, he had no reason to hazard his private fortunes (which were his own, and his wife's inheritance) in the service of it. It is a hard case, it must be owned, on the clergy, that when they are called to bishoprics, they should be so eaten out with the payments of first-fruits and fees, before they can receive any benefit from their preferment: and it were much to be wished, that when the parliament discharged all small livings not exceeding 50*l.* per annum, of all tenths and first-fruits, they had also discharged all poor bishoprics of the same payments, that is, all not exceeding 1000*l.* per annum, considering their attendance at parliament, and other expenses in their way of living, that are necessarily annexed to their office. And it would be much easier, if instead of the mock elections of bishops by *Conge d'elire*, and the operose way of suing out so many instruments, and going through so many offices, and their paying so many fees for them, in order to their full settlements in their preferments, bishops were made here in the same manner as they are in Ireland, by the king's letters patent, in which case, there would be nothing farther necessary, than those letters patent, presenting them to the benefice, as in the case of all other ecclesiastical benefices in the king's gift, and his mandate to the archbishop to consecrate, institute, and install them. By these means, a great deal of trouble and expense would be saved, and deans and chapters delivered from the great danger of a *Præmunire*, which they are liable to in all such elections; if they do not within twenty days, return elected the person whom the king, in his letters missive, nominates to them. These alterations would make such promotions much more desirable, than they now are, to many who well deserve them. But that, which made the dean most averse to pursuing any measures for obtaining the bishopric, and weighed most with him, was, that he was very easy in his deanery, which he could not promise himself he should be in a bishopric. In the former, his long experience had made him perfect master of all the business of the cathedral church, which he comprehended in its full extent; but had reason to fear, he should not be able to do the same in the latter, especially since now attending the court and parliament, and affairs of state, are made so much the business of a bishop, which he knew himself to be wholly unacquainted with. Instead therefore of making any interest for himself on this occasion, he engaged all that he had for Dr. Trimmell, as he had lived a long while in friendship with him, and knew him to be a person of great worth and goodness, and every way deserving the prefer-

ment he then aimed at; which the diocese of Norwich afterward fully experienced to their great satisfaction.

In the year 1709, he published his tract *Of the Original Right of Tithes*. His design at first was, to give the History of Appropriations; that is, to show by what means they begun, how they were alienated into lay-hands at the reformation, the right the church still hath to them, for serving the cure, repairing the chancel, and bearing all other ecclesiastical burdens, the right, which the law hath now given appropriators in them, and what are usurpations made thereupon. This was his main design; and the treating of the original right of tithes was intended no otherwise than as a preface to this work. But when he came to write it, finding it swell to a bulk, beyond what he had expected, he thought it best to publish this separately, and reserve the rest for a second work, having already made collections for that purpose. Whilst he was engaged in this undertaking, the unhappy distemper of the stone first seized him, which put a stop to all further proceedings: for in order to complete the work, and make it fully answer the end intended, it was necessary for him to consult the Cotton Library, the tower of London, and other places, where ancient records are kept, which he could not do, but by taking a journey to those places, and being utterly disabled from bearing any such journey by his distemper, he was obliged to lay aside the whole design.

At the end of this treatise on tithes, he published the bill, which he had drawn for remedying the inconveniences the church suffers, from the holding pluralities of benefices, with cure of souls; his reasons for this, as well as the occasion of his writing this tract, have been mentioned above.

In the year 1710, being disabled by the stone from going any more into the pulpit, he resigned his vicarage of Trowse; and the chapter, who had the patronage of it, gave it to one of their minor canons.

When this distemper first came upon him in the spring of the former year, he apprehended it was the stone in the kidney, from whence, with much pain, it passed into the bladder, and when there, as he imagined, adhered to the side of it; for upon his taking a short journey into the country, it was broke off by the shaking of the coach, which occasioned his voiding a great quantity of blood; and from that time he lived in constant pain, till he was cut for it, two years after. His reasons for delaying this so long were, that being now past sixty, he was apprehensive it would be impossible for him to go through the operation, without certain death to him; and under such circumstances to put himself into the surgeon's hands, would be little better than self-murder; and rather than be guilty of this, he was determined to submit to the will of God, and patiently endure his calamity, however grievous and tormenting to him. This he did for two years together, suffering all that time extreme torment with great patience. At last, the disorder grew upon him so much, that there was little probability of his living a month longer without some relief, and cutting being the only means which gave him any prospect of this, he was convinced, that in this case, he might venture to run the hazard of it. He sent therefore for Mr. Salter, a famous lithotomist then in London, to perform the operation, which he did with great dexterity, drawing out the stone, which was nearly of the shape and size of a sheep's kidney, in less than three minutes time. After the operation, Mr. Salter stayed with him about a week; and in this time the wound healed so fast, and every thing looked so well, as to promise a certain cure in a month or six weeks time. Upon this Mr. Salter returned to London, leaving him in the hands of a young surgeon, who had been bred up under himself, then at Norwich, to finish the cure, and assured the dean, he would be as safe in his hands as in his own. But every thing fell out just the contrary; for after he had been under the care of this surgeon a whole year, he seemed to be much farther from a cure than when he had first undertaken him; and during all this time the dean had suffered as much pain and torment from him, as he had before from the stone itself. Whilst he was in this condition, lord Somers hearing of his case, was pleased to express

himself, that he thought Dr. Prideaux a person of greater value than to be so lost; and sent a message to Mr. Salter, reprimanding him for having taken so little care of him. This produced a letter from Mr. Salter to the dean, in which he earnestly advised and desired him to come to London to him; and accordingly the dean, finding no assistance to be had where he was, resolved on this journey; and for the convenience of his travelling, contrived to take out all the seats of a large stage-coach, in which he laid his quilt and other bed-clothes, and lying thereon at his full length, was carried to London with as much ease and safety as if he had been in a litter. When Mr. Salter came to him, and examined into his case, he found the urinary passage ripped up and destroyed, and every thing so miserably mangled and wounded, that he expressed no little wonder to find him alive after usage, which he thought would have killed any body else. Nothing now remained but to cure these wounds, which he did in about two months time, when the dean returned to Norwich again; but was ever after this, obliged to void his urine through an orifice, left in the place where the stone had been extracted, which was a great inconvenience to him all his life after.

On his return to Norwich, he again applied himself to his studies, which had been greatly interrupted by his unhappy distemper. The first thing he undertook after this, was to review his *Directions to Churchwardens*, upon the bookseller signifying to him, that he intended to print a third edition of that tract; and having made large additions to it, a third edition was printed and published in Michaelmas term, 1712.

Having finished this work, he went on with his *Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testaments*, which he had begun immediately upon his dropping the design of writing *The History of Appropriations*; but being interrupted by his disorder growing upon him, was obliged to lay it quite aside, till God should give him better health to enable him to proceed in it; and having now, by his mercy, in some measure obtained this, he pursued his intention, and finished the first part in the year 1715, which was published in Michaelmas term following. The second part came out two years after in Hilary term, 1717-18. This work, at the end of the year 1720, had undergone eight editions in London, besides two or three printed at Dublin.¹ Little need be said of a book which is so generally well known, and has been read by most persons of all ages, who delight in reading at all, as affording abundant matter for the instruction as well as entertainment of all sorts of persons. In a work of this kind, which is so extensive in its own nature, and collected from such variety of authors of different nations, ages, and languages, who so often contradict one another, where they speak of the same facts and persons, and sometimes themselves, it is not to be wondered at, if there are some mistakes; but much more so, that so few of these have hitherto been observed by the learned. The following letters, which were written in answer to some observations of this kind, sent him by his learned and ingenious friend and kinsman, Walter Moyle, Esq. will sufficiently testify, with what candour he treated such as differed from his opinions, and how ready he was to re-examine and correct any thing that was thought amiss.

DR. PRIDEAUX'S FIRST LETTER TO MR. MOYLE.²

"Dear Cousin, I thank you for your kind letter, and the pains you have taken about my book. I should have been glad of so learned a friend near me, to whom I might have communicated this history before it was printed. But now three editions being published of it, your observations come too late to be of any use for the correcting of any thing that is mistaken. However, I should be glad to have all that you have observed; and if I live to see a fourth edition, I shall be sure to examine all that you shall suggest to be amiss; and as I shall see cause for it, make corrections accordingly.

"As to your first observation, concerning the East India trade, I perceive, my

¹ It has likewise been translated into the French and Italian languages.

² Vide Moyle's Works, printed at London, 1726, vol. ii.

good cousin has not observed, that all that I say of it, is of the trade by sea, and not of the trade by land. I thought no reader would have understood it otherwise; but since you have, I shall in the second part, where I shall have occasion to speak of this matter again, put in such words, as shall prevent all misunderstanding of this matter.

"As to what you wrote of Zoroastres, I am of nothing more sure in ancient history, than that he was never king of Bactria, or any other than a juggling impostor; and that the time of his flourishing was in the time of Darius Hystaspes: and all the Greeks, that say any thing to the purpose, agree in this time. For his being king of Bactria, and his making war with Ninus, there is no authority but that of Justin's, and those who have wrote from him. All the Greeks speak otherwise of him, and some give him a very fabulous antiquity. But since you desire only to have it proved to you, that he was not ancients than the time of Darius Hystaspes, I will send you no farther, than to the place in the poem to Diogenes Laertius, which I have quoted: there the successors of Zoroastres being named, Ostanes is reckoned the first of them, and he came into Greece with Xerxes. Suidas calls him *περσομυθης*; but there were no Persomedians before Cyrus united Media and Persia together. Suidas, I confess, is no old author, but his collection is made out of those that were so; and many of those he used are now lost. That he is made contemporary with Pythagoras, is another reason for the same thing. That passage, which you refer to in Arnobius, if it proves any thing, it proves him to be contemporary with Cyrus. And Apuleius, placing him in the time of Cambyzes, sufficiently shows that there was then an opinion, that he lived about that time: and putting all this together, I think it is not to be doubted, but that when others call Zabratas, Zaratus, Zaras, Zaroes, Nazaratas, &c. is the same with Zoroastres, the character of the person, as well as the similitude of the names, proving this opinion. Perchance Porphyrius might think Zabratas and Zoroastres to be two different persons; but this doth not prove them so, Porphyry living many hundreds of years after. All that I aim to prove by these testimonies is, that the best evidence we have from among the Greeks and Latins for the time of Zoroastres, placeth him about the time where I have put him. But as to the exact chronology of all his actions, (which is not to be found in this or any other matter among the ancient Greeks) I acknowledge I follow the eastern writers, whose books are all full of him, and that not from oral tradition, as you suppose, but ancient authors. The Arabs indeed had no learning till after the time of Mahomet; but the Persians had; and from very ancient times. And therefore I believe no Arab author as to this matter any farther than he writes from the Persians; and if the Persians have writings of this matter of above two thousand years standing, why should not they be believed as well as Herodotus or Thucydides? Zoroastres's own books are still extant among the Magians in Persia and India; and from them are all the accounts that in the East are given of him. And his books being of the same sacred regard among them as the *Alcoran* is among the Mahometans, it is not hard to conceive they should be preserved with the same care. As to Texeita, it is not a translation, but a short abstract of Emir Conda's Persian History; that history is ten times as big. And though that author should say nothing of Zoroastres, or Zerdusht, as they call him, this would not prove there was no such person, any more than if the contested passage in Josephus was given up concerning our Saviour, it would prove that there was no such person as Jesus Christ, because then there would be no mention of him in that history. If there be no mention of Zerdusht in Emir Conda, a good reason may be given for it. Emir Conda was a Persian Mahometan, and with them nothing can be in greater contempt than the Magians are in Persia; and that might be cause enough for him not to take notice, either of them or their prophet.

"I beg your pardon, I have not time to go over all your papers; others, as well as you, call for the second part of my history; and being now in the last scene of my life, and almost at the end of that, I have little time to spare from

this work; which for the gratifying of you and others, I would gladly finish before I die; but if I live to finish it, and another edition should be published of the first part, I will then thoroughly examine all that you shall offer, but think my opinion, as to the time of Zoroastres, to be too well founded ever to be altered by me.

I am, &c."

Norwich, Oct. 14, 1713.

SECOND LETTER.

"*Dear Cousin*, I have received more of your papers: to answer fully all that you object, would require a volume, which I have not time or strength to do, being almost worn out by infirmity, caused by the calamity I have suffered, and my advanced age, as being now just upon the seventieth year of my life. This hath so far broken me, as to confine me wholly to my house, and mostly to my chamber. Only since you press particularly about the *Ἀνακτορίσ*, my answer is, that Xenophon was not the author of that book, but Themistogenes of Syracuse. This Xenophon himself says, in the beginning of the third book of his *Hellenics*. If you please to consult *Usher's Annals*, sub *Anno*, J. P. 4313, you will find this there more fully made out. I have indeed quoted that book under the name of *Xenophon*, because of the common opinion, which every where attributes it to him; but I think the truth is otherwise. I perceive you hang much upon the matter of Zoroastres: but all that you object is built upon mistakes: if you do not place him where I have, where else will you place him? Will you put him with Plutarch five thousand years before the wars of Troy; or with others six thousand years before the time of Plato? Others indeed reduced the thousands to hundreds; but all is fable, for the ancients much affected a fabulous antiquity for all they relate. They who put things latest are generally nearest the truth.

It is easy in all such matters to make objections for pulling down; but then you ought to build up better in their stead. I write with a paralytical hand, which makes writing difficult to me; for which I also need your pardon.

I am, &c."

Norwich, Jan. 30, 1717.

THIRD LETTER.

"*Dear Cousin*, Though my hand be almost past writing, as you will sufficiently see by this letter, yet I cannot omit thanking you for the kindness of your last. I hope ere this you have received my book. I am sure it will nowhere find a more observing and judicious reader than yourself. I had sufficient experience of this in your learned remarks on the former part. They have instructed me for the making some alterations against another edition; but however, I cannot recede from placing the Zoroastres, who was Zerdusht of the Persians, and the author of the book *Zandavestow*, (which is the Bible of the Magians) in that very age where my book has placed him. To say otherwise would be to contradict all the ancient histories of the Persians, and the general tradition of all the East. What you object out of *Xanthus Lydius*, who lived in that very age in which I place Zoroastres, looks like an unanswerable argument, it being by no means likely, that this author should assert Zoroastres to have lived six hundred years before the expedition of Xerxes, if he was his contemporary. One answer hereto is, the history that in the time of Diogenes Laertius went under the name of *Xanthus Lydius*, was none of his, but written by Dionysius Scytobrachion, who lived a little before the time of Tully and Julius Cæsar. This Athenæus tells us, lib. XII. and quotes for it Artemon Cassandreus, who wrote a treatise on purpose to make a distinction of the genuine authors from the spurious, which were then extant. But I am rather apt to think with Pliny, (lib. XXX. c. 1) that there were two Zoroastres, the elder of which was the founder of the Magian sect, and the other the reformer; and that this latter was the Zerdusht of the Persians, and lived in the time where I have placed him. Pliny, in the chapter

last quoted, tells us of a Zoroastres, who lived but a little before (*paulo ante hunc*, are his words,) that Ostanès, who came with Xerxes into Greece. Plato, in the tenth book of his Politics, spoke of a Zoroastres, who was Herus Armenius, a Pamphylian. This same was the Armenius Pamphilus, who, Arnobius tells us, was familiarly acquainted with Cyrus, (See *Clem. Alex. Strom.* V. p. 436, *Edit. Hins. Arnob. lib. I. p. 31.*) I acknowledgè the passage in *Arnobius* is very dark; but if it signifies any thing, it must signify thus much, that there was a Zoroastres, who lived in the time of Cyrus. I may add hereto, that the antiquity, which most of the ancients among the Greeks and Latins attribute to Zoroastres, is notoriously fabulous, as that of five thousand years before the wars of Troy, and another of six thousand years before the times of Plato, &c. In most pretences to antiquity, it may go for a general rule, that they who say the latest say the truest. As to your other objection against Alexander's having been at Jerusalem, the place you refer to in Pliny, manifestly makes against you; for the words there plainly prove that Alexander was then at Jericho, when that incision was made in the balsam-trees, which he makes mention of; otherwise these words, *Alexandro Magno res ibi gerente*, would be very impertinently inserted; and if he were at Jericho, he could not go from thence to Gaza, without taking Jerusalem in his way. The words in Pliny to me plainly imply that Alexander was at Jericho when that incision was made, and that it was made at that time for his sake, to gather some of the balsam. That an extraordinary providence has always attended that people for their preservation is manifest. That they are now in being, is a sufficient proof hereof.

I am, &c."

Norwich, July 10, 1718.

FOURTH LETTER.

"*Dear Cousin*, I do most heartily thank you for your kind letter, especially for the observations which you have sent me of my mistakes in the last part of my history. I must confess, that about Octavius's posterity is a very great one. It is a downright blunder of my old head; and I am glad so accurate and learned a reader has not observed more of them. This makes me hope that no more such have escaped me. I have mended this and all the others you have taken notice of; only I cannot make Socrates a sodomite. The place in *Juvenal*, which you mention, reflects on him for his affection to Alcibiades, as if that were a sodomitical amour. I am past labouring any further, being now past the seventieth year of my age; if I outlive the ensuing winter, it is more than I expect, or indeed desire; for I have now upon me those decays both of body and mind, as make me fully sensible, *Gravis est et dura senectus*. Every body cannot live so long as my aunt M. M. though perchance I might have lived much longer, and in full vigour, had not my great calamity come athwart me: considering that, it is much that I have lasted so long. I bless God for all his mercies hitherto.

I am, dear cousin, &c."

Norwich, Sept. 6, 1718.

The learned and ingenious Mr. Warburton has likewise differed from Dr. Prideaux as to the age of Zoroastres, in his *Demonstration of the Divine Legation of Moses*.

In Hilary term, A. D. 1717, he published the Second Part of the *Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testaments*, and dedicated this part, as he had done the former, to the earl of Nottingham, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received from that nobleman.

This history was the last work he finished for the public; for he being now past his seventieth year, he found infirmities grow very fast upon him; and these were hastened on by what he had suffered in being cut for the stone, and the ill management he had afterward fallen under. About this time he was seized

with a paralytical shaking in his left hand, which six years after seized his right also, and at length weakened it to that degree, that he could no longer hold a pen to write with; and as these weaknesses of body crept on him, they much impaired and weakened the vigour of his mind, so that he could no longer carry on his studies with his usual strength and assiduity, which made him think it time to give over, as one superannuated for any further undertaking; and therefore, though he had other works in design, and for some of them had materials in a great measure in readiness for the composure, he thought it properest to drop them all, as not expecting he should live long enough to finish whatever he should begin; and that, if he did finish any thing under these decays and infirmities, it would be liable to great errors; and he did not think it proper either to hazard his own character, or affront the public so far as to offer any thing of this kind. And therefore for the remaining part of his life, he was resolved to send nothing more to the press, but confined himself solely to the duties of the station to which he was called; and faithfully to discharge these, and bear the burden of his infirmities, was work enough for him during the latter part of his life.

For some time after the publication of his *Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testaments*, seldom a week passed without his receiving letters with remarks and observations upon it from the learned, in different parts of the kingdom; some raising difficulties, others desiring information as to the explaining some difficult passages in it. To all these he constantly returned answers, and gave the best satisfaction he could, till by his age and other infirmities he became incapable of bending his mind to any matter of difficulty.

Of all those who made objections or remarks, there was no one who did it with more learning or strength of argument than his worthy kinsman, Walter Moyle, Esq. of Bake, in the county of Cornwall, who has been mentioned above. This gentleman, for his great learning, judgment, and wit, mixed with uncommon humanity and sweetness of temper, was justly esteemed by every one who had the happiness of being acquainted with him. In the younger part of his life, he had served in parliament several years during the reign of king William, where he made a considerable figure by his great knowledge and learning, much beyond what could be expected at his years. Afterward he retired into the country, and lived at his seat in Cornwall upwards of twenty years before he died, where he collected together a well-chosen library of books, and among these spent the remainder of his life. He was one of those persons, who, unhappily for the learned world, had no opinion of his own writings; and therefore not long before he died, destroyed most of his finished performances. He died on the 9th of June, A. D. 1721, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

From the year 1686, to the time of his death, Dr. Prideaux constantly resided at the cathedral, of which he was a member, excepting only the four years that he lived at Saham. How he employed himself there, appears sufficiently from what has been said above. During all the time that he was dean, he never had the least difference with the chapter, or any of the members of it, which other deans, his predecessors, were hardly ever free from. This was owing to the prudence and integrity of his conduct towards them; for he always treated the prebendaries with all the respect that was due to them, and was as careful of their rights as of his own; and never took upon him to determine any thing of the common right and interest of the church, without the common consent and advice of the chapter. In all his transactions with them he never hid or concealed any thing from, but constantly laid all their affairs openly and fairly before them, as having no views or by-ends of his own to serve; and this was a method of proceeding, which that church had not always been used to, and so far gained him their confidence and esteem, that they trusted all their affairs in his hands, without any reserve, as having never found themselves deceived by his management. His residing constantly at the cathedral gave him an opportunity of looking after the fabric of the church, and seeing that it was kept in good repair: and this he took care of as well before as after he was dean; for,

while he was prebendary, he was generally treasurer; and to repair the church was one main part of his office. His method was according to the direction of the local statutes, to order the church every Lady-day to be carefully reviewed by able workmen, and, if any decays were found, he took care to have them repaired by the Michaelmas following, unless they were so great, as to exceed what the revenues of the church could bear; and then, what could not be done in one year was done in two. And, had he not been thus careful one year particularly, and put the spire, which is a beautiful edifice, in thorough good repair, it would in all probability have been blown down by a great storm, which happened very soon after he had caused it to be repaired, and must, in falling, have crushed and ruined a great part of the church.

In the seventy-fourth year of his age, finding himself so much weakened by his infirmities growing upon him, that he could no longer use his books as formerly, and being desirous that his collection of oriental books should not be dispersed, but kept altogether in some public library, he permitted his son, who had been educated at that college, to make a present of them to the society of Clare-hall, in Cambridge; and accordingly they were sent thither, and placed in the college library, to the number of three hundred volumes and upwards.

About a year before his death he was taken with an illness, which so far reduced him as to confine him wholly to his chamber; and at last his infirmities increased to such a degree, as rendered him incapable of helping himself in the common offices of life. All this was the effect of the ill conduct he fell under after his being cut for the stone; for the long confinement, he then underwent, and the loss of blood he sustained, weakened him so much in the limbs, that he was never free from paralytical shaking and rheumatic pains; so that he gave himself up to the thoughts of death, expecting it with that cheerfulness and resignation, which naturally flow from the reflection on a life well spent. He expired on Sunday evening, the first of November, A. D. 1724, in the seventy seventh year of his age, after an illness of about ten days, and was buried, according to his own direction, in the cathedral of Norwich, on the Wednesday following.

Thus much has been said of his life and conversation in general; as the reader may possibly be desirous of a more particular insight into his character and manner of life, the following account is taken from the report of those who knew him best, and conversed with him most intimately.

Dr. Prideaux was naturally of a very strong, robust constitution, which enabled him to pursue his studies with great assiduity: and notwithstanding his close application, and sedentary manner of life, enjoyed great vigour both of body and mind for many years together, till he was seized with the unhappy distemper of the stone. His parts were very good, rather solid than lively: his judgment excellent. As a writer, he was clear, strong, and intelligent, without any pomp of language, or ostentation of eloquence. His conversation was a good deal of the same kind, learned and instructive, with a conciseness of expression on many occasions, which to those, who were not well acquainted with him, had sometimes the appearance of rusticity. In his manner of life, he was very regular and temperate, being seldom out of his bed after ten at night, and generally rose to his studies before five in the morning. His manners were sincere and candid. He generally spoke his mind with freedom and boldness, and was not easily diverted from pursuing what he thought right. In his friendships he was constant and invariable; to his family he was an affectionate husband, a tender and careful father, and greatly esteemed by his friends and relations, as he was very serviceable to them on all occasions. As a clergyman, he was strict and punctual in the performance of all the duties of his functions himself, and carefully exacted the same from the inferior clergy and canons of his church. In party matters, so far as he was concerned, he always showed himself firmly attached to the interest of the Protestant cause, and principles of the revolution; but without joining in with the violence of parties, or promoting those factions and divisions,

which prevailed both in the church and state, during the greater part of his life. His integrity and moderation, which should have recommended him to some of the higher stations in the church, were manifestly the occasion of his being neglected; for busy party-zealots, and men more conversant in the arts of a court, were easily preferred over him, whose highest, and only ambition was, carefully to perform what was incumbent on him in every station in life, and to acquit himself of his duty to his God, his friends, and his country.

A LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER, TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

Dr. William Lloyd,¹ the most worthy and learned lord bishop of Worcester, having, through the hands of Dr. Trimmell, bishop of Norwich, communicated to Dr. Prideaux, dean of Norwich, his scheme of the seventy weeks of Daniel, and his solution of them; Dr. Prideaux, in a letter writ thereon to the bishop of Norwich, objected against it, that there were many things in the book of Nehemiah, which the said scheme of Daniel's weeks is inconsistent with; which being communicated to the said bishop of Worcester, his lordship writ thereon to the said bishop of Norwich this following letter:—

Hartlebury, June 21, 1710.

My very good Lord, In that part which you gave me of my most learned friend, Dr. Prideaux's letter to your lordship, he speaks of many things in the book of Nehemiah, with which my account of Daniel's weeks is inconsistent in his opinion. But he mentions not many things, only two or three in his letter; and these are such, as, I conceive, I need not trouble my head with; for they signify nothing to my business, which is only to show, that, from the going forth of the commandment to build Jerusalem again, to the death of Christ, the cutting off the Messiah, there should be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks; seven weeks, that is 49 years, to the end of the vision and prophecy, (Dan. ix. 24.) that is, till the book of Malachi was written; and the other sixty-two weeks, or 434 years till the anointing of the most holy, (*ib.*) that is, till Christ's being anointed high-priest, with the blood of his own sacrifice, as he was at the time of his death, when the Messiah was cut off, (v. 26.) upon which the Jews came to be, *i. e.* *non ei*, as it followeth.

The Jews, whom Daniel every where in his prayer calls *thy people*, God's people, &c. here the angel, speaking from God, throws back upon Daniel, and calls them *thy people*, that is, Daniel's people, (v. 23, 24.) and in these words (v. 26.) the angel shows how they would cease to be God's people: it was upon the Messiah being cut off, which was done even by themselves; and, after that, they were therefore *not his people*. But who were to be his people, after this? Even the *Romans*. They are here called *Principis populus futurus*. Even they, that were to burn the city and temple, *i. e.* the *Romans*.

I am gone beyond what I needed to have written on this occasion. My business was only to show, from the going forth of the commandment for the building of the city of Jerusalem, till the cutting off the Messiah; and thereupon, the Jews being no more his people, was to be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks; in the whole sixty-nine weeks, or 483 years.

I do here take it for granted, that Daniel's years were just 360 days in a year, such as those king Cæsar reckoned by, as it appears in Herodotus (l. 28.) Of this, I believe, Mr. Dean needs no proof; but if he pleases, I will send him so much, as, I am sure, will be sufficient.

Now, 483 times 360 days makes the sum of 173,880 days, which number of days, beginning in the month of Nisan, in the 20th of Artaxerxes Longimanus, (Neh. ii. 1, 6.) that is, in the year 445, before Christ, about the end of April, will certainly end about May, A. D. 32. But that time was after the passover, for

¹ See the *General Dicton.* vol. vii, &c. p. 132—141. Art. *W. Lloyd*.—Dr. Prideaux's 4to. Pamphlets, No. 12.

that year; and therefore Christ could not die in that year, for he could not die but at the time of the passover: on that day, and at that hour, in which the passover lamb was to be killed, then was Christ our passover to be sacrificed for us. But that must have been A. D. 33. Then that passover happened on Friday, April 3; then at three in the afternoon Christ must die: it should be neither later nor sooner. That Christ did die at that very time, it may be easily proved by demonstration; and I have showed it, where there is occasion: but, at this time, I am only to give account, how this, that hath been said, can consist with those things of Jaddus and of Sanballat, in Mr. Dean's letter.

First, of Sanballat; Mr. Dean seems to think, that he of that name, who gave disturbance to the building of the wall (Neh. ii. 6.) was the same with him, that is spoken of, Neh. xiii. 28, on the occasion of one of the sons of Joiada, the high-priest, having married his daughter: for that these are two Sanballats, is certain; for the former Sanballat, Neh. ii. 10, was governor of one of the small provinces in or about Palestine, in the year 445, before Christ, which was the time of that building of the wall of Jerusalem, Neh. vi. 15. It must have been another Sanballat, that was father-in-law of Manasseh, whom all take to have been him that is spoken of in the last chapter of Nehemiah; for this Sanballat came to Alexander the Great, first at the siege of Tyre, in the year 332, before Christ, which was 113 years after the building of the wall; and he died in October following, that is, after the taking of Gaza, and just before Alexander's coming to Jerusalem. *Joseph. Antiq.* xi. 8.

Soon after, viz. in the year 323, before Christ, May 23, was the death of Alexander the Great; and, about the same time, died Jaddus the high-priest, as Josephus tells us, at the very end of the same chapter, xi. 8.

Of Jaddus, Josephus tells us, that, immediately after his death, his son Onias succeeded him in the high-priesthood. This Onias must then have been at least thirty years old; he might have been a great deal more; and, if he was the high-priest, of whom Hecataeus wrote, that eleven years after Alexander's death, he saw him, being then sixty-six years of age, as Josephus (*contra Apionem, lib. I. Edit. Crispini, 1048, D.*) tells us, from that history, by this reckoning Onias must have been born in the year 378, before Christ; and then his father Jaddus, likely, was born before the year 400, before Christ; it may very well be that he was born before the year 404, before Christ, which was the last year of Darius Nothus. This king, as Primate Usher (*Annal. I. p. 232.*) thinks, was Darius the Persian, to the time of whose reign, all the Levites were reckoned, in the times of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, as we read, Neh. xii. 22. That most learned primate takes it for granted that the Jaddua, here spoken of, was not then high-priest at the time of the reckoning of these Levites; but, being then born, and being heir apparent of the high-priesthood, that holy writer might name him together with those of his progenitors, that were all living together. It is not said there, or any where else, in the book of Nehemiah, that Jaddua was then high-priest; only it is said, chap. xii. 11, that Jonathan begat Jaddua; and, verse 22, that such things happened in their days. But, in the next verse, it is said, that the Levites were written in the books of the Chronicles, even until the days of Johanan, the son of Eliashib; which giveth cause to think, that Joiada was never high-priest, but died before his father Eliashib. And, one might be well confirmed in that opinion, by what he reads in Neh. xiii. 28, that he that married Sanballat's daughter, was of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the high-priest. If Joiada himself had lived to be high-priest, the writer would have said in fewer words, that he, that had married so, was the son of Joiada, the high-priest. I know nothing of moment against this, but a word or two, that we read of Joiada's succeeding his father, in Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 7. But his word, alone, will be of no great authority with any one, that considers how little he knew of the Jews, in those times, or of the Persian monarchy.

The best of it is, that all that we have in the book of Nehemiah, concerning these times, after the going forth of the commandment to build Jerusalem again,

is altogether foreign to the matter now before us: it can neither help us, nor hinder us, in the knowledge of those seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks, that we read of in the angel's prophecy.

I desire Mr. Dean to take notice, that I do not reckon the years of any king's reign any otherwise than as I find them in *Ptolomy's Canon*.

I desire your lordship to thank him for his kind remembrance of me, and to let him know, that I do heartily desire his prayers, as I do also your lordship's; for I truly am your most affectionate brother and servant,

W. WORCESTER

DR. PRIDEAUX'S ANSWER.

Dr. Prideaux, having received from the lord bishop of Norwich a copy of this letter, wrote unto the lord bishop of Worcester this following letter, in answer thereto:—

My Lord, I must acknowledge it is a very great favour, that your lordship would be pleased to give yourself so much trouble, as to draw up the paper for my satisfaction, which you sent to the lord of Norwich for me, and which his lordship has been pleased to communicate unto me.

Therein you say, that the objections I made against your scheme of Daniel's weeks, from the book of Nehemiah, were nothing to your business, which is only to show that, from the going forth of the commandment for the building of the city of Jerusalem, till the cutting off of the Messiah, was to be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks, that is, in all sixty-nine weeks, or 483 years; and that, computing these years from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when that commandment went forth, they exactly end, according to Ptolomy's canon, at the time of our Saviour's death. But I humbly conceive, that, unless it be made out, that the beginning of this computation must be from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, your hypothesis cannot stand; and therefore it must be your lordship's business, in the first place, to clear this matter.

It is said indeed in Nehemiah, that the commandment for the rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem went out in the 20th year of Artaxerxes. But there were two Artaxerxes whom this might be attributed to, Artaxerxes Longimanus and Artaxerxes Mnemon; and the text doth not determine which of these two it was. If it were Artaxerxes Mnemon, all that is said in Nehemiah of Jaddua, Sanballat, and Darius Codomannus, will very well consist therewith; for it is but to suppose, that Nehemiah lived to the time of Darius Codomannus, and then wrote his book (as he might very well do, without exceeding the age of eighty years) and all will be solved and made consistent; and therefore Scaliger, Calvisius, Helvicus, and several other chronologers, come into this opinion. But, if it were Artaxerxes Longimanus, as your lordship says it was, in whose 20th year this commandment went forth; then all the objections occur, which I have mentioned; for,

1st, It seems evident to me, that the text of Nehemiah xii. 22, where the Levites are spoken of, that were in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, cannot be understood to mean any other days than those wherein they were high-priests. For the high-priest among the Jews was the head of the priests and Levites; and after the captivity, when there was no king in Judah, had the absolute supremacy in all affairs relating to them; and therefore it was as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by times of their high-priests, as it is now with us to reckon of all actions in the state by the times of our kings; and consequently, when any thing is said to have been in such a high-priest's time, it is as improper to understand it of any other time, than that of his priesthood; as it would be, when any thing is said to have been in such a king's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his reign. For this reason I cannot come into this interpretation, which refers what is said here of the days of Jaddua as far back as the days of his childhood; for it seems to be a very forced sense, which the text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been

in the time of Henry the Eighth, will any one understand it of the time before his reign; or think it any other than an absurdity so to construe it? And, to me, it looks altogether as bad, as to understand what is here said of the Levites to have been in the days of Jaddua, of any other days than those wherein he was high-priest. And it is to be taken notice of, that the text joins with the days of Jaddua, the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, who were high-priests before him. For it is said, in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, Jaddua, &c. And here I would ask, whether the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, are to be understood of the days of their high-priesthood, or of the days of their life? No doubt, it will be said of the days of their high-priesthood. And why then must not the days of Jaddua be understood so too? I may add further, What need is there, in this case, to name Jaddua's days at all? Because, if they be understood of those before he was high-priest, they were coincident with the days of Joiada and Johanan, which were named before. And therefore, if we understand those days of Jaddua of any other days than those wherein he was high-priest, they must have been named twice in the same text, which would be such a faulty repetition, as it must not be charged with. Nothing seems more plain to me, than that the text speaks of the days of these four men, as in succession, one after the other; and therefore we must not run the days of the one into the days of the other. Besides, the whole design of interpreting the days of Jaddua, of the days before he was high-priest, is to support a notion, that the book of Nehemiah, of which this text is a part, was wrote before he was high-priest, and so far back as the time of his childhood. Your lordship placeth it in the last year of Darius Nothus. But then, to name his days with the days of the other high-priests, so many years before he came to be high-priest, and when it must be, on many respects, uncertain whether he would ever be so or not, is what, I believe, all the writings of the world beside cannot give us an instance of. For these reasons, I cannot but be of opinion, that these days of Jaddua can be meant of none other than the days of his high-priesthood; and that therefore he was in that office before this text was written: and it also appears to me, that the Darius here mentioned, can be none other than Darius Codomannus, in whose reign Jaddua was high-priest. For the text, bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several high-priests, terminates the whole in the days of Jaddua, and the reign of Darius the Persian, which plainly makes them contemporaries; and therefore Darius the Persian, in that text, could be none other than Darius Codomannus, because no other Darius but he was king of Persia, while Jaddua was high-priest at Jerusalem. And, if so, it must be in the reign of this Darius, at the soonest, that this was written, and consequently, Nehemiah, the writer of it, must then be living. And this brings home the objection upon your lordship's hypothesis, because, according to it, he must have then been, at least, one hundred and forty years old, which is very improbable. For, if it were in the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus that he came to Jerusalem, with a commission to rebuild that city, and be governor of it, we cannot suppose him then to have been less than thirty years old; for a lesser age would be too early for such a trust. After this, Artaxerxes reigned 21 years; after him, Darius Nothus 19 years; after him, Artaxerxes Mnemon 46 years; after him, Ochus 21 years; and then, to the first year of Darius Codomannus, were three years more; all which, put together, make 140 years.

2dly, The like objection will also lie from the age of Sanballat, the Horonite; for, when Nehemiah came to execute his commission for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, he found him a governor in those parts, under the king of Persia, (whether it were of Samaria, or of some other petty province, as your lordship says, is not material to our present purpose) and, to qualify him for such a trust, he must then have been, at least, thirty years old. And therefore, if it were in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus that Nehemiah found him thus intrusted, since he died not (as Josephus tells us) till the last year of Darius Codomannus, he must then have been, at his death, 143 years old, which age in him, is much

more improbable than the other in Nehemiah. An extraordinary blessing on that good man might be alleged for such an extraordinary age in him, which cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances, apart, look very improbable, but coming together, are much more so, and therefore must be a very strong argument against that hypothesis that infers them. I know some, to solve this difficulty, make two Sanballats; the one named in Scripture, who is there said to have married his daughter to one of the sons of Joiada, which they will have to be that Jesus, who was slain by his brother Johanan in the temple. Joseph. Antiq. xi. 7, and the other, the Sanballat named by Josephus, xi. 7, 8, who married his daughter to Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, and built for him the temple at mount Gerizim. But, where the name is the same, the character of a governor in the neighbourhood of Judea the same, and the circumstance of marrying a daughter to a son of an high-priest the same, it is hard to suppose two different persons; and scarce any one, that thoroughly considers it, can come into this supposition. Your lordship; indeed, mends it in one particular; in allowing but one marriage of a daughter to an high-priest's son; for, if I take you right, you suppose the Sanballat, who would have hindered Nehemiah in his work, to have been a different person from the Sanballat, who was father-in-law to one of Joiada's sons, Neh. xiii. 28. That the latter only was the governor of Samaria, of whom Josephus speaks, Antiq. xi. 7, 8, and who died in the last year of Darius Codomannus; and that the other was not the governor of Samaria, but of some other petty province, in the neighbourhood. But, however, this will not solve the difficulty. For, supposing the Sanballat, Neh. xiii. to be different from the Sanballat, Neh. ii. and vi. (which I must say, is hard to suppose, since, in both places, he is called Sanballat the Horonite) yet this marriage must have been in the twelfth year of Nehemiah's government, that is, according to your lordship's hypothesis, in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; for in that year Nehemiah went into Persia to the king, and, on his return, found this irregular marriage to have been made, and therefore chased away from the temple the person guilty hereof. Supposing therefore, this son of Joiada (whom Josephus calls Manasseh, and saith he was his grandson) to have been twenty years old, at the time of his marriage, that is, in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, he must have been at his father-in-law's death, one hundred and twenty-one years old, though this was but the first year of his priesthood at mount Gerizim; and, if we suppose the father-in-law to be twenty-two years older than the son-in-law, there will be the same age of Sanballat, as is above objected, against this hypothesis. So that the making of the Sanballat, Neh. ii. and vi. and the Sanballat, Neh. xiii. to be two distinct persons, leaves us just where we were before; and the objection is not at all lessened by it, but is rather made the stronger, by bringing in the improbable age of Sanballat's son-in-law to be a further addition to it.

Thus far I have laid before your lordship the objections which, I conceive, do lie against your fixing the decree granted Nehemiah for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; and since you build your whole scheme on the supposition, that this was that year, I think it must be your business, in the first place, to make this good, and to clear it against all objections, that it must be the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus only, and not of any other Artaxerxes, that Nehemiah obtained this decree. Otherwise, you beg your principle, and, by thus failing in your foundation, can make nothing stand which you build upon it; for you begin your computation of the seventy weeks, from that year, for this reason wholly, because you suppose, that in that year the decree was granted. But, if that was not the year, in which this grant was made, but it was the twentieth year of another Artaxerxes, then you begin the computation wrong, and if so, you must end it wrong, and all must be wrong; that you do about it. And therefore, I must confess, I cannot but be amazed to find your lordship saying, that this is none of your business, and that it is foreign to the matter before you; for it seems to me, to be the principle on which all

depends, and, without the settling of which, every thing else which you do will be foreign, and nothing to the purpose.

However, I must acknowledge your lordship's scheme is preferable to all others that have been offered for the solution of this difficult matter. Scaliger's scheme hath not only the same objections against it, from the age Zerubbabel and Joshua must be of, on the second of Darius Nothus (from whence he begins his computation of the seventy weeks) that yours seems to have, from the age of Nehemiah and Sanballat, but also several others. For he doth not end the prophecy at the cutting off the Messias, but at the destruction of Jerusalem; neither doth he begin it from a decree or commandment to rebuild Jerusalem, but only from a decree to finish the rebuilding of the temple; and further, according to that scheme there will be a very unequal and unlikely distribution of the succession of the high-priest; for, from the ending of the Babylonish captivity to the death of Alexander, there were these six high-priests, succeeding in a direct line from father to son, Jeshua, Joiachim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua. And, if it were in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as Scaliger saith, that Nehemiah had the grant for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, Eliashib must at that time have been high-priest, for he is said to have been by Nehemiah, at the doing of that work; and, if we suppose him to have been high-priest from the beginning of that reign, that is, for twenty years, before (for he was so for several years after, as appears by the same book of Nehemiah) then, from the solution of the Babylonish captivity, to the first of Artaxerxes Mnemon, there would have been but two high-priests, i. e. Jeshua and Joiachim, for the space of one hundred and thirty-two years; and then, from thence, there must be four for the remaining term of eighty-one years, to the death of Alexander; at which time, according to Josephus, died Jaddua also. There is, I confess, no difficulty in a succession of four in eighty-one years; there are many instances of this every where; but that there should be but a succession of two, for one hundred and thirty-two years in the high-priest's office, which required the age of thirty, at the least, in the person to be admitted thereto, is not so probable, because, in this case, each must have been, at least, ninety-six years old at his death, and, probably, much more. For, it is much more likely, that Jeshua was above thirty years old at the solution of the Babylonish captivity; but, if he were no more, it is very unlikely, that, dying at the age of ninety, he should then have a son of no greater age than thirty to succeed him. I am the longer upon this, because it is a difficulty upon Scaliger's scheme, that I have not seen taken notice of by any other, and makes much for your lordship's scheme; for according to that, this difficulty is wholly removed, and the succession of the high-priests will fall very equal, and free from all exception. And, it is to be observed, that the years of their several high-priesthoods, as set down in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, do not only make a distribution of the successions, which is free from all such exception, but also do exactly agree with Scripture, according to your lordship's scheme; but cannot be so according to that of Scaliger. For that *Chronicon* makes Eliashib to die twenty-nine years before Scaliger's scheme brings Nehemiah to Jerusalem, but to have been nine years in the priesthood, at the time of his coming thither, according to your lordship's scheme; and I look on the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* to have given us the truest account of the years of each high-priest, in that succession of them, which I have mentioned, and to be the best clue whereby we may be safely led through the dark history which we have of the Jewish state in those times.

And, therefore, your lordship's scheme thus far looking fairer than any other that hath been offered, I could wish you would apply yourself to clear it of the difficulties above mentioned; for, were that done, it would stand for ever. And this prophecy of the time of the coming of the Messias would appear to be so thoroughly fulfilled, in the coming of our Saviour, and the argument for his being the person promised herein, would be made so clear and irrefragable, that it would be no longer capable of any contradiction, either from the Jews, or any

other adversaries of our holy Christian religion. And therefore I heartily wish your lordship would be pleased speedily to publish your scheme, and to take care to clear it from the difficulties above mentioned. If you would be pleased to give me leave to propose, what I am thoroughly persuaded is the truth of the matter, and what I think would fully solve the whole, I would offer it as followeth:

1st. That those passages, which name Jaddua in the book of Nehemiah, were all inserted after the book was written, by those who received it into the Jewish canon. most likely about the time of the high-priest Simon the Just, when that canon was fully finished. The whole that hath been said by others on this head, your lordship well knows, and, I doubt not, can say a great deal more upon it, fully to clear the thing, and make it thoroughly appear to be the truth, as I am fully persuaded it is; and, when this is cleared, all that is said in the first objection will be cleared also.

2d. As to the other difficulty, which is about the age of Sanballat, it all arising from the inconsistency, which is between the Scripture account, and Josephus's account of the time in which this man lived, if you give up the profane writer to the sacred, (as must always be done, where they cannot consist together) there is an end of this matter. And that Josephus, in his bringing down the time of Sanballat to the reign of Alexander the Great, was wholly out, is no hard matter to prove. For it is plain to me, he follows herein the tradition of his countrymen the Jews; whose account concerning the Persian monarchy is altogether false and absurd; for they make the whole continuance of it, from the first of Cyrus to the first of Alexander, to be no more than fifty-two years: that the Darius, in whom it ended, was the Darius whom we call Darius Hyaspes; that he was the son of Esther by Cambyses, whom they make to be the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther; that this Darius was called also Artaxerxes (which they will have to be the common name of the Persian kings, as Pharaoh was of the Egyptian,) and that it was in the twentieth year of his reign that Nehemiah rebuilt Jerusalem; and that, sixteen years after, was the end of that empire, and the beginning of the Macedonian. And, although Josephus, who had looked into the Greek historians, could not swallow all this absurd stuff, yet it seems plain to me, he came into so much of it, as was the cause of his error in this matter of Sanballat. For, although he doth not make Cambyses to be the Ahasuerus of Esther, but carries down that story to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, yet it is clear to me, he makes the Darius, that next succeeds, to be the Darius whom Alexander conquered; for he is the last he makes any mention of, in the succession of the Persian kings. After Artaxerxes Longimanus, he immediately names Darius, and, after him, none other. And according to this account, the Sanballat of the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and the Sanballat in the time of the last Darius, may, very consistently, be made the same man; for there will be, according to this reckoning, very few years between them. The truth of the matter I take to have been thus: the Sanballat who would have hindered the rebuilding of Jerusalem, was the same who is said, Neh. xiii. 28, to have been father-in-law to one of the sons of Joiada the high-priest; that Manasseh, who was the son-in-law, was the immediate son of Joiada, as the Scripture saith, and not the grandson, as Josephus saith; that this marriage was made, while Nehemiah, in the twelfth year of his government (which was the thirty-second of Artaxerxes) was gone into Persia to the king; and that, for this reason, on his return, he drove him away from officiating any longer in the temple; whereon he, retiring to Samaria, about five or six years after, obtained leave, by Sanballat's interest at the Persian court, to build the temple on mount Gerizim; which the Jewish chronology running into the time of Alexander, Josephus for that reason sets it down as done in the time of Alexander; and this, I verily believe, was the whole authority he had for it. And, that he should make such a mistake in those times, is no wonder, since there may be others observed in him, of the same times, altogether as gross, of which your lordship takes notice in your paper.

I beg your lordship's pardon, that I have transgressed so long upon your pa-

lence with this tedious paper. I humbly offer it to your consideration: and I am, my lord, your most dutiful humble servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

P. S. And, I beg leave further to observe to your lordship, that, whereas Josephus placeth the ceasing of the spirit of prophecy in the last year of that Artaxerxes, from whom, according to your lordship's scheme, Ezra and Nehemiah had their commission; all the Jewish writers do so too, telling us, that Ezra, Haggai, Zachary, and Malachi, all departed out of this life on that year; and that the spirit of prophecy departed with them. But they make that year to be the last of the Persian monarchy, and the very same in which Alexander came to Jerusalem, and Sanballat obtained that grant for a temple on mount Gerizim, which Josephus tells us of. And therefore it is plain to me, that Josephus, in bringing down this matter of Sanballat as low as the time of Alexander, followed the false chronology of his countrymen, the Jews, and not that true computation which your lordship reckons by.

TO FRANCIS GWYNN, ESQ. AT FORD ABBEY, NEAR CRUCKERN.

Sir, I have received the letter you honoured me with; and you should sooner have received an answer to it, had I been in a condition to give it; for I am so broken by age and infirmity, that I have few intervals of health to enable me to do any thing.

I have, indeed, often said, that there is wanting a good history of the East, from the time of Mahomet; and that there are sufficient materials to be had for it, from the writings of the Arabs, of which there is a great treasury at Oxford, especially since the addition of Dr. Pocock's MSS. But I could not say much of the Mamalucs, of whom I know no author that has written in particular; neither did they deserve that any should.

For they were a base sort of people; a Colluvies of slaves, the scum of all the East, who, having treacherously destroyed the¹ Jobidæ, their masters, reigned in their stead; and, bating that they finished the expulsion of the western Christians out of the East, (where they barbarously destroyed Tripoli, Antioch, and several other cities) they scarce did any thing worthy to be recorded in history. The beginning of their empire was, A. D. 1250, and it ended in the year 1517, which was the eighth year of the reign of our king Henry the Eighth; so that their empire, in Egypt, lasted two hundred and sixty-seven years, during which time they had a succession of above fifty reigns, in which the major part of their kings ascended the throne by the murder or deposition of their predecessors. So base and barbarous a people scarce deserve to be spoken of, and so quick a succession could not allow time enough for any of them to do any great matters. They gloried in having been slaves, and therefore called themselves by a name which expressed as much; for Mamaluc, in Arabic, signifies a slave; and, for the further expression hereof, it was an usage among them to take the names of all the masters they served, by way of addition to that which was properly their own.²

But what you mistook me to have said of the Mamalucs is true of the East in general; for there are many good histories of the affairs thereof, from the time of Mahomet, in the Abraham and Persian languages. And the many revolutions that happened there, from the time aforesaid, and the many considerable events which were produced in the effecting of them, afford sufficient materials for a very good history of those parts, which we here wholly want. For, from the time of Mahomet, there were four large empires erected in the East, in succession one of another, whose transactions deserve recording, as well as those of the Greeks or Romans.

The first of these empires was that of the Saracens, which in eighty years extended itself as largely as that of the Romans did in eight hundred; for it took

¹ See Dr. Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 164.

² See Margat. *Hist. of Tamarlane*, lib. viii. in princip.

in India, Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, Spain, and all the coast of Africa, westward, as far as the Atlantic Ocean. It began in the year 622, and, after having lasted under the caliphs of Bagdat three hundred and fourteen years, it expired all at once, in the year 936. For, in that year, all the governors of provinces conspiring together, each declared himself sovereign in his respective government, and left the caliph only Bagdat, with the narrow territories of that city, for his support; where he and his successors continued for several ages after as sacred persons, being, as it were, the popes of the Mahometan sect.

The empire of the Saracens being weakened by this division of its dominions, and having also suffered many convulsions from the mutual hostilities which the successors of them that divided it made upon each other, the *Seljukian Turks, from the northern parts of Tartary, taking the advantage thereof, A. D. 1037, made a terrible invasion upon it. One part of them, under the leading of Togrul-Beg (whom the western writers call Tangrolonix) seized on all that lies between the Indus and the Euphrates; and the other part of them passing farther, under the command of Koslumish, seized the Lesser Asia, and there founded the kingdom of Iconium, where his posterity, for several descents, till Aladin, the last of them, dying without issue, Othman, from being his mercenary, became his successor; and, in the year 1300, seized his kingdom, and thereon founded the Turkish empire that is now in being; of which Knowles hath given us a very good history. Togrul-Beg, having fixed his empire in Persia and Assyria, and the neighbouring countries, he and his descendants there reigned for several successions, till they were suppressed by Jingiz-Can, king of the ancient Moguls, who inhabited that part of Tartary which lies next to the wall of China.

For this mighty prince having begun his reign A. D. 1202, formed the largest empire that ever was in the world, for it contained all China and India, and extended westward, on the side of the north, through all Tartaria, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, as far as the Baltic, the Oder, and the Adriatic; and on the side of the south, as far as the Euphrates and the Euxine sea; which was more than double the extent of that of Alexander, or of that of the Romans. And, therefore, by reason of the largeness of it, whenever a general council was called, two years were allowed for their meeting, the remote distance of some of the provinces requiring that time for their coming together. This empire continued in the posterity of Jingiz-Can through twelve descents, till the death of Bahadur-Can, the last of them; when it had the same end with that of the Saracens. For, on the death of that prince, which happened in the year 1335, the governors of provinces, by a general conspiracy, usurped in each of them the sovereignty to themselves, and thereby extinguished this empire all at once; and, we may reasonably expect, that the empire of the Othmans will, some time or other, have the same fate. It hath been several times attempted by some of the bashaws; but it hath hitherto failed of success for want of the general concurrence of the rest. One Mr. Petis de la Croix† hath published, in French, the history of Jingiz-Can, with an account of his empire, and the succession of the kings of his race that governed it after him; in the compiling of which work, he tells us, he employed ten years; so that, it may be hoped, he hath gathered together all the materials that are proper for the same; but whether he has done so I cannot say, having never seen the book.

Thirty-three years after the extinction of this empire of the Moguls, there was raised out of its ruins another empire of the Moguls, who, to distinguish them from the other, are called the latter Moguls. The founder of this empire was the famous Tamerlane, by the western writers, who beginning his reign in the year 1368, continued in it thirty-six years, that is, till the year 1404, when he died; during which time he overrun all the eastern part of the world with prodigious success of victory; whereby he subjugated to him all Tartaria, China, India, Persia, and all else, westward, as far as the Archipelago. At his death,

* See Mr. Petis de la Croix Hist. Genghiscan, book ii. chap. 1.

† See Collier. Append. Genghiscan.

he divided his empire among his sons; the posterity of him that had India for his part of the legacy, still reign there, unless the many revolutions and convulsions of government, which have happened there since the death of Aurang Zeb, have by this time extinguished it. Of this race of the Mogul kings in India, one Signior Monuchi, a Venetian, who had been physician in the court of Aurang Zeb for near forty years, hath written a very good history: it is published in French and English; which is very well worth the perusal. He was lately alive at St. Thomas, a town of the Portuguese, within seven miles of our establishment of Fort St. George, in the coast of India.

The rise and fall of these four empires, and the several remarkable matters and facts transacted in them while they stood, cannot but afford a very fitting and plentiful subject for an excellent history; and there are sufficient materials for it in the writings of the East, were they carefully and judiciously put together. As to the authors of this sort, which are in the public library of Oxford, there is a full account given of them in the large catalogue of the MSS. of England, printed at Oxford, about twenty-five years since. Among these, are the two famous historians of the East,* Abul-Feda and Al Jannabius, which are now printing at Oxford, in Arabic and Latin, by Mr. Gagnier, a French gentleman, well skilled in this kind of learning. But, if my lord Pembroke (to whom my most humble duty) desires further to be informed of what the East can afford us of this nature, I beg leave to recommend to him Mr. Herbelot's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, a book written in French some years since; wherein he gives account of all the Eastern writers that fell within his knowledge, whether historical, philosophical, or of any other subject. Since that, another *Bibliotheca* of the Eastern writers hath been projected at Rome, which pretends to supply the defects of Herbelot, and give us an additional account of many other Eastern writers, more than are to be found in that author. It is designed to be in three volumes in folio, of which, the first volume, I hear, is already published.

As to Mr. Jones, whom my lord Pembroke makes mention of, I do not know the gentleman, neither have I ever heard of him. To make him adequate to it, requires a thorough skill in the Arabic language, which cannot, without long and sedulous application, be attained unto; and it adds to the difficulty, that most of the books, to be made use of in this matter, lie in manuscript, which cannot be easily come at, or easily read. For I know but of three Arabic historians, that are in print, †Elmacinus, Abul-Pharagius, and Eutychius; the first, published by Herpenius, and the other two by Dr. Pocock: but these are only jejune epitomes, containing no more than the bare bones of the Oriental history: the full substance of it, to make it a perfect body, is to be sought from other books.

The greatest difficulty, in compiling such an history, would be the reconciling the Arabic and Byzantine writers, who often give us accounts of matters, which are inconsistent with each other: and the same is to be said of the Latin writers that treat of the holy war, they often giving narratives of it, quite different from the Arabic; for both sides frequently choose to gratify their hatred and bitter aversion against each other, by reason of their different religions, rather than give us the naked truth of the facts they write of. The Arabic writers, it must be confessed, are more exact in their chronology than the Byzantine, and, in some other particulars, seem to be more impartial, and to come nearer to the truth than the other.

In order to understand the Oriental history, and the writers of it, from the time of Mahomet, a new Oriental geography is necessary; for the names of the countries and cities in the East, which the Romans and Greeks called them by, are now altogether unknown in the East. Abul-Feda is as famous for his geography as for his history: were that printed with a good version, it would answer the matter: this has been several times attempted, but hitherto without success.

About one hundred and fifty years after Mahomet, the Saracens, from the Greek

* See Dr. Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*.—His Account of Authors, 4to. Edit. p. 153, 160.—Churchill's *Collect. of Voyages*, vol. i. Introduction: ixix.

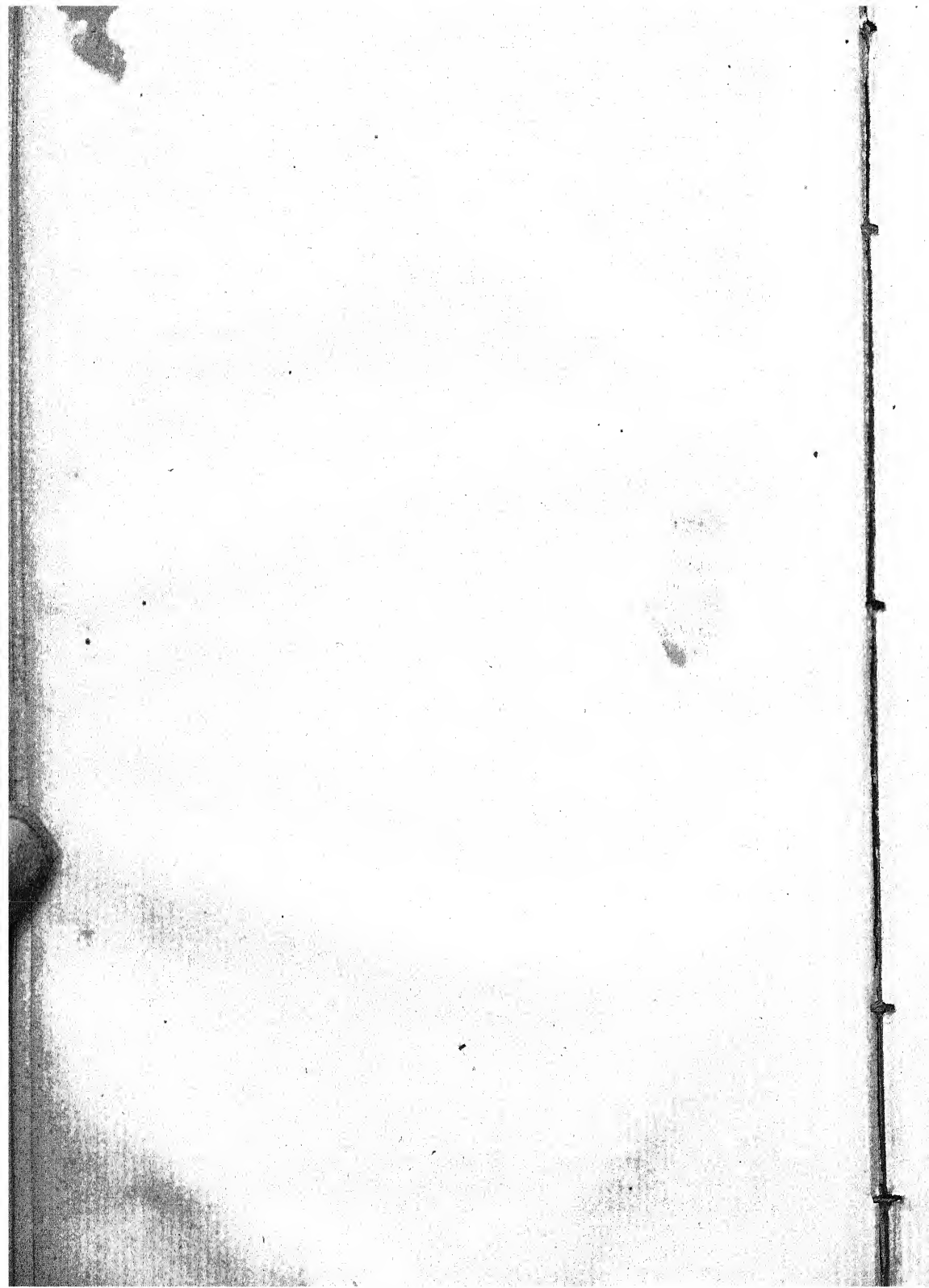
† See the *Life of Mahomet*, ubi supra, p. 153, 164, 165. Seld. Tom. II. p. 410.—Gen. Pref. xvi.—vol. i. p. 603, 1702, 1703, 1884.—ibid. 1356, 1703, 1866.

books (which, in their several inroads upon the Grecian empire, they had plundered out of the Grecian libraries) having the learning of the Greeks among them, and it having flourished there for four hundred years after the Arabic writers, are, from that time, as full of their accounts of their famous scholars, as they are of their famous warriors, and equally record what is remarkable of both. If the history of the East, here proposed to be made, should follow the same method, and equally give us an account of the progress of their learning, as well as of their arms, it would render the work the more acceptable to the learned world.

Thus far have I endeavoured to answer your letter, as well as my shattered head would give me leave to dictate it. It will very much please me, if it prove to your satisfaction; for I am Sir your most faithful humble servant,

H. PRIDEAUX

Norwich, Feb. 5, 1721-2.



PREFACE.

THE calamitous distemper of the stone, and the unfortunate management I fell under, after being cut for it, having driven me out of the pulpit, in wholly disabling me for that duty of my profession, that I might not be altogether useless, I undertook this work, hoping, that the clearing of the sacred history by the profane, the connecting of the Old Testament with the New, by an account of the times intervening, and the explaining of the prophecies that were fulfilled in them, might be of great use to many. What is now published is only the first part of my design. If God gives life, the other will soon after follow; but if it should please him, who is the disposer of all things, that it happen otherwise yet this History, being brought down to the times when the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures were finished, it may of itself be reckoned a complete work: for it may serve as an epilogue to the Old Testament, in the same manner as what after is to follow will be a prologue to the New.

Chronology and geography being necessary helps to history, and good chronological tables being most useful for the one, as good maps are for the other; I have taken full care of the former, not only by adding such tables in the conclusion of the work as may answer this end, but also by digesting the whole into the form of annals under the years before Christ, and the years of the kings that reigned over Judea; both which are added at the beginning of every year in which the actions happened that are related. And as to the latter, since Dr. Wells Cellarius, and Reland, have sufficiently provided for it, both by good maps of the countries this History relates to, and also by accurate descriptions of them, I need do no more than refer the reader to what they have already done in this matter. What Dr. Wells hath done herein, being written in English, will best serve the English reader, but they that are also skilled in the Latin tongue may moreover consult the other two.

In the annals, I have made use of no other era but that of the years before Christ, reckoning it backward from the vulgar era of Christ's incarnation, and not from the true time of it. For learned men are not all agreed in the fixing of the true time of Christ's incarnation, some placing it two years, and some four years before the vulgar era. But where the vulgar era begins, all know that use it; and therefore, the reckoning of the years before Christ backward from thence, makes it a fixed and certain era. The difference that is between the true year of our Saviour's incarnation, and that of the vulgar era of it, proceeded from hence, that it was not till the five hundred and twenty-seventh year of that era that it was first brought into use. Dionysius Exiguus,* a Scythian by birth, and then a Roman abbot, was the first author of it; and Beda our countryman, taking it from him, used it in all his writings; and the recommendation which he gave it thereby, hath made it of common use among Christians ever since, especially in these western parts. Had all Christians calculated their true time by it from the beginning of the church of Christ (as it could be wished they had,) there could then have been no mistake in it. But it being five hundred and twenty-seven years after Christ's incarnation before this era of it was ever used, no wonder, that, after so great a distance of time, a mistake was made in the fixing of the first year of it.

The era from the creation of the world is of very common use in chronology; but this I have rejected, because of the uncertainty of it, most chronologers following different opinions herein, some reckoning the time of the creation sooner, and some later, and scarce any two agreeing in the same year for it.

The Julian period is indeed a certain measure of time, but it certainly depends

* See Scaliger, Calvisius, and other chronologers, in those parts of their works where they write of the vulgar era of Christ. And see also Du Pin's History of Ecclesiastical Writers, cent. 6. p. 42. and Dr. Cave's *Historical Literaria*, p. 405.

upon a reckoning backward in the same manner as that of the era before Christ. For it being a period of seven thousand nine hundred and eighty Julian years, made out of the three cycles of the sun, moon, and indiction, multiplied into each other; and the first year of it being that in which all these three cycles of the sun begin together, this first year can be no otherwise fixed, than by computing backward from the present numbers of those cycles through all the different combinations of them, till we come to that year, in which the first year of every one of them meet together; which carries up the reckoning several hundred years before the creation, and fixeth the beginning of the period in an imaginary point of time before time was. And therefore, although from that beginning it computes downward, yet the whole of its certainty is by a backward reckoning from the present years of those cycles; for, according as they are, all must be reckoned upward even to the beginning of the period. So that, although in appearance it reckons downward, yet in reality it is only a backward computation to tell us how many years since any thing was done from the present year. For in the numbers of the three cycles of the present year, it hath a real and fixed foundation for an upward reckoning; and so in any other year, in which the said numbers are known; whereas it hath none at all for a downward reckoning, but what is in the imagination only. And therefore, this being the true and real use of the Julian period, the era before Christ for the times I treat of, serves all the purposes of chronology altogether as well, if not much better. For, adding the years before Christ to those since Christ, according to the vulgar era, it immediately tells us how many years since any action before the time of Christ was done, and the Julian period can do no more; and indeed it cannot do thus much but by reduction, whereas it is done the other way directly, immediately, and at first sight. However, in the tables, I have put the Julian period, and have reduced to it not only the years before Christ, but also the years of the princes reigning in Judea and the neighbouring countries, and all things else that are treated of in this History; and hereby the synchronisms, or coincident times and transactions of other nations may easily be known.

The year I compute by in the annals is the Julian year, which begins from the 1st of January; and to this I reduce all the actions I treat of, though they were originally reckoned by other forms. The Greeks,* before the time of Meto, began their year from the winter solstice, and after from that of the summer. The Egyptians, Chaldeans, and ancient Persians, reckoned the 1st of the month Thoth to be always the first day of their year, which consisting of three hundred and sixty-five days, without a leap year,† it began every fourth year one day sooner than it did before; and so, in the space of one thousand four hundred and sixty years, its beginning was carried backward through the whole solar year. The Syrians and the Phœnicians began their year from the autumnal equinox; and so did also the Hebrews, till their coming up out of the land of Egypt. But that happening in the month of Nisan, in commemoration of this deliverance, they afterward began their year from the beginning of that month,‡ which usually happened about the time of the vernal equinox: and this form they ever after made use of in the calculating of the times of their fasts and festivals, and all other ecclesiastical times and concerns; but in all civil matters, as contracts, obligations, and such other affairs, which were of a secular nature, they still made use of the old form, and began their year as formerly, from the 1st of Tisri, which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox: and from hence they began all their jubilees and sabbatical years,§ and all their other computations of civil matters, as they still do the years of the creation of the world, and the years of their era of contracts; which are the only epochas they now compute past times by. An-

* Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, aliosque cæronologos, in eis locis ubi de anno Græcorum agunt.

† So it was in the time of the last Darius: but afterward the Persians compensated for the loss of the leap year, by adding an intercalary month of thirty days every thirteenth year.

‡ Exod. xii. 2.

§ Levit. xxv. 9, 10.

ciently the form of the year which they made use of was wholly inartificial;* for it was not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but was made up of lunar months set out by the phasis or appearance of the moon. When they saw the new moon, then they began their months, which sometimes consisted of twenty-nine days; and sometimes of thirty, according as the new moon did sooner or later appear. The reason of this was, because the synodical course of the moon (that is, from new moon to new moon) being twenty-nine days and a half, the half day, which a month of twenty-nine days fell short of, was made up by adding it to the next month, which made it consist of thirty days; so that their months consisted of twenty-nine and thirty days alternatively. None of them had fewer than twenty-nine days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon before the night following the twenty-ninth day; and, if they then saw it, the next day was the first day of the following month. Neither had any of their months more than thirty days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon after the night following the thirtieth day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded, that the appearance was obstructed by the clouds, and made the next day the first of the following month, without expecting any longer; and of twelve of these months their common year consisted. But twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, every one of those common years began eleven days sooner than the former; which, in thirty-three years' time, would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four seasons to the same point again, and get a whole year from the solar reckoning (as is now done in Turkey, where this sort of year is in use;) for the remedying of which, their usage was sometimes in the third year, and sometimes in the second, to cast in another month, and make their year then consist of thirteen months; whereby they constantly reduced their lunar year, as far as such an intercalation could effect it, to that of the sun, and never suffered the one, for any more than a month, at any time to vary from the other. And this they were forced to do for the sake of their festivals: for their feast of the Passover (the first day of which was always fixed to the middle of their month Nisan†) being to be celebrated by their eating the paschal lamb, and the offering up of the wave-sheaf, as the first-fruits of their barley harvest; and their feast of Pentecost, which was kept the fiftieth day after the 16th of Nisan‡ (which was the day in which the wave-sheaf was offered,) being to be celebrated by the offering of the two wave-loaves, as the first-fruits of their wheat harvest;§ and their feast of Tabernacles, which was always began on the 15th of Tisri,|| being fixed to the time of their ingathering of all the fruits of the earth:¶ the Passover could not be observed, till the lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the barley fit to be reaped; nor the Pentecost, till the wheat was ripe; nor the feast of Tabernacles, till the ingatherings of the vineyard and oliveyard were over: and therefore, these festivals being fixed to these set seasons of the year, the making of the intercalation above mentioned was necessary, for the keeping them within a month sooner or later always to them. Their rule for the doing of this was,** whenever, according to the course of the common year, the fifteenth day of Nisan (which was the first day of unleavened bread, and the first day of their paschal solemnity) happened to fall before the day of their vernal equinox, then they intercalated a month, and the paschal solemnity was thereby carried on a month farther into the year, and all the other festivals with it; for, according as the paschal festival was fixed, so were all the rest; that is, the Pentecost fifty days after the second day of the paschal feast (i. e. the 16th of Nisan,) on which the wave-

* Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hashshanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Selden de Anno Civili Veterum Judaeorum.

† Exod. xii. 3—20. Levit. xxiii. 4—8. Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.

‡ Levit. xxiii. 15—17. Dent. xvi. 9.

§ Here it is to be observed, that in Judea the barley harvest was before the wheat harvest, and so it was in Egypt, for the barley was in the ear when the wheat and rye were not grown up. Exod. ix. 31, 32.

¶ Levit. xxiii. 34, 39.

¶ Ibid. xxiii. 39.

** Talmud in Rosh Hashshanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Selden de Anno Civili Veterum Judaeorum.

sheaf was offered; and the feast of Tabernacles six months after the beginning of the said paschal feast. For as the first day of the paschal feast was the 15th of Nisan (the 14th, on the evening of which the solemnity began in the slaying of the paschal lambs, being but the eve of the Passover,) so the first day of the feast of Tabernacles was on the 15th of Tisri, just six months after. To make this the more clear, let it be observed that the Hebrew months were as followeth:—1. Nisan; 2. Iyar; 3. Sivan; 4. Tamuz; 5. Ab; 6. Elul; 7. Tisri; 8. Marchesvan; 9. Cisleu; 10. Tebeth; 11. Shebat; 12. Adar. And these twelve made their common year: but in their intercalated years there was another month added after Adar, which they called Veadar, or the second Adar; and then their year consisted of thirteen months. Supposing, therefore, their vernal equinox should have been on the 10th of March (whereabout now it is,) and that the 15th of Nisan, the first day of their Passover, should, in the common course of their year, happen to fall on the 9th of March, the day before the equinox; then, on their foreseeing of this, they intercalated a month, and after their Adar added their Veadar, which sometimes consisted of twenty-nine days, and sometimes of thirty, according as it happened; at present we will suppose it to be of thirty days, and then the 1st of Nisan, which is to begin this year, instead of being on the 23d of February (as otherwise it would,) must be carried on thirty days forward to the 25th of March, and their Passover to the 8th of April following. But the next year after beginning eleven days sooner, for the reason I have mentioned, the 1st of Nisan must then have happened on the 14th of March, and the first day of the Passover on the 28th of the same month; and, the next year after that, the 1st of Nisan must, for the same reason, have happened on the 3d of March, and the first day of the Passover on the 17th of March; and, the next year after that, according to this calculation, the 1st of Nisan would have happened on the 20th of February, and the first day of the Passover on the 6th of March following. But this being before the equinox, another intercalation of the month Veadar must have been made. And so after the same manner it went through all other years; whereby it came to pass, that the 1st of Nisan, which was the beginning of their year, always was within fifteen days before, or fifteen days after the vernal equinox, that is, within the compass of thirty days in the whole, sooner or later; and, according as that was fixed, so were fixed also the beginnings of all their other months, and all the fasts and feasts observed in them. But this artificial way of forming their months and years was in use among them only while they lived in their own land, and there might easily receive notice of what was ordained in this matter by those who had the care and ordering of it: for when they became dispersed through all nations, they were forced to make use of cycles and astronomical calculations, for the fixing of their new moons and intercalations, and the times of their feasts, fasts, and other observances, that so they might be every way uniform herein. The first cycle they made use of for this purpose was that of eighty-four years:* by this they fixed their paschal feast, and by that their whole year besides; and the use hereof the primitive Christians borrowed from them, and, for some of the first centuries, fixed their Easter in every year according to it; but this, after some time, being found to be faulty, Meto's cycle of nineteen years† was, after the council of Nice, brought into use by them for this purpose instead of the other; and the Jews, following the example herein, almost about the same time came into the same usage also: and upon this cycle is founded the present form of their year. The first who began to work it into this shape was Rabbi Samuel,‡ rector of the Jewish school at Sora, in Mesopotamia: Rabbi Adda, who was a

* Vide Bucherium de antiquo Paschali Judæorum Cyclo.

† Epistola Ambrosii 83. ad episcopos per Æmiliam constitutos. It was by the council of Nice referred to the church of Alexandria, every year to fix the time of Easter, and they did it by Meto's cycle of nineteen years.

‡ Juchasin, Shelsheleth Haccabala; et Zemach David, et ex iisdem Morinus in exercitat. prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum, cap. 3.

great astronomer, pursued his scheme; and after him Rabbi Hillel, about the year of our Lord 360, brought it to that perfection in which it now is; and being nasi, or prince of the Sanhedrin, he gave it the authority of his sanction, and by virtue thereof it hath ever since been observed by them, and they say always is to be observed to the coming of the Messiah. According to this form* there are, within the compass of the said nineteen years' cycle, seven intercalated years, consisting of thirteen months, and twelve common years consisting of twelve months. The intercalated years are the third, the sixth, the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, the seventeenth, and the nineteenth of that cycle; and when one round of this cycle is over, they begin another; and so constantly, according to it, fix their new moons (at which all their months begin,) and all their fasts and feasts in every year. And this form of their year, it must be acknowledged, is very exactly and astronomically contrived, and may truly be reckoned the greatest piece of art and ingenuity that is to be found among that people. They who would thoroughly understand it, may read Maimonides' tract Kiddush Hachodesh, which hath been published in a very good Latin translation by Lewis de Veil, under the title *De Consecratione Calendarum*, where they will find it very exactly and perspicuously described.

These having been the forms of the Jewish year, that is, the inartificial form used by the ancients in the land of Canaan, and the artificial and astronomical form now in use among the moderns throughout all their dispersions; according to neither of them can the days of the Jewish months be fixed to any certain days of the months in the Julian year; for, in both of them, the months being lunar, and the intercalations made of one whole lunar month at once, the days of those months, to the full extent of one full lunar month, fell sometimes sooner, and sometimes later, in the solar form. Since the Jewish calendar hath been fixed by Rabbi Hillel, upon the certain foundations of astronomy, tables may indeed be made, which may point out to what day in that calendar every day in the Julian year shall answer: but this cannot be done for the time before; because, while they went inartificially to work in this matter, by the phasis and appearance of the moon, both for the beginning of their months and years, and the making of their intercalations, they did not always do it exactly, but often varied from the astronomical truth herein. And this latter having been their way through all the times of which this history treats, we cannot, when we find the day of any Jewish month mentioned either in the scriptures, or in Josephus, reduce it exactly to its time in the Julian year, or there fix it any nearer, than within the compass of a month sooner or later. Kepler indeed holds, that the Jewish year was a solar year, consisting of twelve months, of thirty days each, and an addition of five days after the last of them; and our countrymen, Archbishop Usher and Mr. Lydiat, two of the most eminent chronologers that any age hath produced, go into the same opinion. Such a year, I acknowledge, was in use among the Chaldeans, from whom Abraham was descended; and also among the Egyptians, with whom the Israelites long lived: and I doubt not, but that, before their coming out of the land of Egypt, they also reckoned their time by the same form. For the time of the flood is manifestly computed by it in the book of Genesis,† one hundred and fifty days being there made equal to five months, which proves those months to have been thirty-day months. But that the Israelites made use of this sort of year, after their coming out of Egypt, can never be made consistent with the Mosaical law. According to that, their year must be made up of months purely lunar; and could no otherwise, than by an intercalary month, be reduced to the solar form: and there being a necessity of making this intercalation for the keeping of their festivals to their proper seasons, by this means it comes to pass, that the beginnings of their months cannot be fixed to any certain day in the Julian calendar, but they fell always within the compass of thirty days sooner or later therein. That the thing may appear the

* Talmud in Rosh Hashshanah, Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh, et Seldenus de Anno Civili Veterum Judeorum.

† Chap. vii. 11, compared with chap. viii. 3, 4.

clearer to the reader, I shall express it in this following scheme, wherein the first column gives the names of the Jewish months, and the second of the Julian months, within the compass of which the said Jewish months set over against them have always sooner or later their beginning and ending; and this is the nearest view that can be given of the correspondence of the one with the other

1 Nisan . . . { <i>March</i> <i>April</i>	5 Ab { <i>July</i> <i>August</i>	9 Cisleu . . . { <i>November</i> <i>December</i>
2 Iyar . . . { <i>April</i> <i>May</i>	6 Elul { <i>August</i> <i>September</i>	10 Tebeth . . . { <i>December</i> <i>January</i>
3 Sivan . . . { <i>May</i> <i>June</i>	7 Tisri { <i>September</i> <i>October</i>	11 Shebat . . . { <i>January</i> <i>February</i>
4 Tamuz . . { <i>June</i> <i>July</i>	8 Marchesvan { <i>October</i> <i>November</i>	12 Adar { <i>February</i> <i>March</i>

The thirteenth month, called Veadar, or the second Adar, answered most the end of our March, it being then only intercalated, or cast in when the beginning of Nisan would otherwise be carried back into the end of February.

I have, in the series of this History, taken no notice either of the jubilees or the sabbatical years of the Jews, both because of the uselessness, and also of the uncertainty of them. They are useless because they help not to the explaining of any thing, either in the holy scriptures, or the histories of the times which I treat of; and they are uncertain, because it doth not appear when or how they were observed. It is acknowledged by most learned men, that the jubilees were no more regarded after the Babylonish captivity; and it is manifest from scripture, that the sabbatical years were wholly neglected for many ages before it. For the desolation, which happened to the country of Judea, under that captivity, is said, in the second book of Chronicles (chap. xxxvi. 21.) to have been brought upon it for this very reason, that the land might enjoy its sabbaths, that is, those sabbatical years of rest which the Jews, in neglecting the law of God concerning this matter, had deprived it of; and therefore, if we reckon to this desolation only the fifty-two years that were from the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, to the end of the Babylonish captivity (in which the land was wholly desolated,) this will prove the observing of those sabbatical years to have been neglected for three hundred and sixty-four years before that captivity. But, if we add hereto the other eighteen years of that captivity, in which it was only in part desolated, and take in the whole seventy years of it into this reckoning, it will then carry up the time of this neglect much higher, even to four hundred and ninety years before that captivity: and, as to the jubilees, there is no mention made of them any where through the whole Scriptures, saving only in that law where they are enjoined; neither is there of their sabbatical years, saving only in the same law, and the place in the Chronicles above mentioned. There are, indeed, two other places of scripture which some understand concerning them; that is, 2 Kings xix. 29. and Jeremiah xxxiv. 8—10. But both these passages do better admit of other interpretations: for what is said in the former of these, seems rather to refer to the desolations of the war, and the interruption of agriculture through the violences and calamity of it, than to a sabbatical year; and so Grotius and other learned men understand it. And what is said in the other by Jeremiah, about the release of servants, doth not infer a sabbatical year, nor a jubilee neither: for every Hebrew servant was to be released in the seventh year of his servitude,* though it were neither a jubilee nor a sabbatical year; and therefore this instance infers neither of them: and those who undertake to interpret the law which enjoins these jubilees and sabbatical years, very much differ concerning them, both as to the time and manner of their observance. Some will have the reckoning, both of the sabbatical years and the jubilees, to commence from the first entering of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, and therefore place the first sabbatical year in the seventh year after that entrance, and the first jubilee also according hereto; but others say, that the land was seven years in conquering and dividing, and that the eighth year was the first in which the

* Exod. xxi. 2.

Israelites began to sow and reap in it; and that therefore the fourteenth year was the first sabbatical year: and, according to this reckoning, they put the first sabbatical year, and the first jubilee, seven years later than the former, and so the numbers of all the rest that follow. And then, as to the time of the jubilee, there is this dispute, whether it be the same with the seventh sabbatical year, or the next year after. The reason of this dispute is, because if it be on the year after the seventh sabbatical year, then there will be two sabbatical years together (for the year of jubilee was also a sabbatical year,*) and in this case there would be the loss of two crops together; and then it will be asked, how could the people be supported? And they who, notwithstanding this objection, determine for the year next after the seventh sabbatical year to have been the year of jubilee, though they have the scripture† on their side in this particular, yet are not agreed where to begin the next week of years (or shemittah, as the Jews call it) after that seventh sabbatical year; that is, whether the year of jubilee, or the next year after it, was to be the first year of that week, or shemittah. If the jubilee year were the first year of that week, then there would have been but five years for them to sow and reap in between the jubilee (which was also a sabbatical year) and the next sabbatical year after; whereas the scripture saith they were to have six.‡ And if the first year of the next shemittah were the next year after the jubilee, then the shemittahs would not always succeed in an exact series immediately one after the other; but after the seventh shemittah, the year of jubilee would intervene between that and the next: which disagreeeth with the opinion of many. However, it is, indeed, the truth of the matter, and I know no objection against it, but that it exposeth the error of those, who, thinking that the sabbatical year did always happen each exactly on the seventh year after the former, have in that order and series placed them in their chronological computations, without considering, that after every forty-ninth year a jubilee year did intervene between the shemittah that then ended, and the beginning of the next that followed. But they act most out of the way in this matter, who would confine Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks to so many shemittahs, as if these seventy weeks fell in exactly with seventy shemittahs, that is, that the first week began with the first year of a shemittah or sabbatical week, and ended with a sabbatical year, which was the last of a shemittah; and so all the rest down to the last of the whole number: and to this end some have perplexed themselves in vain to find out sabbatical years to suit their hypothesis, and fix them to times to which they never did belong; whereas the prophecy means no more than by the seventy weeks to express seventy times seven years, that is, four hundred and ninety in the whole, without any relation had either to shemittahs or sabbatical years. And were it otherwise, the seventy weeks of Daniel, besides the seventy shemittahs, must have contained nine years more for the nine jubilees, which must have happened within the compass of the said seventy shemittahs, and thereby make the whole number of those weeks to be four hundred and ninety-nine years; which no one, that I know of, hath ever yet said. And therefore, since there is nothing certain to be known concerning these sabbatical years and jubilees of the Jews, as to their ancient observance of them, and consequently there can be no use made of them, for the explication either of scripture or history, I have not troubled the reader with them in the body of this History; and I wish I have not troubled him too far in saying so much of them here in the Preface.

In the series of this History, having often endeavoured to reduce the sums of money mentioned therein to the value they would bear with us in this present age, whether gold or silver, I think it requisite to lay down the rules whereby I make this reduction. It is to be observed, therefore, in order hereto, that, among the ancients, the way of reckoning their money was by talents. So the Hebrews, so the Babylonians, so the Greeks, and so the Romans did reckon: and of these talents they had subdivisions, which were usually into minas and drachms.

* Levit. xxv. 11.

† Ibid. xxv. 10

‡ Ibid. xxv. 3.

i. e. of their talents into minas, and of their minas into drachms. The Hebrews had, besides these, their shekels and half shekels, or bekas, and the Romans their denarii; which last were very near of the same value with the drachms of the Greeks. What was the value of a Hebrew talent appears from Exodus xxxviii. 25, 26; for there six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons being taxed at half a shekel a head, they must have paid in the whole three hundred and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels; and that sum is there said to amount to one hundred talents, and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels over: if, therefore, you deduct the one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels from the number three hundred and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and divide the remaining sum, i. e. three hundred thousand by one hundred, this will prove each of those talents to contain three thousand shekels. Each of these shekels weighed about three shillings of our money, and sixty of them, Ezekiel tells us,* made a mina, and therefore fifty of those minas made a talent. And as to their drachms, it appears, by the Gospel of St. Matthew, that it was the fourth part of a shekel, that is, nine pence of our money; for there (chap. xvii. 24.) the tribute money annually paid to the temple by every Jew (which was half a shekel†) is called Διδραχμῶν (i. e. the two drachm piece;) and, therefore, if half a shekel contained two drachms, a drachm must have been the quarter part of a shekel, and every shekel must have contained four of them: and so Josephus tells us it did; for he saith;‡ that a shekel contained four Attic drachms: which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the valuation in the currency of common payments: for, according to the weight, the heaviest Attic drachms did not exceed eight pence farthing half-farthing of our money, and a Hebrew drachm, as I have said, was nine pence; but what the Attic drachm fell short of the Hebrew in weight might be made up in the fineness, and its ready currency in all countries (which last the Hebrew drachm could not have,) and so might be made equivalent in common estimation among the Jews. Allowing, therefore, a drachm, as well Attic as Jewish, as valued in Judea, to be equivalent to nine pence of our money, a beka, or half shekel, will be equal to one shilling and sixpence, a shekel three shillings, a mina nine pounds, and a talent four hundred and fifty pounds. So was it in the time of Moses and Ezekiel, and so was it the same, in the time of Josephus, among that people; for he tells us,§ that a Hebrew mina contained two litras and a half, which comes exactly to nine pounds of our money; for a litra, being the same with a Roman libra, contained twelve ounces Troy weight, that is, ninety-six drachms, and therefore two litras and a half must contain two hundred and forty drachms, which being estimated at nine pence a drachm, according to the Jewish valuation, comes exactly to sixty shekels, or nine pounds of our money. And this account exactly agrees with that of Alexandria; for the Alexandrian talent contained twelve thousand Attic drachms,|| and twelve thousand Attic drachms, according to the Jewish valuation, being twelve thousand of our nine-pences, they amount to four hundred and fifty pounds of sterling money, which is the same value with the Mosaic talent. But here it is to be observed, that, though the Alexandrian talent amounted to twelve thousand Attic drachms, yet they themselves reckoned it but at six thousand drachms, because every Alexandrian drachm contained two Attic drachms;¶ and, therefore, the Septuagint version being made by the Alexandrian Jews, they there render the Hebrew word shekel by the Greek Διδραχμῶν, which signifieth two drachms; because two Alexandrian drachms make a shekel, two of them amounting to as much as four Attic drachms; and, therefore, computing the Alexandrian money according to the same method in which we have computed the Jewish, it will be as followeth: one drachm of Alexandria will be of our money eighteen pence; one didrachm, or shekel, consisting of two

* Chap. xlv. 12.

† Talmud in Shekalim.

‡ Antiq. lib. 3. c. 9.

§ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12.

|| Festus Pompeius. Dionysius Halicarnassensis etiam dicit, talentum Alexandrinum continere 125 libras Romanas: libris autem Romanis 125 continent drachmas Atticas 12,000.

¶ Varro estimat drachmas Alexandrinas duplo superasse Atticasve Tyriasve.

drachms of Alexandria, or four of Attica, will be three shillings; one mina, consisting of sixty didrachms, or shekels, will be nine pounds; and one talent, consisting of fifty minas, will be four hundred and fifty pounds, which is the talent of Moses,* and so also it is the talent of Josephus;† for he tells us, that a Hebrew talent contained one hundred Greek (*i. e.* Attic) minas; for those fifty minas, which here make an Alexandrian talent, would be one hundred Attic minas in the like method of valuation, the Alexandrian talent containing double as much as the Attic talent, both in the whole, and also in all its parts, in whatsoever method both shall be equally distributed. Among the Greeks, the established rule was,‡ that one hundred drachms made a mina, and sixty minas a talent; but, in some different states, their drachms being different, accordingly their minas and talents were, within the same proportion different also. But the money of Attica was the standard by which all the rest were valued, according as they more or less differed from it; and, therefore, it being of most note, wherever any Greek historian speaks of talents, minas, or drachms, if they be simply mentioned, it is always to be understood of talents, minas, or drachms, of Attica, and never of the talents, minas, or drachms, of any other place, unless it be expressed. Mr. Brerewood, going by the goldsmiths' weights,§ reckons an Attic drachm to be the same with a drachm now in use in their shops, that is, the eighth part of an ounce; and therefore lays it at the value of seven pence halfpenny of our money, or the eighth part of a crown, which is, or ought to be, an ounce weight. But Dr. Bernard, going more accurately to work,|| lays the middle sort of Attic drachms at eight pence farthing of our money, and the minas or talents accordingly in the proportions above mentioned. The Babylonian talent, according to Pollux,¶ contained seven thousand of those drachms. The Roman talent contained seventy-two Italic minas,** which were the same with the Roman libras; and ninety-six Roman denarius's, each being of the value of seven pence halfpenny of our money, made a Roman libra. But all the valuations I have hitherto mentioned must be understood only of silver money, and not of gold, for that was much higher. The proportion of gold to silver was among the ancients most commonly as ten to one: sometimes it was raised to be as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve, and sometimes as thirteen to one. In the time of King Edward I. it was here in England at the value of ten to one; but it is now gotten as sixteen to one, and so I value it in all the reductions which I make in this History of ancient sums to the present value. But, to make the whole of this matter the easier to the reader, I will lay all of it before him, for his clear view, in the following table of valuations:—

<i>Hebrew Money.</i>		£	s.	d.
A Hebrew drachm		0	0	9
Two drachms made a beka, or half shekel, which was the tribute money paid by every Jew to the temple		0	1	6
Two bekas made a shekel		0	2	0
Sixty shekels made a mina		9	0	0
Fifty minas made a talent		450	0	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one		7200	0	0

<i>Attic Money, according to Mr. Brerewood.</i>		£	s.	d.
An Attic drachm		0	0	7½
A hundred drachms made a mina		3	2	6
Sixty minas made a talent		187	10	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one		3000	0	0

<i>Attic Money according to Dr. Bernard.</i>		£	s.	d.
An Attic drachm		0	0	8½
A hundred drachms made a mina		3	8	9
Sixty minas made a talent		206	5	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one		3300	0	0

<i>Babylonish Money, according to Mr. Brerewood.</i>		£	s.	d.
A Babylonish talent of silver, containing seven thousand Attic drachms		218	15	0
A Babylonish talent in gold, sixteen to one		3500	0	0

* Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.

† Antiq. lib. 3. c. 7.

§ In libro de Ponderibus et Pretiis Veterum Nummorum.

¶ Lib. 10. c. 6. p. 437.

† Julii Pollucis Onomasticon, lib. 10. c. 6.

** Festus Pompeius.

<i>Babylonish Money, according to Dr. Bernard.</i>		£	s.	d.
A Babylonish talent in silver			240	12 6
A Babylonish talent in gold, sixteen to one			3859	6 0

Alexandrian Money.

A drachm of Alexandria, containing two Attic drachms, as valued by the Jews		0	1	6
A didrachm of Alexandria, containing two Alexandrian drachms, which was a Hebrew shekel		0	3	0
Sixty didrachms, or Hebrew shekels, made a mina		9	0	0
Fifty minas made a talent		450	0	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one		7200	0	0

Roman Money.

Four sestercius's made a Roman denarius		0	0	74
Ninety-six Roman denarius's made an Italic mina, which was the same with a Roman libra		3	0	0
Seventy-two Roman libras made a talent		216	0	0

If any desire a fuller account of the money of the ancients, he may read Mr. Brerewood *De Ponderibus et Pretiis Veterum Nummorum*; Bishop Cumberland of the Jewish Measures, Weights, and Monies; Dr. Bernard *De Mensuris et Ponderibus Antiquis*; and others that have written of this argument. It sufficeth for my present purpose, that I here insert so much as may serve for a key to those passages in the ensuing History, where any sum of money, or any quantity of gold or silver, is mentioned.

So little mention having been made of Zoroaster by the western writers, whether Greek or Latin, the reader may perchance be surprised to find so much said of him in this History, and the time placed so much later than is vulgarly reckoned. But, how sparingly soever the Greeks or Latins may have been in speaking of him, what hath been wanting in them hath been sufficiently supplied by the Persians and Arabs, who have given us large accounts of him, and have placed his time where truly it was, that is, in the time of Darius Hystaspis, king of Persia. Whatsoever we find written of him by the Arabs is taken from the Persians; for it was not till after the time of Mahomet that the Arabs had any literature among them; but the Persians had it long before; for we find in scripture,* that the Persians had books and registers, in which all the actions of their kings, and the histories of their reigns, were carefully recorded; and Ctesias tells us the same,† and that it was out of those books and registers that he extracted his history, which he wrote of the Assyrian and Persian affairs in twenty-three books;‡ and Persia being the country which was the scene of all Zoroastre's doings, there it is that we may most likely expect the best account of him. And since he was there the founder and greater patriarch of the religion which was received and reigned in that country, from the time of Darius Hystaspis, to the death of Yazdegerd, for near one thousand one hundred and fifty years, and consequently was among them (as he still is among the remainder of that sect) in the same esteem and veneration that Mahomet is among the Mahometans, no wonder that much hath been said of him by their writers; and, if those writers have been as ancient as those of the Greeks and other nations, I know not why they should not have the same authority. I acknowledge many fabulous things have crept into their writings concerning him, as there have into the Roman legends of their saints, and for the same reason, that is, to create in vulgar minds the greater veneration for him. What I have out of the latter, I am beholden for to Dr. Hyde's book *De Religione Veterum Persarum*, for I understand not the Persian language. All that could be gotten out of both these sorts of writers, concerning him or his religion, that carries with it any air of truth, is here carefully laid together: as also every thing else that is said of either of them, by the Greeks, or any other authentic writers; and, out of all this put together is made up that account which I have given of this famous impostor. And if the Life of Mahomet, which I have formerly published, be compared herewith, it will appear hereby how much of the way, which this latter impostor took for the propagating of his fraud, had been chalked out to him by the other. Both of them

* Ezra iv. 15. 19; v. 17; vi. 1, 2. Esther vi. 1.

† Apud Diodorum Siculum, lib. 2.

‡ Photius in Excerptis.

were very crafty knaves: but Zoroastres, being a person of the greatest learning of his time, and the other so wholly ignorant of it, that he could neither write nor read, he was by much the more eminent of the two, though the other hath had the greater success in the propagation of his sect: the Magians scarce having ever enlarged themselves beyond the present bounds of the kingdom of Persia, and some parts of Mesopotamia, Arabia, and India; whereas the Mahometans have overspread a great part of the world; for which they have been beholden to the prevailing power of two mighty empires erected by them, that is, that of the Saracens first, and next that of the Turks, who having extended their conquests over many countries and kingdoms, have, by the power of the sword, subjugated the inhabitants to their religion, as well as to their empire.

To make this History the more clear, I have found it necessary to take in within its compass the affairs of all the other eastern nations, as well as those of the Jews; the latter not being thoroughly to be understood without the other: and as far as the Grecian affairs have been complicated with those of Persia, Syria, or Egypt, I have been obliged to take notice of them also; and without doing this, I could not lead the reader to so clear a view of the completion of those prophecies of the Old Testament which I have in the ensuing History explained: for how could the completion of the prophecy which we have of Xerxes, and his stirring up of all against the realm of Grecia (Daniel xi. 2,) be understood, without having an account of the war which he made against Grecia? Or how could the fulfilling of the prophecies which were delivered of Alexander, his swift victories, and his breaking by them the power of Persia (Dan. vii. 6; viii. 5, 6. 21; x. 20; and xi. 3, 4.) be brought into a clear light, without laying before the reader the whole series of those wars whereby it was effected? Or how could the verification of the prophecies concerning the four successors of Alexander, written by the same prophet (Dan. viii. 8; and xi. 4.) be fully evinced without giving a thorough narrative of all those transactions and wars, whereby it was brought to pass, that the empire of that great conqueror was at length divided among four of his chief commanders? The instance given in these particulars may serve to satisfy the reader as to all the rest.

To make all things the easier to the English reader, for whom I chiefly design this work, I have carefully avoided troubling him with any exotic words in the text; and, where I have been forced, in some places to insert Hebrew words, I have chosen, for his sake, to do it in English letters. All things else, that may be above a mere English reader, I have referred to the notes and quotations at the bottom of the page; and in them I quote every thing in English, where the English reader can examine what I quote, and there only where he cannot, as the references and quotations in any other language.

Several have in Latin written by way of annals, of the times of which I treat, as Torneillus, Salius, Capellus, and others. But, above all of this kind, are Archbishop Usher's Annals of the Old and New Testament, which is the exactest and most perfect work of chronology that hath been published; to which, I acknowledge, I have been much beholden; and although I have not always concurred with him, yet I have, for the most part, especially in the ordering and settling the years to which I refer the actions that are related: for I look on what he hath done before me herein to be the surest and safest clue I could conduct myself by, through all the intricate labyrinths of ancient times; and therefore I have generally followed him in the fixing of the years, excepting only where I saw very good reason to do otherwise. But as to the other annalists I have mentioned, I have found it for the most part loss of time to consult them.

If I have been too large in my explication of the prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks, or in the account which I have given of the Hebrew Scriptures, or in any other discourse of like nature, occasionally intermixed in this work, the importance of the subject must be my excuse. For the chief design of this History, and my main end in writing it, being to clear the way to the better understand

ing of the holy scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, I have thought myself obliged, in the pursuit hereof, to handle every thing to the full, as it came in my way, that might any ways tend hereto. And if the reader receiveth any benefit from it, let him give God the praise, who hath enabled me, under a very calamitous and broken state of health, to finish this first part of my design, and still to go on with my studies, for the completing of the other.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX

Norwich, Aug. 1, 1715.

THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT
 CONNECTED

IN
THE HISTORY

OF THE
JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM
 THE DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH TO THE TIME OF CHRIST.

PART I.

BOOK I.

Anno 747.]—THE ancient empire of the Assyrians, which had governed Asia for about thirteen hundred years, being dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, there arose up two empires in its stead;¹ the one founded by Arbaces, governor of Media, and the other by Belesis, governor of Babylon, who were the two principal commanders that headed the conspiracy, whereby the former empire was brought to an end; which they having, on their success, parted among themselves, Belesis had Babylon, Chaldea, and Arabia; and Arbaces all the rest. This happened in the seventh year after the building of Rome, and in the second year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the seven hundred and forty-seventh year before Christ, *i. e.* before the beginning of the vulgar era, by which we now compute the years from his incarnation.

Arbaces is in scripture called Tiglath-Pileser² and Thilgath-Pilneser;³ in Ælian, Thilgamus;⁴ and by Castor, Ninus junior.⁵ He fixed his royal seat at Nineveh, the same place where the former Assyrian kings had their residence, and there he governed his new-erected empire nineteen years.

Belesis is the same with Nabonassar, from the beginning of whose reign at Babylon commenceth the famous astronomical era, from him called the era of Nabonassar. He is by Nicholas Damascenus⁶ called Nanibrus, and in the holy scripture Baladan⁷ being the father of Merodac, or Mordac Empadus, who sent an embassy to king Hezekiah to congratulate him on his recovery from his sickness; which will be hereafter spoken of.

And these two empires God was pleased to raise up to be his instruments in their turns to punish the iniquities of his own people; the first for the overthrowing of the kingdom of Israel, and the other for the overthrowing of the kingdom of Judah; as shall be shown in the sequel of this history.

An. 742. Ahaz 1.]—In the sixth year of Tiglath-Pileser, Ahaz⁸ began to reign

¹ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Athenæus, lib. 12. Herodotus, lib. 1. Justin, lib. 1. cap. 3.

² 2 Kings xv. 29. xvi. 7. 10.

³ 1 Chron. v. 6. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20.

⁴ Hist. Animal. lib. xii. c. 21

⁵ Euseb. Chron. p. 46.

⁶ In Eclogis Valesii. p. 420, &c.

⁷ Isaiah xxxix. 1.

⁸ 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

over Judah; who, being a very wicked and impious prince, God stirred up against him Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, who, confederating together, invaded his land with a great army, and, having harassed it all over, pent him up in Jerusalem, and there besieged him.

Their design was,¹ on the taking of that city, to have wholly extirpated the house of David, and to have set up a new king over Judah, the son of Tabeal. Who this person was, is no where said in scripture; but he seemeth to have been some potent and factious Jew, who, having revolted from his master, the king of Judah, excited and stirred up this war against him, out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his throne, and reigning in his stead.

But it being the will of God only to punish Ahaz for his wickedness, and not the whole family of David, for which he had always, for the sake of David, expressed mercy and favour, he was pleased to prevent the mischief, by blasting the whole design; and, therefore, he sent the prophet Isaiah unto Ahaz, to encourage him valiantly to withstand the enemy in the defence of the city, and to assure him that they should not prevail against him; and for this he gave him two signs, the one to be accomplished speedily, and the other some ages after.

The first was, that the prophet should take him a wife, who should immediately on that marriage conceive a son, and that, before that son should be of age to discern between good and evil, both these kings should be cut off from the land; which accordingly came to pass: for the prophet, immediately after taking a wife,² before Maher-shalal-hash-baz, the son born to him of that marriage, arrived at the age of discerning between good and evil, both these kings were slain; Rezin in the third year of Ahaz, and Pekah the next year after.

The other sign was, that a virgin³ should conceive, and bear a son, who should be called Emmanuel; that is, God with us, the Messias that was promised, God manifested in our nature, and for a while here dwelling with us to accomplish the great work of our salvation. Which prophecy was then delivered to comfort and support the drooping and desponding spirits of the house of David; who seeing so great a force armed against them, and intending their destruction, were under terrible apprehensions, as if their utter extirpation were then at hand. From which despair this prophecy fully relieved them, in assuring them that their house should stand, and continue till this prediction should be accomplished, and the Messias born of their race, in such manner as was hereby foretold.

After this, the two kings, according to the words of the prophet, failing of their design, were forced to raise the siege, and return home, without prevailing in the enterprise which they had undertaken.

An. 741. Ahaz 2.]—But Ahaz,⁴ after this, instead of being reformed by the mercy, growing more wicked and perverse than before, in absolutely rejecting the God of Israel, and cleaving to the worst abominations of the heathen nations round him, even to the making of his sons pass through the fire to Molech; the next year after,⁵ God brought again upon him the same two confederated kings, from whom he had delivered him the former year, who, coming with forces better appointed, and counsels better concerted than before, divided themselves into three armies; the first under Rezin, king of Syria, the second under Pekah, king of Israel, and the third under Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim; and with these three armies, the more to distract him, they invaded him in three different parts of his kingdom at the same time. Rezin, in his rage, having loaded his army with spoils, and taken a vast number of captives, returned with them to Damascus, thinking it his best interest there to secure what he had gotten. Pekah with his army marched directly against Ahaz, who had got together the main strength of his kingdom to oppose this invasion, and thereby for some time did put a stop to the progress of this part of the enemies' forces; but at length being encouraged by the departure of Rezin to give them

¹ Isaiah vii.

² Isaiah viii.

³ 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

⁴ Isaiah vii. 14. Matt. i. 23.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxviii. 2-5.

battle, he was overthrown with a most terrible destruction, an hundred and twenty thousand of his men being slain in that day. Of which blow Zichri taking the advantage, led his forces to Jerusalem, and took the royal city, where he slew Maaseiah, the king's son, and most of the chief governors and great men of the kingdom, whom he found there. And both these armies of Israel, on their return, carried with them vast spoils, and above two hundred thousand persons, whom they had taken captive, with intention to have sold them for bond-men, and bond-women. But a prophet from God having severely rebuked them for this their excessive cruelty against their brethren, whom God had delivered into their hands, the elders of the land, fearing the like wrath upon themselves for the punishment hereof, would not permit them to bring the captives to Samaria; whereon they were clothed, and relieved out of the spoils, and again sent back unto their own homes.

An. 740. Ahaz 3.—And the land was no sooner delivered from these enemies, but it was again invaded by others, who treated it with the same cruelty: for the Edomites and the Philistines, who next bordered on it, the former on the south, and the other on the west, seeing Judah brought thus low, took the advantage to seize on those parts which lay next unto them, and, by ravages and inroads, did all the mischief to the rest that lay in their power.

But Ahaz, continuing still hardened in his iniquity, notwithstanding all this which he had suffered for the punishment of it, would not seek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways; but putting his confidence rather in man, pillaged the temple of all the gold and silver that was found therein, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, to engage him to come to his assistance against his enemies, promising thereon to become his servant, and pay tribute unto him.

The king of Assyria, having an opportunity hereby offered unto him of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into those parts; where, having slain Rezin in battle, he took Damascus, and reduced all that country under his dominion; and hereby he put an end to the kingdom of the Syrians in Damascus, after it had lasted there for ten generations; that is, from the time of Rezon, the son of Eliadiah,¹ who first founded it while Solomon was king over Israel.

After this, Tiglath-Pileser² marched against Pekah, and seized all that belonged to Israel beyond Jordan, and also all the land of Galilee, and then went forward toward Jerusalem, but rather to get more money of Ahaz than to afford him any real help; for he assisted him not for the recovery of any of those places which had been taken from him during the war, either by the Philistines, Edomites, or other enemies; but when he had got from him all that he could (for the raising of which Ahaz cut the vessels of the temple into pieces, and melted them down,) he marched back to Damascus, and there wintered, without doing any thing more for him; so that, in reality, he was rather distressed than any way helped by this alliance, the land being almost as much exhausted by the presents and subsidies, which were extorted from him by this his pretended friend and ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open enemies. And, moreover, two lasting mischiefs followed hereon: for, 1st, instead of two petty princes, whom he had before for his neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to cope, he had now this mighty king for his borderer, against whom no power of the land was sufficient to make any resistance; and the ill effect hereof both Israel and Judah did afterward sufficiently feel; for it became at length to both of them the cause of their destruction. 2ndly, From this time the Jews were excluded all their traffic into the Southern Sea, which had hitherto been one of the chiefest foundations of their riches.

This they had long carried on through the Red Sea, and the Straits of Babel-mandel, not only to the coasts of Africa on the west, but also to those of Arabia

Persia, and India, on the east, and reaped a prodigious profit from it. King David was the first who began it: for, having conquered the kingdom of Edom,² and reduced it to be a province of his empire, he thereby became master of two sea-port towns on the Red Sea, Elath and Esiongeber,³ which then belonged to that kingdom; and seeing the advantage which might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely took the benefit of it, and there begun this traffic. There are two places mentioned in scripture to which it was from thence carried on, that is, Ophir and Tarshish. From the former of these David in his time drew great profit; for the three thousand talents of gold of Ophir, which he is said (1 Chron. xxix. 4.) to have given to the house of God, seem to be of that gold of Ophir, which he himself had by his fleets in several voyages brought to him from thence: for what he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of war, the tributes of the conquered nations, and the public revenues of his kingdom, is before mentioned (ch. xxiv. 14.) and amounted to a prodigious sum.⁴ The three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir, which he added, was over and above this, and *out of his own proper goods*, or private estate, which he had besides what belonged to him as king. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns which were made him from this traffic: for the gold alone amounted to above one-and-twenty millions of our money,⁵ besides the seven thousand talents of refined silver,⁶ which were included in the same gift. After David,⁷ Solomon carried on the same traffic to Ophir, and had from thence, in one voyage, four hundred and fifty talents of Gold.⁸ And if Solomon got so much in one voyage, well might David have gained the sum above-mentioned, in the several voyages which were made thither for him, from the time that he had subdued the land of Edom to the time of his death, which was at least twenty-five years. But it must be acknowledged, that Solomon much improved this trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business of it: for, not being perplexed and encumbered with such wars as his father David was, he had more leisure to attend thereto. And therefore, for the better settling of it, he went,⁹ in person to Elath and Esiongeber, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his ships, the fortifying of both those ports, and the settling of every thing else which might tend to the successful carrying on of this traffic, not only to Ophir, but to all other parts, where the sea, on which these ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest care was to plant those two towns with such inhabitants, as might be best able to serve him in this design. For which purpose, he brought thither from the sea-coasts of Palestine as many as he could get of those who had been there used to the sea, especially of the Tyrians,¹⁰ whom his friend and ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, from thence furnished him with in great numbers, and these were the most useful to him in this affair; for they being in those days, and for many ages after, the most skilful of all others in sea-affairs, they were the best able to navigate his ships, and conduct his fleets, through long voyages. But the use of the compass not being then known, the way of navigation was in those times only by coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However, this trade succeeded so far, and grew to so high a pitch, under the wise management of Solomon, that thereby he drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all

1 Eusepius apud Euseb. Prep. Evang. lib. 9.

2 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Kings xi. 15, 16. 1 Chron. xviii. 13.

3 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.

4 This sum is so prodigious, as gives reason to think that the talents, whereby that sum is reckoned, were another sort of talents of a far less value than the Mosaic talents, of which an account is given in the Preface. For what is said to be given by David, 1 Chron. xxix. 4-16. xxix. 3-5.) and contributed by his princes (xxix. 6-8.) toward the building of the temple of Jerusalem, if valued by these talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred millions of our money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that temple of solid silver.

5 For three thousand Hebrew talents of gold, reduced to our money, amount to twenty-one millions and six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

6 1 Chron. xxix. 4.

7 1 Kings ix. 26-28. x. 11. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 10-21.

8 2 Chron. viii. 18. The four hundred and fifty talents here mentioned amounted to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our present sterling money.

9 2 Chron. vii. 17.

10 1 Kings ix. 27. 2 Chron. viii. 18. ix. 10. 21.

the trade of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches which he acquired, and whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time,¹ as much as he did by his wisdom; so that he made silver to be at Jerusalem² as the stones of the street, by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign. After the division of the kingdom, Edom being of that part which remained to the house of David, they still continued to carry on this trade from those two ports,³ especially from Esiongeber, which they chiefly made use of till the time of Jehosaphat. But he having there lost his fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to Ophir, in partnership with Ahaziah, king of Israel, this spoiled the credit of that harbour. For there being nigh the mouth of it a ridge of rocks,⁴ as this fleet was passing out of the port, they were by a sudden gust of wind, which God sent on purpose for the punishment of this confederacy, driven upon those rocks, where they were all broken to pieces and lost.⁵ And, therefore, for the avoiding of the like mischief for the future, the station of the king's ships was thenceforth removed to Elath, from whence Jehosaphat, the next year after, sent out another fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said, that he lost the first fleet for confederating with the idolatrous king of Israel; and we are told, in another place,⁶ of his sending forth a fleet for Ophir, in which he would not permit Ahaziah to have any partnership with him. This plainly proves the sending out of two fleets by Jehosaphat; the first in partnership with Ahaziah, and the other without it. And thus this affair was carried on from the time of David till the death of Jehosaphat. For till then the land of Edom⁷ was all in the hands of the kings of Judah, and was wholly governed by a deputy or viceroy there placed by them. But when Jehoram succeeded Jehosaphat, and God, for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that prince, had withdrawn his protection from him, Esau, according to the prophecy of Isaac, did break the yoke of Jacob from off his neck,⁸ after having served him (as foretold by that prophecy) for several generations; that is, from the time of David till then. For, on Jehoram's having revolted from God,⁹ the Edomites revolted from him, and having expelled his viceroy, chose them a king of their own, and under his conduct recovered their ancient liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the kings of Judah. And from this time the Jewish traffic through the Red Sea had an interruption, till the reign of Uzziah. But he, in the very beginning of his reign, having recovered Elath again to Judah,¹⁰ fortified it anew, and, having driven out the Edomites, planted it again with his own people; and there renewed their own traffic; which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of Ahaz. But then Rezin, king of Damascus, having, in conjunction with Pekah, king of Israel, oppressed and weakened Judah to that degree which I have mentioned, he took the advantage of it to seize Elath, and, driving out the Jews from thence,¹¹ planted it with Syrians, purposing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit of that traffic of the Southern Seas, which the kings of Judah had hitherto reaped, by having that port. But the next year after Tiglath-Pileser having conquered Rezin and subdued the kingdom of Damascus, he seized with it Elath, as then belonging to his new conquest, and, without having any regard to his friend and ally, king Ahaz, or the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after; and thereby put an end to all that great profit which the Jews till then had reaped from this traffic and transferred it to the Syrians, which became a great diminution of their wealth: for, although they did not always carry it on with the same full gales of prosperity, as in the time of king Solomon, yet it was constantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them; for it included all the trade of India, Persia, Africa, and Arabia, which was carried on through the Red Sea. But,

1 1 Kings x. 23. 2 Chron. ix. 22.

2 1 Kings x. 27. 2 Chron. ix. 27.

3 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36.

4 Because of these rocks it had the name of Esiongeber, which signifies the back-bone of a man; for these rocks resemble it.

5 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37.

6 1 Kings xxii. 49.

7 1 Kings xxii. 47.

8 Gen. xxvii. 40.

9 2 Kings viii. 20—32.

10 2 Kings xiv. 22.

2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

11 2 Kings xvi. 6.

after Rezin had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it any more restored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the merchandize that came that way, instead of being brought to Jerusalem, was carried elsewhere; but at what place the Syrians fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in their hands, is no where said. But at length we find the whole of this trade engrossed by the Tyrians, who managing it from the same port, made it, by the way of Rhinocorura¹ (a sea-port town, laying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine,) centre all at Tyre; and from thence they furnished all the western parts of the world with the wares of Persia, India, Africa, and Arabia, which thus by the way of the Red Sea they traded to, and hereby they exceedingly enriched themselves during the Persian empire, under the favour and protection of whose kings they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt, they did, by building Berenice,² Myos-Hormos, and other ports on the Egyptian or western side of the Red Sea (for Elath and Esiongeber lay on the eastern,) and by sending forth fleets from thence to all those countries to which the Tyrians traded from Elath, soon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at Alexandria,³ which was thereby made the greatest mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after; and all the marine traffic, which the western parts of the world had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea, and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was found,⁴ a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time managed this trade; but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the English and Dutch. And this is a full account of the East India trade, from the time it was first begun by David and Solomon to our present age.

But though it be by all agreed that the trade to Ophir and Tarshish was the same that is now in the hands of our East India merchants, yet there are great disputes among learned men in what parts of the eastern world these two places lay. Some will have Ophir to have been the island of Zocatora, which lies on the eastern coasts of Africa, a little without the Straits of Babelmandel. Others will have it to be the island anciently called Taprobana, now Ceylon; and, for its being an island, they have the authority of Eupolemus (an ancient author quoted by Eusebius) on their side: for speaking of David, he saith of him,⁵ "That he built ships at Elath, a city of Arabia, and from thence sent metal-men to the island of Urphe (or Ophir,) situated in the Red Sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of gold, and the metal-men brought it from thence to Judea." But this being a question no way to be decided but from the scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is, 1st, That from Elath to Tarshish was a voyage of three years,⁶ going and coming; but in what compass of time the voyage to Ophir was completed is not said; and that therefore Tarshish might be somewhere in the East Indies, but Ophir might be any where nearer home within the reach of those seas. 2dly. That the commodities brought from Tarshish were⁷ "gold, and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks;" and those of Ophir⁸ "were gold, and almug trees, and precious stones." And therefore any place in the Southern or great India Sea, at the distance of a then three years' voyage from Elath, which can best furnish the merchants with gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, may be guessed to be the Tarshish of the holy scriptures; and any place within the compass of the same Southern Sea, that can best furnish them with gold, almug trees, and precious stones, and in that quantity of gold as Solomon brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be the Ophir mentioned in the said holy scriptures. Only thus much I cannot forbear to say, that if the southern part of Arabia did furnish the world in those times⁹ with the best gold, and in the greatest quantity, as good authors say, they that would

¹ Strabo. lib. 16.

² Strabo, lib. 17.

³ Strabo, lib. 17, p. 798.

⁴ A. D. 1497.

⁵ Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

⁶ 1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chron. ix. 21.

⁷ 1 Kings x. 22.

⁸ 1 Kings x. 11.

⁹ Agatharchides (p. 60. edit. Oxon.) tells us, that the Alileans and Cassandrians, in the southern parts of

have the Ophir of the holy scriptures to be there situated, seem, of all others, to have the best foundation for their conjecture. But more than conjecture no one can have in this matter.

But for the better understanding of what Eupolemus above saith of Ophir, that "it was an island in the Red Sea," it is proper here to take notice, that he doth not there mean the Arabian Gulf, which lieth between Arabia and Egypt, and is now commonly called the Red Sea; but the great Southern Ocean,¹ which, extending itself between India and Africa, washeth up to the coast of Arabia and Persia, where it appearing of a reddish colour, by reason of the fierceness of the sun-beams constantly bearing upon it in that hot climate, it was therefore called the Red Sea; and this alone was that which was truly and probably called so by the ancients: for the Arabian Gulf, which hath now obtained that name, was never for any such redness of it so called; for neither the water (as some will have it,) nor the sand (as others say,) hath there any appearance of that colour, nor was it ever by any of the easterns formerly so called. Throughout the whole scripture of the Old Testament it is called Yam Suph,² that is, the Weedy Sea, by reason of the great quantity of sea-weed which is therein; and the same name it also hath in the ancient Syriac version, as well as in the Targum or Chaldee paraphrases. But among the ancient inhabitants of the countries adjoining, it was called Yam Edom, *i. e.* the sea of Edom: for the sons of Edom having possessed all that country, which, lying between the Red Sea and the Lake of Sodom, was by the Greeks called Arabia Petrea, they then named it, from their father Edom, the land of Edom; and, because that which we now call the Red Sea washed upon it, thence it was called the Sea of Edom, or, in the dialect of the Greeks, the Edomean or Idumean Sea, in the same manner as that which washeth upon Pamphylia was called the Pamphylian Sea, and that which washeth upon Tyrrenia the Tyrrenian Sea, and so in abundance of other instances. But the Greeks, who took this name from the Phœnicians, finding it by them to be called Yam Edom, instead of rendering it the Sea of Edom, or the Idumean Sea, as they ought, mistook the word Edom to be an appellative instead of a proper name, and therefore rendered it *Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα*, that is, the Red Sea; for Edom, in the language of that country, signified red; and it is said in scripture, that Esau,³ having sold his birthright to his brother Jacob for a mess of red pottage, he was for that reason called Edom, that is, the Red. And Strabo,⁴ Pliny,⁵ Mela,⁶ and others,⁷ say, that this sea was called so, not from any redness that was in it, but from a great king, called Erythrus, who reigned in the country adjoining upon it: which name Erythrus, signifying the same in Greek that Edom did in the Phœnician and Hebrew languages, that is, the red, this plainly proves, that the great king Erythrus could be none other than Edom, who having planted his posterity in the country, as I have said, from him it was called the land of Edom,⁸ or, with a Greek termination, Edomea, or Idumea, and from that land the sea which washed upon it was called the sea of Edom; but the Greeks translating Edom as an appellative into the word red, which it signified, instead of rendering it in the same sound as a proper name, from this mistake it was by them called the Red Sea, and that name it hath retained ever since.

But fully to clear what hath been above said, it is necessary farther to observe, that the Idumea mentioned by Strabo, Josephus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and other ancient writers, was not that land of Edom, or Idumea, which gave name to the Red Sea, but another ancient Idumea, which was vastly larger than that

Arabia, had gold in that plenty among them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver; and that, in digging the earth, they found in it goblets of pure gold, which needed no refining, and that the least of them were as big as olive stones, but others much larger. No other author speaks of any other place in the world wherein it was ever found in like plenty.

1 Dionysii Periegesis, v. 38. et Comment. Eustathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. 2. c. 11.

2 See Exod. x. 19. xiii. 18, &c.

3 Gen. xxv. 30.

4 Lib. 16. p. 766.

5 Lib. 6. c. 23.

6 Lib. 3. c. 8.

7 Agatharchides, edit. Ox. p. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 9. et lib. 10. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 3. c. 15. Arrianus in *Rerum Indicarum* libro. p. 579. edit. Blanc.

8 See Fulier's Miscellanies, lib. 4. c. 20.

Idumea which those authors describe; for it included all that land,¹ which was afterward, from Petrea, the metropolis of it, called Arabia Petrea: for all this was inhabited by the sons of Edom, and from thence it was anciently called the land of Edom. But, on a sedition which arose among them,² a party going off from the rest, while the land of Judea lay desolate during the Babylonish captivity, they planted themselves on the south-western part of that country, where they were called Idumeans; and that land alone which they there possessed was the Idumea which those authors mention. Those who remained behind, joining themselves to the Ishmaelites, were, from Nebaioth, or Nabath, the son of Ishmael,³ called Nabathæans, and the country which they possessed Nabathæa; and by that name we often hear of them in the ancient Greek and Latin writers.

An. 739. Ahaz 4.—But to return from whence I have digressed, Ahaz, having gone so far with Tiglath-Pileser, as hath been said, found it necessary for him to overlook all injuries to avoid provoking greater; and, therefore, carrying on the compliment toward him, as if he had really been that friend and protector, which he pretended to be; as soon as he heard that he was returned to Damascus, he went thither to him,⁴ to pay him that respect and obeisance, which, after having owned him as his protector and sovereign, he did now, as his client and tributary, owe unto him.

While he was at Damascus on this occasion, he saw there an idolatrous altar,⁵ of a form which he was much pleased with; whereupon, causing a pattern of it to be taken, he sent it to Urijah, the high-priest, at Jerusalem, to have another there made like unto it; and, on his return, having removed the altar of the Lord out of its place in the temple, ordered this new altar to be set up in its stead; and thenceforth giving himself wholly up to idolatry, instead of the God of Israel,⁶ he worshipped the gods of the Syrians, and the gods of the other nations round him, saying, that they helped their people, and that therefore he would worship them, that they might help him also. And, accordingly, having filled Jerusalem and all Judea with their idols and their altars, he would suffer no other god, but them only, to be worshipped in the land; whereby, having excluded the only true God, the Lord his Creator, whom alone he ought to have adored, he caused his temple to be shut up, and utterly suppressed his worship throughout all his kingdom. And this he did with an air and profession of anger and defiance, for that he had not delivered him in his distress, when the Syrians and Israelites came against him, as if it were in his power to revenge himself on the Almighty, and execute his wrath upon him that made him; to such an extravagant height of folly and madness had his impiety carried him beyond all that had reigned before him in Jerusalem; and in this he continued, till at length he perished in it, being cut off in the flower of his age, before he had outlived half his days.

Tiglath-Pileser, on his return into Assyria, carried with him great numbers of the people, whom he had taken captive in the kingdom of Damascus, and in the land of Israel. Those of Damascus he planted in Kir,⁷ and those of Israel in Halah,⁸ Habor, Hara, and on the River Gozan, in the land of the Medes. Kir was a city in the hither part of Media; but Halah, Habor, Hara, and the River Gozan, were farther remote. And herein was accomplished the prophecy of the prophet Amos against Israel,⁹ wherein he foretold, in the days of Uziah, the grandfather of Ahaz, that God would cause them to go into captivity beyond Damascus; that is, unto places beyond where those of Damascus should be carried. St. Stephen,¹⁰ quoting this prophecy, renders it beyond Babylon. So the common editions of the Greek Testament have it, and it is certainly true; for what was beyond Kir was also beyond Babylon, for Kir was beyond

¹ That it reached to the Red Sea appears from 2 Chron. viii. 17. for Elath and Esiongeber, cities of Edom, were ports on the Red Sea.

² Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760.

³ Gen. xxv. 13.

⁴ 2 Kings xvi. 10.

⁵ 2 Kings xvi. 10—16.

⁶ 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii. 22—25.

⁷ 2 Kings xvi. 9.

⁸ 1 Chron. v. 26.

⁹ Amos v. 26, 27.

¹⁰ Acts vii. 43.

Babylon: but Wicelius's edition hath Damascus in St. Stephen's speech also and, no doubt, he had ancient copies which he followed herein.

The planting of the colonies by Tiglath-Pileser in those cities of the Medes plainly proves Media to have been then under the king of Assyria: for, otherwise, what had he to do to plant colonies in that country. And therefore Tiglath-Pileser and Arbaces were not two distinct kings, whereof one had Media, and the other Assyria, as Archbishop Usher supposeth,² but must both be the same person expressed under these two distinct names. And Diodorus Siculus positively tells us,³ that Arbaces had Assyria as well as Media, for his share in the partition of the former empire; and, therefore, there is no room for a Tiglath-Pileser, or a Ninus junior, distinct from him, to reign in Assyria during his time, but it must necessarily be one and the same person that was signified by all these different names.

Pekah, by this conquest which the Assyrians made upon him being stripped of so large a part of his kingdom, was hereby brought lower than he had before brought king Ahaz. For he had now scarce any thing left, but the city of Samaria and the territories of the tribe of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh only; which bringing him into contempt with his people, as well as raising their indignation against him (as is commonly the case of unfortunate princes,) Hoshea, the son of Elath,⁴ rose up against him and slew him, after he had reigned in Samaria twenty years; and hereby was fully accomplished the prophecy of Isaiah concerning him,⁵ which is above related. After this, the elders of the land seem to have taken the government into their hands; for Hoshea had not the kingdom till nine years after, that is toward the end of the twelfth year of Ahaz.

An. 729. Ahaz 14.—In the fourteenth year of Ahaz died Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria; after he had reigned nineteen years;⁶ and Salmaneser, his son (who in Tobit⁷ is called Enemessar, and in Hoshea,⁸ Shalmon,) reigned in his stead. And as soon as he was settled in the throne, he came into Syria and Palestine, and there subjected Samaria to his dominion,⁹ making Hoshea the king thereof, to become his vassel, and pay tribute unto him. In this expedition, among other prey which he took and carried away with him,¹⁰ was the golden calf, which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel; and had been there, ever since his time, worshipped by the ten tribes of Israel, that had revolted with him from the house of David. The other golden calf, which was at the same time set up by him in Dan, had been taken thence,¹¹ about ten years before, by Tiglath-Pileser, in the invasion which he then made upon Galilee, in which province that city stood. And therefore the apostate Israelites, being now deprived of the idols which they had so long worshipped, began again to return to the Lord their God, and to go up to Jerusalem, there to worship before him; and Hoshea encouraged them therein. For whereas the kings of Israel,¹² had hitherto maintained guards upon the frontiers to hinder all under their subjection from going up to Jerusalem to worship there, Hoshea took away those guards, and gave free liberty to all to worship the Lord their God, according to his laws, in that place, which he had chosen; and therefore, when Hezekiah invited all Israel, that is, all those of the ten revolted tribes, as well as the other two, to come up to his passover, Hoshea hindered them not,¹³ but permitted all that would to go up thereto. And when those of his subjects, who were at that festival, did, on their return, out of their zeal for the true worship of their God,¹³ break in pieces the images, cut down the groves, demolish the high places, and absolutely destroyed all other monuments of idolatry, throughout the whole kingdom of Samaria, as will be hereafter related, Hoshea forbade them not, but in all likelihood gave his consent to it, and concurred with them herein. For he being king, without his encouraging of it, and

1 See Dr. Mill's Greek Testament, Acts vii. 43.

2 Annales Veteris Testamenti sub Anno Mundi 3257.

3 Isa. vii. 16.

6 Castor apud Euseb. Chron. p. 46.

9 2 Kings xvii.

10 Seder Olam Rabba, c. 22.

13 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.

3 Lib. 2.

4 2 Kings xv. 30.

7 Chap. i. 2.

8 Chap. x. 14.

11 Ibid.

12 2 Chron. xxx. 10. 13.

giving his authority for it, it could not have been done. And therefore he hath, as to religion, the best character given him in scripture of all that reigned before him over Israel from the division of the kingdom. For although he were not perfect in the true worship of God, and therefore it is said of him,¹ that "he did evil in the sight of the Lord;" yet it is subjoined, in the next words, "but not so as the kings of Israel which were before him." By which it appears, that his ways were less offensive to God, than were the ways of any of those that had reigned before him in that kingdom. However, still he was far from being perfectly righteous, which this alone sufficiently proves, that he treacherously slew his master to reign in his stead.

An. 727. Ahaz 16. Hezek. 1.]—Ahaz, in the sixteenth year of his reign, being smitten of God for his iniquities,² died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the city of David, but not with a royal burial, in the sepulchres of the kings. For from this honour he was excluded, because of his wicked reign, as were Jehoram and Joash before him, and Manasseh and Ammon after him, for the same reason; it being the usage of the Jews to lay this mark of infamy upon those that reigned wickedly over them.

After Ahaz, reigned Hezekiah his son,³ a very worthy and religious prince. He had, in the last year of his father's reign, been admitted a partner with him in the kingdom, while he was languishing (as it may be supposed) under the sickness of which he died. However, as long as his father lived, he could make no alterations in that evil course of affairs, which he had put both church and state into; but, as soon as he was dead, and Hezekiah had the whole power in his hands, he immediately set himself with all his might to work a thorough reformation in both.

An. 726. Hezek. 2.]—The first thing which he did was to open the house of God, which his father had impiously shut up, and restore the true worship therein; in order whereto he called the priests and Levites together, out of all parts of the land, to attend their duty in the temple, ordering them to remove his father's new altar, and to restore the altar of the Lord to its place again, and purge the temple of all other pollution, with which it had been profaned during the reign of his father. But it not being till the end of the former year that Ahaz died, the beginning of the first month of the ensuing year (which is called Nisan, and corresponds partly with March and partly with April in our calendar,) was the soonest that they could be employed in this work; so that it not being completed till the 16th day of that month, the passover could not be kept that year in its regular time, which ought to have been begun on the 14th day of the said month of Nisan.

However, the house of the Lord being now sanctified, and made fit for the service of God, Hezekiah went up thither on the 17th day of that month, with the rulers and great men of his kingdom, where, the people being gathered together, he offered sin-offerings for the kingdom, and the sanctuary, and for Judah, to make atonement to God for them, and for all Israel; and after that he offered peace-offerings, and in all other particulars restored the service of God in the same manner as it had been performed in the purest times that had been before him; and there was great joy among all the good people of the land thereon.

And seeing the passover could not be kept on the regular time this year, because neither the temple, nor the priest, nor the people, were sanctified in order hereto, and in this case the law of Moses allowed a second passover to be kept from the 14th day of the second month,⁴ king Hezekiah having taken counsel hereon with the chief priests, and his princes, and all the congregation in Jerusalem,⁵ decreed, that this second passover should be kept by all the congregation of Israel, instead of the first; and accordingly, he sent messengers to carry notice hereof, not only through all Judah, but also through all the other tribes of Israel, and to invite all that were of Israel, to come to it. And accordingly, on

1 2 Kings xvii. 2.

4 Numb. ix. 10, 11.

2 2 Kings xvi. 20.

5 2 Chron. xxx.

2 Chron. xxviii. 27.

3 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxix.

the day appointed, there was at Jerusalem a very great concourse of people from all parts met together to solemnize the holy festival, and that as well from those tribes that had separated from the house of David, as from those who had stuck to it; for although many of Ephraim and Manasseh, and the rest of those tribes, laughed at Hezekiah's messengers when they invited them to this solemnity, because of the impious contempt which through long disusage they had contracted of it, yet a great multitude, even from those parts, came to it, and and very religiously joined in the observance of it, whereby it became the greatest passover that had been solemnized at Jerusalem since the days of king Solomon. And, because they had long neglected the observance of this solemn festival, to make some amends for it, they now doubled the time of its continuance: for, whereas the law directs it to be observed only seven days, they kept it fourteen, with much joy and gladness of heart; and, resolving from thenceforth to serve the God of Israel only, as soon as the solemnity was ended, they went out into all the coasts of Judah and Benjamin, and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars, and absolutely destroyed all the monuments of idolatry, which were any where to be found, either in Jerusalem, Judea, or any of the coasts belonging thereto. And those of the other tribes, on their return home, did the same in all the rest of Israel, so that the true worship of God was again universally restored throughout all the land, and they might have received a blessing proportionable hereto had they with the same zeal persisted in it.

And the brazen serpent, which Moses had set up in the wilderness, having been by many, in the preceding times of iniquity, made the object of idolatrous worship,¹ Hezekiah caused this also to be destroyed; whereas, otherwise it might have served as well as the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod, to have been a monument of the miraculous mercy of God, shown to his people on their coming out of Egypt, and for this reason it seems to have been so long preserved.

But, notwithstanding, it is thus positively said in the holy scripture, that the brazen serpent was destroyed by Hezekiah in the manner as I have related; yet the impudence of the Romanists is such,² that in the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, they now keep and show to their devotees a brazen serpent, which they pretend to be the very same that Moses did set up in the wilderness; and upon this belief, an idolatrous devotion is there paid to it, as gross as was that of the Jews, for which Hezekiah caused it to be destroyed. But it must not be denied, that, among their learned men, there are those who acknowledge the cheat, and disclaim it.

An. 724. Hezek. 4.—About the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah,³ Sabacon, the Ethiopian, having invaded Egypt, and taken Boccharis, the king of that country, prisoner, caused him with great cruelty to be burnt alive, and then seizing his kingdom, reigned there in his stead. This is the same who in scripture is called So.⁴ And he having thus settled himself in Egypt, and after some time grown very potent there, Hoshea, king of Samaria, entered into confederacy with him, hoping by his assistance to shake off the yoke of Assyria; and, in confidence hereof, he withdrew his subjection from Salmaneser, and would pay him no more tribute, nor bring any more presents unto him, as he had formerly used every year to do. Whereon Salmaneser,⁵ in the beginning of the fourth year of Hezekiah, marched with an army against him, and having subdued all the country round, pent him up in Samaria, and there besieged him three years; at the end of which he took the city [*An. 721. Hezek. 7.*] and thereon putting Hoshea in chains, he shut him up in prison all his days, and carried the people into captivity, placing them in Halah, and in Habor, and in the other cities of the Medes, where Tiglath-Pileser had before placed those whom he had carried into captivity out of the same land.

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

² Vid. Sigonii Historiam de Regno Italiae, lib. 7. Torniellum in Annalibus sub A. M. 3315. tom. 2. p. 105. Buxtorfi Historiam serpentis ænei, cap. 6. &c.

³ Herodot. lib. 2. African. apud Syrcellum. p. 74. Euseb. in Chronico. 4 2 Kings xvii. 4. 5 2 Kings xviii.

In this captivity,¹ Tobit, being taken out of his city of Thisbe, in the tribe of Nephthali, was, with Anna his wife, and Tobias his son, carried into Assyria, where he became purveyor to king Salmaneser. But the rest of his brethren were carried into Media, as is above said, and planted there, as particularly were Gabael in Rages, and Raguel in Ecbatana, which proves Media to have been still under the king of Assyria, and that there was no king in Media in those days distinct from the king of Assyria.

There is, in the 15th and 16th chapters of Isaiah, a very terrible prophecy against Moab, bearing date in the first year of Hezekiah; wherein it was foretold, that within three years Arne and Kir-Harasheth, the two principal cities of that country, should be destroyed, and all the rest of it brought to contempt, ruin, and desolation: which must have been executed the same year that Samaria was first besieged. It seemeth most likely, that Salmaneser, to secure himself from any disturbance on that side, first invaded Moab; and having destroyed these two cities, brought all the rest of that country under his subjection, and placed garrisons therein, sufficient to put a stop to all incursions of the Arabs, which might that way be made upon him, before he would begin that siege; for, otherwise, he could not have been able to carry it on with success.

In the same year that Samaria was taken, Mardoc-Empadus began his reign at Babylon.² He was the son of Belesis, or Baladin, or Nabonassar (for by all these names he was called,) and was the same³ who in scripture is called Merodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan. But, after the death of his father, several other princes had succeeded in Babylon before the crown came to him. For Nabonassar dying when he had sat on the throne fourteen years,⁴ after him reigned Nadius two years; and after him Chinzerus and Porus jointly five years; and then after them Jugæus five years. But of these there being nothing on record besides their names in the Canon of Ptolemy, we have not hitherto taken any notice of them. After Jugæus succeeded Mardoc-Empadus, in the 27th year after the beginning of his father's kingdom in Babylon, and reigned twelve years.

While Salmaneser was engaged in the siege of Samaria, Hezekiah, took the opportunity of recovering what had been lost from his kingdom in the reign of his father. And therefore,⁵ making war upon the Philistines, he not only regained all the cities of Judah, which they had seized during the time that Pekah and Rezin distressed the land, but also dispossessed them of almost all their own country, except Gaza and Gath.

An. 720. Hezek. 8.]—As soon as the siege of Samaria was over, Salmaneser sent to Hezekiah to demand the tribute which Ahaz had agreed to pay for the kingdom of Judea, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser, his father; but Hezekiah, trusting in the Lord his God,⁶ would not hearken unto him; neither did he pay him any tribute, or send any presents unto him; which would immediately have brought Salmaneser upon him with all his power, but that he was diverted by another war.

An. 715. Hezek. 13.]—For Elulæus,⁷ king of Tyre, seeing the Philistines brought low by the war which Hezekiah had lately made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing Gath again under his obedience, which had some time before revolted from him. Whereon the Gittites, applying themselves to Salmaneser, engaged him in their cause; so that he marched with his whole army against the Tyrians. Whereon Sidon, Ace (afterward called Ptolemais, and now Acon,) and the other maritime towns of Phœnicia, which had till then been subject to the Tyrians, revolted from them, and submitted to Salmaneser. But the Tyrians, having, in a sea-fight, with twelve ships only, beaten the Assyrian and Phœnician fleets both joined together; which consisted of sixty ships, this gave them such a reputation in naval affairs, and made their name so terrible in this sort of war, that Salmaneser would not venture to cope with them any more at sea; but turning the war into a siege, left an army to block up the city

¹ Tobit, chap. 1.

² Canon Ptolemæi.

³ Isa. xxxix. 1.

⁴ Canon Ptolemæi.

⁵ 2 Kings xviii. 8. Josephus Antiq. lib. 9. c. 13.

⁶ 2 Kings xviii. 7.

⁷ Annales Menandri apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 9. c. 14. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

and returned into Assyria. The forces which he left there much distressed the place by stopping their aqueducts, and cutting off all the conveyances of water to them. To relieve themselves in this exigency, they digged wells, from whence they drew up water, and by the help of them, held out five years; at the end of which Salmaneser dying, this delivered them for that time. But they being over puffed up with this success, and growing very insolent hereon, this provoked that prophecy against them in the 23rd chapter of Isaiah, which foretold the miserable overthrow that should afterward happen unto them; and was accordingly effected by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, as will hereafter be shown.

In the ninth year of Hezekiah died Sabacon, or So, king of Egypt, after he had reigned in that country eight years,¹ and Sevechus,² his son, whom Herodotus calleth Seton,³ reigned in his stead.

An. 714. Hezeh. 14.]—Salmaneser, king of Assyria, being dead, after he had reigned fourteen years, Sennacherib,⁴ his son, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about eight years. He is the same whom the prophet Isaiah (ch. xx. 1.) calleth Sargon. As soon as he was settled in the throne, he renewed the demand, which his father had made upon Hezekiah for the tribute, which Ahaz had agreed to pay in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, his grandfather; and, on his refusal to comply with him herein,⁵ denounced war against him, and marched with a great army into Judea to fall upon him. This was in the fourteenth year of the reign of king Hezekiah.

In this same year, Hezekiah,⁶ falling sick of the pestilence, had a message from God, by the prophet Isaiah, to set his house in order, and prepare for death; but, on his hearty prayer to God, he obtained another message from him, by the same prophet, which promised him life for fifteen years longer, and also deliverance from the Assyrians, who were then coming against him; and, to give him thorough assurance hereof, by a miraculous sign, God did, at his request, make the sun go backward ten degrees upon the sun-dial of Ahaz. And, accordingly, a lump of figs having been, by the prophet's direction, made into a plaster, and laid to the pestilential boil, he recovered within three days, and went up to the house of God, to return thanks unto him for so wonderful a deliverance.

An. 713. Hezeh. 15.]—Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon (the same who in Ptolemy's Canon is called Mardoc-Empadus,) hearing of this miraculous recovery, sent ambassadors unto him to congratulate him hereon;⁷ which Hezekiah was much pleased with. Their coming, on this occasion, seemeth principally to have been for two reasons. The first, to inquire about the miracle of the sun's retrogradation (for the Chaldeans, being above all other nations then given to the study of astronomy, were very curious in their inquiries after such matters;) and the other, to enter into an alliance with him against Sennacherib, whose growing power the Babylonians had reason to fear, as well as the Jews. And to make the Babylonians put the greater value upon his alliance on this account, seems to be the reason that Hezekiah showed those ambassadors from them all the riches of his house, his treasures, his armory, and all his stores and strength for war. But by this he having expressed the vanity and pride of his mind, God sent him, by the prophet Isaiah, a rebuking message for it, and also a prophecy of what the Babylonians should afterward do unto his family, in order to the humbling of that pride with which his heart was then elated.

Toward the end of the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign, Sennacherib came up with a great army against the fenced cities of Judah,⁸ and took several of them, and laid siege to Lachish, threatening Jerusalem itself next. Whereon Hezekiah, taking advice of his princes and chief counsellors, made all manner of preparations for its defence; repairing the walls, and making new ones, where they were wanting, and fortifying them with towers, and all other works and buildings, necessary for their defence. And he provided also darts and shields in great

¹ Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74.

² Id. *ibid.*

³ Lib. 2.

⁴ Tobit i. 15.

⁵ 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. Isa. xxxvi.

⁶ 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24. Isa. xxxviii.

⁷ 2 Kings xx. Isa. xxxix.

⁸ 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. Isa. xxxvi.

abundance, and all other arms and artillery, which might be any way useful for the defending of the place, and the annoying of the enemy on their coming against it. And he caused all the people to be enrolled and marshalled for the war that were fit and able for it; placing over them captains of experience, to instruct them in all military exercises; and to conduct and lead them forth against the enemy, whenever there should be an occasion for it. And he took care also to stop up all the wells, that were without the walls of Jerusalem, for a great compass round the city, and diverted all brooks and water-courses from coming that way; thereby to distress the enemy for want of water, should they come and set down before that place. And, farther, to strengthen himself the more against so potent and formidable an enemy, he entered into alliance with the king of Egypt for their mutual defence. But the prophet Isaiah condemned this alliance,¹ as carrying with it a distrust in God, telling the Jews that they should confide in him alone for their deliverance, who would himself come down to fight for Mount Zion, and deliver and preserve Jerusalem from the power of the enemy, that was then risen up against it; and that whatsoever trust they should place in Egypt, should all come to nothing, and be of no benefit to them, but rather turn to their shame, their reproach, and their confusion; and so in the event it accordingly happened.

However, Sennacherib, being informed of all these preparations which Hezekiah had made for his defence, and perceiving thereby how difficult a work it would be to take so strong a city, when so well appointed and provided for its defence, he became inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation; and therefore, on Hezekiah's sending to treat with him, it was agreed, that Hezekiah paying unto him three thousand talents of silver,² and thirty talents of gold for the present, and duly rendering his tribute for the future; there should be peace. But when Sennacherib had received the money, he had little regard to this agreement, but soon after broke it, and again renewed the war as will be hereafter shown. However, for the present he gave him some respite, and marched against Egypt: and the better to open his way into that country, he sent Tartan,³ one of his generals, before him to take Ashdod, or Azotus, from the taking of which place the prophet Isaiah dates the beginning of the war which Sennacherib had with the Egyptians; wherein, according as that prophet had foretold,⁴ he much afflicted that people three years together, destroying their cities, and carrying multitudes of them into captivity. At that time Sevechus, the son of Sabacon, or So, the Ethiopian, was king of Egypt, whom Herodotus calls Sathon,⁵ and represents him as a prince of so foolish a conduct, as was most likely to bring such a calamity upon his kingdom, whensoever it should be assaulted by an enemy. For, affecting the office of a priest, he neglected that of a king, and causing himself to be consecrated chief pontiff of Vulcan, gave himself wholly up to superstition; and having no regard to the warlike defence of his kingdom, he so far neglected and discouraged the military order which was there maintained for it, that he took from them their tenures, which, in the time of the former kings, his predecessors, had been allowed them for their support: which gave them such a just cause of offence and indignation against him, that when he had need for their valour on this occasion, they would not fight for him; whereon he was forced to raise an army of such raw and inexperienced men as he could get out of the shopkeepers, tradesmen, labourers, and such like people; which being wholly unable to cope with such an army of veterans as Sennacherib brought against them, he did with great ease overrun the country, and work what devastation in it he pleased. And at this time seems to have been brought upon No-Amon, a famous city in Egypt, that destruction which the prophet Nahum speaks

¹ Isa. xxx. xxxi.

² An Hebrew talent, according to the scripture (Exod. xxxviii. 25—27.) containing three thousand shekels, and every shekel being three shillings of our money, these three hundred talents of silver must contain, of our money, one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds, and thirty talents of gold, two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds. So the whole sum here paid by Hezekiah amounted to three hundred and fifty-one thousand pounds of our money.

³ Isa. xx. 1.

⁴ Isa. xx. 3, 4. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1, 2.

⁵ Herod. lib. 2.

of (ch. iii. 10,) where he tells us, that her inhabitants were carried into captivity her young children dashed in pieces in the top of her streets, and her great men divided by lot among the conquerors, and put into chains, to be led away as slaves and captives. All which, he tells us, happened, while Egypt and Ethiopia were her strength, which plainly points out unto us, this time, when an Ethiopian prince reigned over Egypt. For Sabacon, or So, the father of Sevechus, was an Ethiopian, who made himself king of Egypt by conquest; and therefore, during his and his son's reign, Egypt and Ethiopia were as one country, and they mutually helped each other, an instance whereof will not be wanting in this war.

No-Amon, in Egypt, was the same with Thebes,¹ famous for its hundred gates, and vast number of inhabitants. The Greeks called it Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, because of a famous temple built there to Jupiter; and for the same reason was it called No-Amon by the Egyptians, for Amon was the name of Jupiter among that people.

It is to be observed, that the destruction of No-Amon, mentioned in Nahum, must have been some time before that of Nineveh; for the former is historically related by him as past, and the other only prophetically foretold as to come; and therefore Nineveh having been destroyed in the 29th year of Josiah, as will hereafter be shown, this destruction of No-Amon must have been long before, and in no time more likely than when Sennacherib made this war upon Egypt, and harassed it from one end to the other, for three years together. They who refer this destruction of No-Amon, spoken of by Nahum, to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, place it after the destruction of Nineveh, and thereby make one part of the text inconsistent with the other.

An. 710. Hezek. 11.]—But Sennacherib did not end this war with the same success as he begun it; for having laid siege to Pelusium,² and spent much time in it, he was at length forced to break up from thence, and retreat out of Egypt, because of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia: for he being come into Egypt with a great army to help Sevechus, his kinsman, was on a full march toward Pelusium, to relieve the place, which Sennacherib hearing of durst not abide his coming, but raised the siege, and returning into Judea, encamped again at Lachish,³ where he renewed the war with Hezekiah, notwithstanding the agreement of peace which he had before made with him; and, to let him know as much, he sent Tartan, Rabсарis, and Rabshaketh, three of his principal captains, with that proud and blasphemous message, which we have at full recited in two places of the holy scripture.⁴ It was delivered to the king's officers from under the walls of Jerusalem, in the hearing of all the people, and in the Hebrew tongue: for they hoped thereby to draw the people to a revolt; but they, failing of success herein, returned to Sennacherib without their design. The person appointed to deliver this message was Rabshaketh, who, his ready speaking of the Hebrew tongue, seems to have been an apostate Jew, or else one of the captivity of Israel. By office he was the king's chief cup-bearer, as his name imports. On their return they found Sennacherib decamped from Lachish, and laying siege at Libnah; where, hearing that Tirhakah, on his finding him gone from Pelusium, was marching after him, as in pursuit of one flying from him, he led forth his army against him, and gave him a great overthrow; for it was from God,⁵ by the prophet Isaiah before laid as a burden upon Egypt, and as a burden upon Ethiopia, thus to be punished by him, and he was no more than as God's executioner herein. But, before he went forth to this last war,⁶ he sent again to Hezekiah, adding a most blasphemous letter to his former message, defying therein both him, and also the Lord his God, in a most impious manner; which justly provoked the wrath of God against him to such a degree, as brought a most dismal destruction upon him, to the cutting off almost all his army; for when, swelling with his

¹ Vide Bochart. Phaleg. part 1. lib. 1. c. 1.

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 7, 18, &c. 12 Chron. xxxii. 9, 10, &c. Isa. xxxvi.

⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 19, 20, &c. Isa. xxxvi. 4, 5, &c.

⁵ Isa. xviii. xx.

⁶ Isa. xxxvii. 2 Kings xix. 2 Chron. xxxii.

fresh victory over the Ethiopians, he was on his full march toward Jerusalem with thorough purpose utterly to destroy that place, and all in it, an angel of the Lord went forth, and in one night smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand men! so that, when he arose in the morning, he found almost all his army dead corpses; with which being terrified, he fled out of Judea in great confusion, and made all the haste he could back again to Nineveh, where he dwelt all the remainder of his life in dishonour, shame, and regret. After this, Hezekiah reigned the rest of his time in great peace and prosperity, being feared and honoured by all the nations around him, by reason of the favour which they saw he had with the Lord his God, in the great and wonderful deliverance which he had vouchsafed unto him: so that none of them, after this, would any more lift up their hand against him.

The Babylonish Talmud hath it, that this destruction upon the Assyrians was executed by lightning; and some of the Targums are quoted for saying the same thing. But it seemeth most likely that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind which is frequent in those parts,¹ and often when it lights among a multitude, destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast caravans of the Mahometans who go their annual pilgrimages to Mecca. And the words of Isaiah,² which threatened Sennacherib with a blast that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing.

Herodotus gives us,³ from the relation of the Egyptian priests, some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the Assyrians in a fabulous application of it to the city of Pelusium, instead of Jerusalem, and to Sethon the Egyptian king, instead of Hezekiah, by whose piety it was obtained; and while the king of Assyria laid siege to Pelusium, a great number of rats were miraculously sent into his army, which in one night did eat all their shield-straps, quivers, and bow-strings; so that, on their rising the next morning, finding themselves without arms for the carrying on of the war, they were forced to raise the siege and be gone. And it is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Assyria, to whom he saith this happened, by the same name of Sennacherib, as the scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree: which plainly shows that it is the same fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much disguised in the relation; which may easily be accounted for, when we consider that he comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the nation and the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such manner as might give any reputation to either.

An. 709. Hezek. 19.—After this terrible blow, and the loss of so great an army, Sennacherib was so weakened, that he had no way of again recovering himself; which making him to fall into contempt among his subjects, several of his provinces revolted from him, and particularly Media, which was the largest and the most considerable of all his empire.

The Medes, when they heard in how low a condition he was returned to Nineveh, immediately shook off his yoke, and set up for themselves,⁴ in a sort of democratical government; but soon growing sick of the confusions which this caused among them, they were forced to have recourse to monarchy for the remedy, and the next year after chose Deioces for their king, whom they had formerly made great use of as a common arbitrator of their differences; and for the great proof which he had given of his justice and abilities on such occasions, they advanced him to this dignity. He began his reign in the nineteenth year of king Hezekiah; and having repaired, beautified, and enlarged the city of Ecbatana, he made it the royal seat of his kingdom, and reigned there with great wisdom, honour, and prosperity, fifty-three years: during which time, it growing to be a great city, he is for this reason reckoned by the Greeks to have been the founder of it.

¹ Thevenot's Travels, part 2. book 1. c. 20. and p. 2. b. 2. c. 16. and p. 1. b. 2. c. 20. This wind is by the prophet Jeremiah, ch. li. 1. called "a destroying wind," where the Arabic version renders it, "a hot pestilential wind."

² Isa. xxxviii. 7. 2 Kings xix. 7.

³ Lib. 2.

⁴ Herodotus, lib. 1.

The same year Arkianus began his reign at Babylon,¹ after the decease of Mardoc-Empadus, or Merodach-Baladan, who ended his life with the former year, after having reigned over the Babylonians twelve years.

Sennacherib, after his return to Nineveh, being inflamed with rage for his great loss and disappointment, as if he would revenge himself upon his subjects for it, grew thenceforth very cruel and tyrannical in the management of his government,² especially toward the Jews and Israelites, abundance of whom he caused every day to be slain, and cast into the streets: by which savage humour having made himself so intolerable, that he could be no longer borne by his own family, his two eldest sons, Adramelech and Sharezar,³ conspired against him, and falling upon him, while he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, they there slew him with the sword; and thereon having made their escape into the land of Armenia, Esarhaddon, his third son, reigned in his stead. Some commentators,⁴ will have it, that he had vowed to sacrifice these his two sons to appease his gods, and make them more favourable to him for the restoration of his affairs and that it was to prevent this that they thus sacrificed him. But for this there is no other foundation, but that scarce any thing else can be thought of which can afford any excuse of so wicked and barbarous a parricide.

An. 706. Hezek. 22.—Esarhaddon began his reign over Assyria about the twenty-second year of king Hezekiah, which was the last of the reign of Sevechus, or Sethon, in the kingdom of Egypt; who dying, after he had reigned fourteen years, was succeeded by Tirhakah,⁵ the same who came with the Ethiopian army to his help. He was the third and last of that race that reigned in Egypt.

An. 705. Hezek. 23.—In the twenty-third year of Hezekiah, Arkianus dying without issue, there followed an interregnum of two years in the kingdom of Babylon,⁶ before they could agree upon a successor. At length Belibus,⁷ being advanced to the throne, sat in it three years. After him succeeded Apronadius,⁸ and reigned six years.

An. 699. Hezek. 29.—The same year that Apronadius began his reign at Babylon, Hezekiah ended his at Jerusalem; for he died there,⁹ after he had reigned twenty-and-nine years; and all Judah and Jerusalem did him honour at his death: for they buried him with great solemnity, in the chiefest and highest place of the sepulchres of the sons of David, expressing thereby, that they looked on him as the worthiest and best of all that had reigned over them of that family, since him that was the first founder of it.

The burial-place, called the sepulchres of the kings of the house of David (which hath been before spoken of,) was a very sumptuous and stately thing.⁸ It lies now without the walls of Jerusalem, but, as is supposed, was formerly within them,⁹ before that city was destroyed by the Romans. It consists of a large court of about one hundred and twenty feet square, with a gallery, or cloister, on the left hand; which court and gallery, with the pillars that supported it, were cut out of a solid marble rock. At the end of the gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an entrance into a large room or hall, of about twenty-four feet square, within which are several lesser rooms one within another, with stone doors opening into them; all which rooms, with the great room, were all likewise cut out of a solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser rooms are several niches, in which the corpses of the deceased kings were deposited in stone-coffins. In the innermost, or chiefest of these rooms, was the body of Hezekiah laid in a niche, perchance cut out on purpose at that time for it, in the upper end of that room, to do him the greater honour; and all this remains en-

¹ Can. Ptol. ² Tobit i. 18.

³ 2 Kings xix. 37. ⁴ 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. Isa. xxxvii. 38.

⁵ Bishop Patrick on 2 Kings xix. 37. Sallianus sub anno ante Christum 724.

⁶ Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74.

⁷ Ptol. Can. ⁸ 2 Kings xx. 21. ⁹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

⁸ Thevenot's Travels, part i. book 2. c. 40. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 76.

⁹ Maimonides in his Tract, Beth-Habechirah, c. 7. saith, "In Jerusalem, they do not allow a sepulchre except the sepulchres of the house of David, and the sepulchre of Huldah, the prophetess, which were here from the days of the former prophets." This plainly proves these sepulchres to have been within the walls of Jerusalem, and that the words of scripture, which place them in the city of David, are strictly to be understood.

are even to this day. It seems to have been the work of king Solomon, for¹ could not have been made without vast expense; and it is the only true remainder of Old Jerusalem which is now to be seen in that place.

Hezekiah, during his reign, much improved the city of Jerusalem, not only by new fortifying of it,² erecting magazines therein, and filling them with all manner of armory, which were in use in those days, but also by building a new aqueduct,³ which was of great convenience to the inhabitants for the supplying of them with water: and for the better promoting of religion,⁴ he maintained skilful scribes to collate together and write out copies of the holy scripture; and it is particularly mentioned, that the Proverbs of Solomon were thus collected together and wrote out by those men.

And in his time the Simeonites,⁴ being straitened in their habitations, much enlarged their borders toward the south: for falling on the Amalekites, who dwelt in part of Mount Seir, and in the rich valley adjoining, they smote them, and utterly destroyed them, and dwelt in their rooms.

An. 698. Manas. 1.]—But it was the misfortune of this good king Hezekiah to be succeeded by a son who was the wickedest and worst of all the whole race: for after him reigned Manasseh,⁵ who being a minor only of twelve years old, at his coming to the crown, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of such of the nobility for his guardians and chief ministers, who being ill-affected to his father's reformation, took care to breed him up in the greatest aversion to it that they were able, corrupting his youth with the worst of principles, both as to religion and government; so that when he grew up, he proved the most impious toward God, and most tyrannical and wicked toward his subjects, of any that had ever reigned, either in Jerusalem or Samaria, over the tribes of Israel; for he not only restored all the idolatry of Ahaz, but went much beyond him in every abomination, whereby the true worship of God might be suppressed, and his most holy name dishonoured in the land: for whereas Ahaz did only shut up the house of God, he converted it into an house of all manner of idolatrous profanations, setting up an image in the sanctuary, and erecting altars for Baalim, and all the host of heaven, in both its courts; and he also practised witchcrafts, and enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits, and made his children pass through the fire to Molech, and filled Judah and Jerusalem with his high places, idols, groves, and altars erected to false gods, and brought in all manner of other idolatrous profanations, whereby the true religion might be most corrupted, and all manner of impiety be most promoted, in the kingdom: and, to all these ways of abomination, he made Judah and Jerusalem to conform, raising a terrible persecution against all that would not comply with him herein, whereby he filled the whole land with innocent blood, of which he did shed very much in the carrying on of these and his other wicked purposes. And when God sent his prophets to him to tell him of these iniquities, and to exhort him to depart from them, he treated them with contempt and outrage, and several of them he put to death;⁶ and, particularly, it is said, that Isaiah the prophet on this account suffered martyrdom under him, by being cruelly sawn asunder. This was an old tradition among the Jews,⁷ and the holy apostle St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. xi. 37,) having, among the torments undergone by the prophets and martyrs of foregoing times, reckoned that of being sawn asunder, he is generally thought in that place to have had respect hereto.⁸ By which horrid iniquities and abominations God was so justly incensed against the land, that he declared hereon,⁹ that he would stretch out over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab, and wipe Jerusalem clean of all its inhabitants, as a man wipeth a dish and turneth it, when empty, upside down. Which accordingly was executed upon it, in the destruction of that city, and the desolation which was brought upon all Judah at

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17. ² 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17. ³ Prov. xxv. 1. ⁴ 1 Chron. iv. 30—43. ⁵ 2 Kings xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6 Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. ⁶ Talmud. Hierosol. in Sanhedrin, fol. 23. col. 3. Talm. Babylon in Jevamoth, fol. 49. col. 2. et in Sanhedrin, fol. 103. col. 2. Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, fol. 19. col. 1. Yalkut in Lib. Regum, fol. 38. col. 4. ⁷ Vid. Justin. Martyr. in Dialogo cum Tryphone. Hieronymum in Esaiam, c. 20. et 37. Epiphanius et alios. ⁸ 2 Kings xxi. 13.

the same time. And among all the iniquities that drew down these heavy judgments upon that city and land, the sins of Manasseh are always reckoned as the most provoking cause;¹ by which an estimate may be best made of the greatness of them.

An. 694. Manas. 5.]—In the fifth year of Manasseh died Apronadius,² king of Babylon, and was succeeded by Regibilus,² who reigned only one year. After him Mesessimordacus³ had the kingdom, and held it four years.

An. 688. Manas. 11.]—In the eleventh year of Manasseh died Tirhakah,³ king of Egypt, after he had reigned there eighteen years, who was the last of the Ethiopian kings that reigned in that country. The Egyptians, after his death, not being able to agree about the succession, continued for two years together in a state of anarchy and great confusion,⁴ till at length⁵ twelve of the principal nobility conspiring together, seized the kingdom, and, dividing it among themselves into twelve parts, governed it by joint confederacy fifteen years.

An. 680. Manas. 19.]—The same year that this happened in Egypt, by the death of Tirhakah, the like happened in Babylon, by the death of Mesessimordacus. For, he leaving no son behind him to inherit the kingdom, an interregnum of anarchy and confusion followed there for eight years together;⁶ of which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, taking the advantage, seized Babylon; and adding it to his former empire, thenceforth reigned over both for thirteen years.⁷ He is, in the Canon of Ptolemy, called Assar-Addinus: and in the scriptures he is spoken of as king of Babylon and Assyria jointly together.⁸ In Ezra he is called Asnapper,⁹ and hath there the honourable epithets of the great and noble added to his name by the author of that book; which argues him to have been a prince of great excellency and worth in his time, and far exceeding all others that reigned before him in either of the kingdoms.

An. 677. Manas. 22.]—In the twenty-second year of Manasseh, Esarhaddon, after he had now entered on the fourth year of his reign in Babylon, and fully settled his authority there, began to set his thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the empire of the Assyrians, in Syria and Palestine, on the destruction of his father's army in Judea, and on that doleful retreat, which thereon he was forced to make from thence; and, being encouraged to this undertaking by the great augmentation of strength which he had acquired, by adding Babylon and Chaldea to his former kingdom of Assyria, he prepared a great army and marched into those parts, and again added them to the Assyrian empire. And then was accomplished the prophecy which was spoken by Isaiah, in the first year of Ahaz, against Samaria, that, within threescore and five years, Ephraim should be absolutely broken, so as from thenceforth to be no more a people.¹⁰ For this year, being exactly sixty-five years from the first of Ahaz, Esarhaddon, after he had settled all affairs in Syria, marched into the land of Israel, and there taking captive all those who were the remains of the former captivity (excepting only some few, who escaped his hands, and continued still in the land,) carried them away into Babylon and Assyria; and then, to prevent the land from becoming desolate, he brought others from Babylon,¹¹ and from Cutha, and from Avah, and Hamath, and Sephervaim, to dwell in the cities of Samaria in their stead. And so the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away, as well in this as the former captivities (excepting only some few, who joining themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity, returned with

1 2 Kings xxiii. 26. xxiv. 3. Jer. xv. 4. 2 Can. Ptolemei. 3 Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74.

4 Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. 5 Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. 6 Canon Ptolemei.

7 Ibid.

8 He is said, as king of Assyria, to have brought a colony out of Babylon into Samaria. 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 9, 10. which he could not have done, if he had not been king of Babylon, as well as of Assyria, at that time. And, in 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. he is said, as king of Assyria, to have taken Manasseh prisoner, and to have carried him to Babylon, which argues him at that time to have been king of Babylon also.

9 Ezra iv. 10.

10 Isa. vii. 8.

11 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2. 10.

them,) soon going into the usages and idolatry of the nations among whom they were planted (to which they were too much addicted while in their own land,) after awhile became wholly absorbed and swallowed up in them; and thenceforth utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoken of. And whereas there is a sect of Samaritans still remaining in Samaria, Sichem, and other towns thereabout, even to this day, who still have the law of Moses in a character peculiar to themselves, and in a dialect very little, if any thing at all, different from that of the Jews: yet these are not of the descendants of the Israelites, but of those nations which Esarhaddon brought to dwell in that country in their stead, after the others had been carried thence into captivity; and, for this reason, the Jews call them by no other name than that of Cuthites (the name of one of those nations whom Esarhaddon had planted there,) and have that utter hatred and aversion to them, that, reckoning them among the worst of heretics, they express on all occasions a greater detestation of them than they do even of the Christians themselves.

Esarhaddon, after he had thus possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his princes with part of his army into Judea, to reduce that country also under his subjection; who having vanquished Manasseh in battle,¹ and taken him, hid in a thicket of thorns, brought him prisoner to Esarhaddon, who bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon; where, his chains and his prison having brought him to himself, and a due sense of his great sin, wherewith he had sinned against the Lord his God, he returned unto him with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction greatly humbled himself before him; whereon, God being entreated of by him, he mollified the heart of the king of Babylon toward him, so that, on a treaty, he was again restored to his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem; and then, knowing the Lord to be God, he abolished all those idolatrous profanations, both out of the temple, and out of all other parts of the land, which he had in his wickedness introduced into them, and again restored in all things the reformation of king Hezekiah, his father, and walked according thereto all the remainder of his life, worshipping the Lord his God only, and none other. And all Judah conformed to him herein; so that he continued in prosperity after this to the end of his reign, which was the longest of any of the kings that had sat on the throne of David, either before or after him: for he reigned full fifty-five years, and these being all reckoned to his reign without any chasm, it is argued from hence that his captivity at Babylon could not have been long; but that he was, within a very short time after, again released from it.

And to this time may be referred the completion of the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the removal of Shebna,² the chief minister of state, and the advancement of Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, in his place. Both of them had been ministers of state under king Hezekiah; Shebna having been his scribe or secretary, and Eliakim the master of his household. And their history, as far as may be collected from the words of the prophet, appears to be thus:—Shebna, being a very wicked man, was a fit person to serve the lusts and evil inclinations of Manasseh in the first part of his reign, and therefore was made his first minister of state; and Eliakim, who was of a quite contrary character, was quite laid aside. But on the revolution that happened on the coming of the army of the Assyrians, Shebna was taken prisoner with his master,³ and carried to Babylon, and there detained in captivity to his death.⁴ And therefore Manasseh, on his repentance and return to Jerusalem, having resolved on other measures, called for Eliakim, and put the management of all his affairs into his hands; who being a person of great wisdom, justice, and piety, soon re-established them upon the same foot as they had been in the days of Hezekiah, and so preserved them in peace and prosperity all his time to the great honour of the king, and the good of all his people; and therefore he hath the character given him of being a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to all the house of Judah,⁵ and that, having

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4.

⁴ Ibid. xxii. 18. ⁵ Isa. xxii. 21.

² Isa. xxii. 15–25.

³ Isa. xxii. 17.

the key and government of the house of David upon his shoulders, he was the great support of it all his days.¹ This Eliakim is supposed to have been of the pontifical family, and to have himself, in the time of Manasseh, borne the office of high-priest, and to have been the same who is mentioned by the name of Joakim, or Eliakim, in the history of Judith, as high-priest at that time; for Joakim and Eliakim are both the same name, being both of the same signification in the Hebrew tongue; and therefore, the said high-priest in Judith is, in the Syriac version, and also in Jerome's Latin version of that book, called promiscuously by both these names. But of this more will be said hereafter in its proper place.

An. 676. Manas. 23.—The nations which Esarhaddon had brought to dwell in the cities of Samaria, instead of the Israelites, who had been carried thence, being, on their settling in that country, much infested with lions;² and the king of Babylon being told, that it was because they worshipped not the God of the country, he ordered, that one of the priests which had been carried thence, should be sent back to teach these new inhabitants how to worship the God of Israel. But they only took him hereon into the number of their former deities, and worshipped him jointly with the gods of the nations from whence they came; and in this corruption of joining the worship of their false gods with that of the true, they continued, till the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim by Sanballat; but, on that occasion, abundance of Jews falling off to them, they reduced them from this idolatry to the worship of the true God only, as shall be hereafter related; and they have continued in the same worship ever since, even to this day.

An. 671. Manas. 28.—In the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of Manasseh, the twelve confederated sovereigns of Egypt, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling out among themselves, expelled Psammitichus, one of their number, out of his share,³ which he had hitherto had with them in the government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereon, flying into the fens near the sea, he lay hid there, till, having gotten together out of the Arabian freebooters, and the pirates of Caria and Ionia, such a number of soldiers, as with the Egyptians of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven; and having overthrown them in battle, slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the land; and thereon seizing the whole kingdom to himself, reigned over it in great prosperity fifty and four years.

An. 670. Manas. 29.—As soon as he was well settled in the kingdom, he entered into a war with the king of Assyria, about the boundaries of their two empires,⁴ which lasted many years: for, after the Assyrians had conquered Syria, Palestine only separating their respective territories, it became a constant bone of contention between them, as it was between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ afterward, both parties striving which of the two should have the mastery of this province; and, according as they prevailed, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, possessed themselves of it. From the time of Hezekiah, it appears to have been in the hands of the Egyptians till the captivity of Manasseh. But when Esarhaddon had conquered Judea, and carried the king prisoner to Babylon (as hath been above mentioned,) it is plain, that, from thenceforth the king of Assyria became master of all, even to the very entry of Egypt; and the Egyptians, being at that time divided under several princes, and in civil wars among themselves, were in no capacity to put a stop to this progress. But when Psammitichus had gained the whole monarchy to himself, and again settled the affairs of that kingdom upon its former foundation (which happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh,) he thought it time to look to the frontiers of his kingdom, and secure them as well as he could against the power of this growing neighbour, and therefore marched with an army into

¹ Isa. xxii. 22.⁴ Herodot. lib. 2.² 2 Kings xvii.³ Herodot. lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

Palestine for this purpose; but, in the entry thereof, he found Ashdod, one of the first towns of that country, so strong a barrier against him, that it cost him a blockade of nine-and-twenty years¹ before he could make himself master of it.

This place had formerly been one of the five capital cities of the country of the Philistines.² After this, the Egyptians got possession of it, and by well fortifying it, made it so strong a barrier of their empire on that side, that Sennacherib could not enter Egypt, till he had, by Tartan, one of his generals, made himself master of it;³ and, when he had gotten it into his possession, finding the importance of the place, he added so much to its strength, that notwithstanding his unfortunate retreat out of Egypt, and the terrible loss of his army in Judea, immediately after, the Assyrians still kept it even to this time; and it was not without that long and tedious siege, which I have mentioned, that the Egyptians at last became again masters of it. And, when they had gotten it, they found it in such a manner wasted and reduced by so long a war, that it did them but little service afterward: it being then no more than the carcass of that city, which it had formerly been. And therefore, the prophet Jeremiah, speaking of it, calls it "the remnant of Ashdod,"⁴ intimating thereby, that it was then only the poor remains of what it had been in times foregoing.

But, notwithstanding this long siege, the whole war did not rest there. While part of the army lay at the blockade, the rest carried on the war against the other parts of Palestine; and so it continued many years, which obliged Manasseh to fortify Jerusalem anew,⁵ and to put strong garrisons into all his frontier towns against them; for since his release from the captivity of the Assyrians, and the restoration of his kingdom again to him, he was obliged to become their homager, and engage on their side in this war against the Egyptians, although they had been his former allies. And, the better to enable him to support himself herein, and also the more firmly to fix him in his fidelity to them, they seem at this time to have put under his command all the other parts of the land of Canaan, that is, all that had formerly been possessed by the kings of Samaria, as well as what belonged to him as king of Judah; for it is certain, that Josiah, his grandson, had all this (as will be hereafter shown,) that is, not only the two tribes which made up the kingdom of Judah, but also that had formerly been possessed by the other ten under the kings of Israel. And the most probable account that can be given of his coming by all this, is, that it was all given to Manasseh on this occasion, to hold in homage of the kings of Assyria, and that, after his death, it was continued to his son and grandson on the same conditions; in the performance of which, that good and just prince, king Josiah, afterward lost his life, as will be shown in its proper place.

An. 668. Manas. 31. An. 656. Manas. 43.—In the thirty-first year of Manasseh died Esarhaddon, after he had reigned, with great felicity, thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians; and Saosduchinus, his son, reigned in his stead.⁶ He is the same who in the book of Judith is called Nabuchodonosor.⁷ In the beginning of the twelfth year of his reign, which was the forty-third of Manasseh, he fought a great battle in the plains of Ragau,⁸ with Deioces, king of Media (who in the book of Judith is called Arphaxad,⁹) and having overthrown him, and put him to flight, pursued after him to the adjacent mountains, where he made his retreat, and there, having overtaken him, he cut him off and all his army; and thereon following his blow, and making the best of the advantage he had gotten, he made himself master of many of the cities of Media, and among them took Ecbatana itself,¹⁰ the royal seat of the Median empire; and after having miserably defaced it, returned in great triumph to Nineveh, and there took his pleasure in banqueting and feasting, both he and his army, for an hundred and twenty days.

An. 655. Manas. 44.—After this time of feasting was over, he called his offi-

¹ Herodot. lib. 2.

² Chron. xxxiii. 14.

³ Ibid. i. 1.

⁴ 1 Sam. vi. 17.

⁵ Canon Ptol.

⁶ Ibid. i. 14.

⁷ Isa. xx. 1.

⁸ Judith i. 1.

⁹ Jer. xxv. 20.

¹⁰ Ibid. i. 5.

cers, nobles, and chief counsellors¹ together, to take an account of what tributary countries and provinces had not gone with him to the war, for he had summoned them all to attend him herein; and, finding that none of the western countries had paid any regard to his commands in this matter, he made a decree, that Holofernes, the chief captain of his army, should go forth, to execute the wrath of his lord upon them for it. And accordingly, the next year after, he marched westward with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and there wasted and destroyed a great many of those nations; till at length coming into Judea, and laying siege to Bathulia, he was there destroyed, and all his army cut in pieces, in the manner as is in the book of Judith at full related.

That Arphaxad in the said book of Judith was Deioces, and Nabuchodonosor, Saosduchinus, appears from hence, that Arphaxad is said to be that king of Media, who was the founder of Ecbatana,² which all other writers agree to have been Deioces; and the beginning of the twelfth year of Saosduchinus exactly agreeth with the last year of Deioces, when this battle of Ragau is said to have been fought. And there are several particulars in that history, which make it utterly inconsistent with any other times; for it was while Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire;³ it was while the Persians,⁴ Syrians, Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, were subject to them; it was while the Median empire was in being,⁵ and not long after the building of Ecbatana; none of which could be after the captivity of Judah, where some would place this history. For, before that time, Nineveh had been long destroyed, and both the Assyrian and Median empires had been wholly extinguished; and the Persians, instead of being subject to the Assyrians, had made themselves lords over them, and over all the other nations from the east, from the Hellespont to the River Indus: for so far they had extended and established their empire, before the Jews were returned from the Babylonish captivity, and settled again in their own country. And therefore, we must go much higher than the times after that captivity, to find a proper scene for the matters in that book related; and it can be no where laid more agreeably, both with scripture and profane history, than in the time where I have placed it.

This book of Judith was originally written in the Chaldee language,⁶ by some Jew of Babylon (which is not now extant,) and from thence, at the desire of Paula and Eustochium, was by St. Jerome translated into the Latin tongue; which is the translation that is now extant in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, of which he himself saith, in the preface before it, that he did not translate it word for word, but only rendered it according to the sense of the author; and that, cutting off all the corruptions of various readings, which he found in different copies, he did put only that into the translation, which he judged to be the true and entire sense of the original. But besides this translation of St. Jerome there are two others, one in Greek, and the other in Syriac. That which is in Greek is attributed to Theodotion, who flourished in the time of Commodus, who was made Roman emperor in the year of Christ 180. But it must be much more ancient; for Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians (which was wrote near one hundred and twenty years before,) brings a quotation out of it. The Syriac translation was made from the Greek, and so was also the English, which we at present have among the apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that all these three versions, last mentioned, have several particulars which are not in Jerome's; and some of these seem to be of those various readings, which he professeth to have cut off as corruptions of the text; and particularly that which is added in the thirteenth verse of the first chapter appears to be of this sort: for there the battle of Ragau is placed in the seventeenth year of Nabuchodonosor, which is directly contradictory to what is in the former part of the same chapter; for there it is positively said, that it was

1 Judith ii.

2 Ibid. i. 2.

3 Ibid. i. 1.

4 Ibid. i. 7-10.

5 Ibid. i. 1. 2.

6 Hieronymi Præfatio in Librum Judith.

in the twelfth year of his reign. And, agreeably hereto, Jerome's version placeth the expedition of Holofernes (that was the next year after) in the thirteenth year of Nebuchodonosor, which is the truth of the matter; whereas the other, following the blunder of the former contradiction, makes another, by placing it in the eighteenth year of his reign, and so renders that part of the history wholly inconsistent with itself. And, therefore, certainly, in this particular, Jerome's version is to be preferred, which gives good reason to think that it ought to be so in all the rest, wherever there is any difference between them.

But still, whether the book be a true or a feigned history, is what learned men are not agreed in. The Romanists will have it all to be true; for they have received it into the canon of divine writ. But, on the other hand, it is the opinion of Grotius,¹ that it is wholly a parabolical fiction, written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he came into Judea, to raise a persecution against the Jewish church; and that the design of it was to confirm the Jews under that persecution in their hopes that God would send them a deliverance: "That therein, by Judith is meant Judea; by Bethulia, the temple, or house of God; and by the sword, which went out from thence, the prayers of the saints; that Nebuchodonosor doth there denote the devil; and the kingdom of Assyria the devil's kingdom—pride; that by Holofernes is there meant the instrument or agent of the devil in that persecution; Antiochus Epiphanes, who made himself master of Judea, that fair widow, so called, because destitute of relief; that Eliakim signifies God, who would arise in his defence, and at length cut off that instrument of the devil who would have corrupted her." This particular explication of the parable (as he will have it to be) is, I confess, the peculiar fancy of this great man; but otherwise there are abundance of other learned writers among the protestants, who agree with him in the general, that this book is rather a parabolical than a real history, made for the instructing and comforting of the people of the Jews under that figure, and not to give them a narrative of any thing really done: and their reason for it is, that they think it utterly inconsistent with all times, where it hath been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the captivity of the Jews. My putting it in the time of Manasseh takes off all the objections which are brought to prove its inconsistency with the times after the captivity, which, I confess, are unanswerable.

But where it here stands the objections from the other part still remain; and they are these following:—1st, That Joakim, or Eliakim (for they are acknowledged to be both the same name,²) is said in the history of Judith to have been then high-priest; but there is none of that name to be found, either in the scriptures or in Josephus, that was high-priest before the captivity. 2dly, Achior, the Ammonite, in his speech to Holofernes, (ch. v. ver. 18.) there speaks of the temple as having been lately cast to the ground, which was not done till the last year of the reign of Zedekiah; and therefore, this cannot be consistent with any time before it; and the third verse of chapter the fourth, plainly puts it after the captivity; for there the text is, that the people of the Jews were newly returned from their captivity, when Holofernes invaded Judea. 3dly, The chief management of the public affairs of the state are in that book placed wholly in the high-priest, without any mention made of the king throughout the whole of it, or implying, in the least, that there was then any such government in the land; which renders it wholly inconsistent with any other times than those in which there was no king in Judah. 4thly, That, in the conclusion of the book, Judith is said to have lived an hundred and five years; and that none made the children of Israel any more afraid in all her days, nor a long time after her death. But supposing her to have been forty-five years old when she went out to Holofernes (and in an older age she cannot well be supposed to have beauty enough to charm such a man) to make her an hundred and five years old, there

¹ In *Prefatione ad Annotationes in Librum Judith.*

² For they are both of the same signification, *El* being the name of God in one, as *Jehovah* is in the other and the latter part of the name is the same in both; and therefore, as *Jehoiakim*, or *Joakim*, king of Judah is called also *Eliakim*, so this high-priest is, in the version of Jerome, called promiscuously by both names.

must be sixty years more added to her life, which will carry down her death to the fourth year of Zedekiah, when the state of the Jews had for several years been exceedingly disturbed by the Babylonians, and was, within a little while after, totally subverted by them; which makes both her life and death absolutely inconsistent with the times in which they are above placed.

To the first of these objections it may be answered, 1st, That though there be no such person as Joakim, or Eliakim, named in scripture to have been high-priest before the captivity, yet this is no argument but that there might have been such a one; for the scripture no where professteth to give us an exact catalogue of all such as had been high-priests till the captivity. That which looks most like it is what we have in the sixth chapter of the first book of Chronicles. But that is only a direct lineal descent of the pontifical family from Aaron to Josadak, the son of Seraiah, who was high priest at the captivity, and not a catalogue of such as had borne the pontifical office; for several are in that pedigree who never were high-priests, and several are left out that were. The high-priests of the family of Eli are instances of the latter; for they are left out of that pedigree, though they were high-priests: and those of the true race, who were excluded by them, are instances of the former; for they are in it though they never were high-priests. And it is very likely, that, from the time of Solomon to the captivity, many more such instances might have happened to hinder that pedigree from being an exact catalogue of the high-priests: for, on the minority, or some other unqualifying defect of the right heir, the next collateral must have been admitted to the office, whose name could not come into the pedigree; and, on the failing of an elder branch (as might have happened,) the heir of the next collateral branch must have come into the office; and then the ancestors of the collateral successor must be in the pedigree, though they never had been in the office; and those of the elder branch, though they had been in the office, could not be in the pedigree, because it had failed. For it is only the pedigree of Josadak, the son of Seraiah, who was high-priest at the captivity, which is in a direct line from Aaron, that is given us in the sixth chapter of the first book of Chronicles: and it being the usage of the Jews in their pedigrees to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant, by leaving out those who are between, of which abundance of instances may be given in scripture, it is possible this also might have happened in this case. And thus much is certain, that four high-priests named in scripture are not in that pedigree; *i. e.* Jehoiada, and Zachariah his son, who were high-priests in the reign of Joash; Azariah, who was high-priest in the reign of Uzziah; and Urijah, who was high-priest in the reign of Ahaz, kings of Judah. There are indeed two Azariahs named in that pedigree, besides the Azariah who was the father of Seraiah; but neither of these two could be the Azariah that was high-priest in the time of Uzziah: for Amariah,¹ the son of the last of the said two Azariahs in that pedigree, was high-priest in the time of Jehosaphat, five generations before. As to the pedigrees of the high-priests in Ezra and Nehemiah, they are but imperfect parts of that which we have in the sixth chapter of the first book of Chronicles. As for the catalogue of Josephus, it is so corrupted, that scarce five of the names in it agree with any thing that we have in scripture. And, therefore, putting all this together, Joakim or Eliakim might have been high-priest in the time of Manasseh, though there be no mention of him as such, by either of his names, either in the holy scriptures, or in the history of Josephus. But, 2ndly, That this Joakim or Eliakim (for both, as hath been before observed, is the same name) is not named in scripture is not certainly true: for there are some who will have Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, that is, before spoken of, to have been the person, and understand what is said in Isa. xxii. 21. of the robe and the girdle, which he was to put on, as meant of the pontifical robe and girdle; and therefore infer from hence, that he was high-priest: and St. Jerome² and St. Cyril, among the ancients, both were of this opinion. And,

¹ 2 Chron. xix. 11.

² In Esaiam xxii.

it must be said, that what is there prophesied of him by Isaiah that God would commit the government of the state to his hands, in the room of Shebna, who was chief minister before him; and that he should be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah; and that the key of the house of David should be laid upon his shoulder, to open and to shut without control, as he should think fit, doth very well agree with that part which Joakim is said to have acted in the book of Judith. But that he was the same person is what I durst not from that, which is brought to prove it, lay much stress upon; neither is there any need of it for the satisfying of this objection, what I have else said being sufficient for it.

Andly, As to the objection from ch. iv. 3. of Judith, and from the speech of Achior (ch. v. 18,) the words on which they are founded are not in Jerome's version; and therefore, it is most likely they were put into the Greek version (from whence the English is taken) from some of those corrupted copies of the original which Jerome complains of: for in his version (which he made from the best corrected copies of the original Chaldee,) ver. 3. of chap. iv. is wholly left out, as are also those words of ch. v. 18. which speak of *the temple's having been cast to the ground*. And although there be words still remaining in Jerome's version, as well as in our English, which speak of the captivity and dispersion of the Jews, and their late restoration again to their own land; yet they are none other than what may be understood of the Assyrian captivity, in the time of Manasseh, than of the Babylonish which happened afterward. As to the third objection, it is possible Manasseh might be then engaged in the defence of some other part of his kingdom, and therefore had intrusted Joakim with the management of all affairs at Jerusalem during his absence. And if he were the Eliakim mentioned in the twenty-second chapter of Isaiah, and, as chief minister of state, was then invested with all that amplitude of trust and power as is there described, that might be reason enough for him only to be made mention of in this transaction, without naming of his master at all therein.

But, lastly, To give a satisfactory answer to the fourth objection, I must confess is not in my power. Could we put this history so far back as the minority of Manasseh, this would not only afford us an answer to this objection, but would also give us a much clearer one to the last proceeding. For then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor king, but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom, in the transacting of the whole affair: and the death of Judith would, on this supposition, be at such a distance from the destruction of the Jewish state, as not to make this objection unanswerable. But the wickedness of the pupil will not allow him to have been bred under so good a man for his governor, as Eliakim is described to be. And what is said in the eighteenth and nineteenth verses of the fifth chapter of Judith, concerning the captivity and restoration of the Jews, and is retained also in Jerome's version, must necessarily refer the matters therein related to those times which followed the captivity of Manasseh, and the restoration of him and his people again to their own land. And the chronology of this history will not permit the beginning of it to fall any where else, but in the twelfth year of Saosduchianus, and the last of Deioeces; and these two characters of the time exactly concurring, according to Herodotus and Ptolemy, do unavoidably determine us to fix it here. However, our not being able to clear this difficulty, is not a sufficient reason for us to reject the whole history. There is scarce any history written, but what to the next age after may appear, as to time, place, and other circumstances, with those seeming inconsistencies, as cannot then be easily reconciled, when the memory of men begin to fail concerning them. And how much more, then, may we be apt to blunder, when we take our view at the distance of above two thousand years, and have no other light to discern the so far distant object by, than such glimmerings from broken scraps of history, as leave us next door to groping in the dark for whatsoever knowledge we get by them? That which seemeth most probable in this case is, that the writer of this book, the more to magnify his heroine, attri-

buted too long a continuance to that peace, which was by her obtained for the land: for, according to this account, it must have lasted at least eighty years;¹ which being what they never had enjoyed from the time they were a nation, or what scarce any other nation ever had, I would rather choose to allow a fiction in this particular, than for the sake of it condemn the whole book as such, which seemeth to carry with it the heir of a true history in all other particulars.

However, I must acknowledge, that what is above said in the defence of this book, for its being a true history, doth not so far clear the matter, especially in respect of the fourth objection, but that if any one will still contend that it is only a religious romance, and not a true history; that, according to the intention of the author, the scene of it was put under the reign of Xerxes, when Joakim, the son of Joshua, was high-priest,² and the civil government of Judea as well as the ecclesiastical, was in the hands of that officer; and that the inconsistency of so many particulars in that book, with the state and transactions of those times, was only from the ignorance of the author in the history of the said times, and his unskilfulness in placing the scene of his story in them; I say, if any one will insist on all this, notwithstanding what is above said, I shall not enter into any controversy with him about it; only thus much I must insist on, that if it be a true history (which I am inclined most to think, though I will not be positive in it,) it can fall no where else, but in the time where I have laid it.

After the death of Deioces, Phraortes his son succeeded in the kingdom of Media³, and reigned over it twenty-two years.

An. 648. *Manas. 51.*—In the fifty-first year of Manasseh, died Saosduchinus, king of Babylon and Assyria,⁴ and Chyniladanus reigned in his stead.

An. 644. *Manas. 55.*—Manasseh, king of Judah, after he had reigned fifty-five years, and lived sixty-seven, died at Jerusalem;⁵ and, notwithstanding his signal repentance, since his former wickedness had been so great, they would not allow him the honour of being buried in the sepulchres of the sons of David, but laid him in a grave made for him in his own garden.

An. 643. *Ammon 1.*—After Manasseh reigned Ammon his son; who, imitating the first part of his father's reign, rather than the latter, gave himself up to all manner of wickedness and impiety; whereon the servants of his house conspired against him, and slew him, after he had reigned two years. But the people of the land severely revenged the murder, putting them all to death that had any hand in it. However, they would not give him in his burial the honour of a place among the sepulchres of the sons of David, but buried him in the garden by his father; which shows, that though they condemned the wickedness of his reign, they would not allow of the violence that was offered to his person; though it may well be supposed, that nothing less than the highest tyranny and oppression could have provoked his own domestics to it.

An. 640. *Josiah 1.*—After the death of Ammon, Josiah his son succeeded him in the kingdom,⁶ being then but eight years old. But having the happiness to fall under the conduct of better guardians in his minority than did Manasseh his grandfather, he proved, when grown up, a prince of very extraordinary worth; equalling in piety, virtue, and goodness, if not exceeding herein, the best of his predecessors.

Although Ammon reigned but two years, yet the beginning of the reign of Josiah is here put at the distance of three years from the beginning of the first year of Ammon, because the odd months of the reign of Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Ammon, over and above the round number of years, which they are said to have reigned, do by this time amount to a whole year more, which the chronology of the ensuing history makes necessary to be here supposed.

An. 635. *Josiah 6.*—In the sixth year of Josiah, Phraortes,⁷ king of Media,

¹ For allowing her to have been forty-five years old at the time of her killing Holofernes, there must be sixty years after to the time of her death, and "a long time after" in the text (*Judith xvi. 25.*) cannot imply less than twenty years more. But if we suppose her to be but twenty-five at the killing of Holofernes (which is more likely,) it will carry down the computation even beyond the destruction of Jerusalem, which makes the objection much stronger.

² Neh. xii. 10. 26.

³ Herodotus, lib. 1.

⁴ Canon Ptolema.

⁵ 2 Kings xxi. 18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

⁶ 2 Kings xxii.

⁷ 2 Chron. xxxiv.

⁸ Herodotus, lib. 1.

having brought under him all the Upper Asia (which is all that lay north of Mount Taurus, from Media to the River Halys,) and made the Persians also become subject unto him, elated his thoughts on these successes, to the revenging of himself upon the Assyrians for his father's death, and accordingly marched with a great army against them, and having made himself master of the country, laid siege to Nineveh itself, the capital of the empire. But he had there the misfortune to meet with the same ill fate that his father had in the former war; for, being overthrown in the attempt, he and all his army perished in it.

An. 633. Josiah 8.]—Josiah, in the eighth year of his reign,¹ being now sixteen years old, took on him the administration of the kingdom; and beginning with the reformation of religion, endeavoured to purge it of all those corruptions which had been introduced in the time of Ammon and Manasseh, his father and grandfather; and did set his heart to seek the Lord his God with all his might, as did David his father.

Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes,² having succeeded his father in the kingdom of Media, as soon as he had well settled himself in the government, drew together a great army to be revenged on the Assyrians for the late loss, and, having overthrown them in a great battle, led the Medes the second time to the siege of Nineveh; but, before he could make any progress therein, he was called off to defend his own territories against a new enemy. For the Scythians, from the parts about the Palus Meotis, passing round the Caucasus, had made a great inroad upon them; whereby he was forced to leave Nineveh to march against them. But he had not the same success in this war, which he had against the Assyrians: for the Scythians, having vanquished him in battle, dispossessed him of all the Upper Asia, and reigned there twenty-eight years: during which time, they enlarged their conquests into Syria, and as far as the borders of Egypt. But there Psammitichus, king of Egypt, having met them, prevailed with entreaties and large gifts, that they proceeded no farther; and thereby saved his country from this dangerous invasion. In this expedition, they seized on Bethshean,³ a city in the territories of the tribe of Manasseh on this side Jordan, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia; and therefore from them it was afterward called Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians. But how far the ravages of these barbarians might affect Judea, is nowhere said, although there can be no doubt but that those parts, as well as the rest of Palestine, both in their march to the borders of Egypt, and also in their return from thence, must have suffered much by them. It is related of them, that in their passage through the land of the Philistines, on their return from Egypt, some of the stragglers robbed the temple of Venus at Askalon,⁴ and that for the punishment hereof they and their posterity were afflicted with emroids for a long while after; which lets us know, that the Philistines had till then still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on the account of the ark of God.⁵ For, from that time, it seems, they looked on this disease as the proper punishment from the hand of God, for all such like sacrilegious impieties; and, for this reason, assigned it to the Scythians in their histories, on their charging of them there with this crime.

An. 629. Josiah 12.]—Josiah, in the twelfth year of his reign,⁶ being now twenty years old, and having farther improved himself in the knowledge of God and his laws, proceeded according thereto farther to perfect that reformation which he had begun. And therefore, making a strict inquiry, by a general progress through the land, after all the relics of idolatry which might be any where remaining therein, he broke down all the altars of Baalim with the idols erected on high before them, and all the high places, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces all the carved images, and the molten images, and digged up the graves of the idolatrous priests, and burned their bones upon all places of idolatrous worship, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever; and when he had thus cleansed all Judah and Jerusalem, he went into the cities of Ephraim and Ma-

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.
⁵ 1 Sam. v

² Herodotus, lib. 1.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3–5, &c.

³ Syncellus, p. 214.

⁴ 5 Herodotus, lib. 1

nasseh, and all the rest of the land, that had formerly been possessed by the ten tribes of Israel (for all this was then subject to him,) and there did the same thing.

An. 628. Josiah 13.]—In the thirteenth year of Josiah,¹ Jeremiah was called to the prophetic office, which he afterward executed for above forty years, in warning Judah and Jerusalem of the wrath of God impending on them for their iniquities, and in calling them to repentance for the averting of it: till at length, on their continuing wholly obdurate in their evil ways, it was poured out in full measure upon both in a most calamitous destruction.

An. 626. Josiah 15.]—In the fifteenth year of Josiah, Chyniladanus, king of Babylon and Assyria, having, by his effeminacy and unprofitableness in the state, made himself contemptible to his people, Nabopollasar,² who was general of his army, took this advantage to set up for himself, and being a Babylonian by birth, made use of his interest there to seize that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned king of Babylon twenty-one years.

An. 623. Josiah 18.]—Josiah, in the eighteenth year of his reign,³ took especial care for the repairing of the house of God, and therefore sent several of the chief officers of his court to take an account of the money collected for it, and to lay his command upon Hilkiah the high-priest, that he should see it forthwith laid out in the doing of the work, so that all might be put in thorough repair. The high-priest, in pursuance of this order, took a general view of the house, to see what was necessary to be done; and, while he was thus examining every place, he found the authentic copy of the law of Moses. This ought to have been laid up on the side of the ark of the covenant in the most holy place;⁴ but it was taken out thence, and hid elsewhere in the time of Manasseh, as it is conjectured, that it might not be destroyed by him in the time of his iniquity. This book Hilkiah sent to the king by Shaphan the scribe, who, on his delivering of it to the king, did by his command read some part of it to him. The place which, on the opening of the book, he happened on, was (say the Jewish doctors) that part of the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, wherein are denounced the curses of God against the people of Israel, and against the king in particular (verse 26,) in case they should not keep the law which he had commanded them. On the hearing of this, Josiah rent his clothes through grief, and was seized with great fear and consternation, on the account both of himself and his people, as knowing how much they and their fathers had transgressed this law, and dreading the curses denounced against them for it. To ease his mind under this trouble and anxiety of his thoughts, he sent Hilkiah the high-priest, with several of his officers to Huldah the prophetess, to inquire of the Lord. The answer which they brought back was a sentence of destruction upon Judah and Jerusalem; but that as to Josiah, because of his repentance, the execution of it should be delayed till after his days. However, the good king, to appease the wrath of God as much as lay in his power, called together a solemn assembly of all the elders, and people of Judah and Jerusalem; and, going up with them to the temple, caused the law of God to be there read to them, and after that both king and people publicly entered into a solemn covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all their heart and all their soul; and to perform all the words of the covenant that were written in that book. And after this he made another progress through the land, to purge it of all other abominations of idolatry or other wickedness, which might be still remaining in it, which he thoroughly rooted out in all parts of his kingdom in such manner, as is in the twenty-third chapter of the second book of Kings at large related. And particularly he destroyed the altar and high place, which Jeroboam had built at Bethel, first polluting them by burning on them the bones of men, taken out of their sepulchres near adjoin-

¹ Jer. i. 2. xxv. 3.

² Alexander Polyhistor apud Eusebium in *Clronico*, p. 46. et apud Syncellum, p. 210.

³ 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

⁴ Deut. xxxi. 26.

ing, and then breaking down the altar and burning the high place and the grove, and stamping them all to powder; whereby he fulfilled what had been prophesied of him by name many ages before in the time of Jeroboam.¹ And he did the same in all the rest of the cities of Samaria, destroying every remainder of idolatry which he could any where find in any of them. And when the next passover approached, he caused that feast to be kept with so great a solemnity and concourse of people, from all parts of the land, that it not only exceeded the passover of Hezekiah, which is before mentioned, but all other passovers, from the days of Samuel the prophet to that time.

By the behaviour both of the high-priest, as well as of the king, at the finding of the book of the law, it plainly appears that neither of them had seen any copy of it before; which shows into how corrupt a state the church of the Jews was then sunk, till this good king reformed it: for although Hezekiah kept scribes on purpose to collect together and write out copies of the holy scriptures,² yet, through the iniquity of the times that after followed in the reigns of Manasseh and Ammon, they had either been so destroyed, or else so neglected and lost, that there were then none of them left in the land, unless in some few private hands, where they were kept up and concealed till this copy was found in the temple; and therefore, after this time (by the care, we may be assured, of this religious prince,) were written out those copies of the law and other holy scriptures then in being, which were preserved after the captivity, and out of which Ezra made his edition of them, in such a manner, as will be hereafter related.

An. 617. Josiah 24.—In the twenty-fourth year of Josiah,³ died Psammitichus, king of Egypt, after he had reigned fifty-four years, and was succeeded by Necus his son, the same who in scripture is called Pharaoh Necho, and often mentioned there under that name. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking; for, having gotten some of the expertest of the Phœnician sailors into his service, he sent them out by the Red Sea through the Straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa;⁴ who, having sailed round it, came home the third year through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, A. D. 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians came from thence. Since that, it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world.

An. 612. Josiah 29.—In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Josiah, which was the twenty-third of Cyaxares in the kingdom of Media,⁵ Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, having made an affinity with Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares, by the marriage of Nebuchadnezzar, his son, with Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages, entered into a confederacy with him against the Assyrians; and, thereon joining their forces together, they besieged Nineveh; and after having taken the place and slain Saracus the king (who was either the successor of Chyniladanus, or he himself under another name,) to gratify the Medes, they utterly destroyed that great and ancient city; and from that time Babylon became the sole metropolis of the Assyrian empire. From the time that Esarhaddon obtained the kingdom of Babylon,⁶ both cities equally had this honour, the kings sometimes residing at Nineveh, and sometimes at Babylon; but after this Nineveh lost it for ever; for, although there was another city afterward erected out of the ruins of old Nineveh, which for a long time bore the same name, yet it never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is at this day called Mosul,⁷ and

¹ 1 Kings xlii. 2.

² Prov. xxv. 1.

³ Herodot. lib. 1.

⁴ Ibid. lib. 4.

⁵ Eusebii Chronicon, p. 124. Alexander Polyhistor apud Syncellum, p. 210. et apud Eusebium in Chronicle Hieronymus, lib. 1.

⁶ Strabo, lib. 16. p. 734.

⁷ Thevenot's Travels, part 2. book 1. c. 11. p. 50.

is only famous for being the seat of the patriarch of the Nestorians, of which sect are most of the Christians in those parts. It is situated on the west side of the River Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the old Nineveh; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent even unto this day. According to Diodorus Siculus,¹ the circuit of Nineveh was four hundred and eighty furlongs, which made sixty of our miles. And hence it is, that it is said in Jonah to be a city of three days' journey,² that is, in compass; for twenty miles is as much as a man can well go in one day. Strabo³ saith of it, that it was much bigger than Babylon; and in the same place he tells us, that the circuit of Babylon was three hundred and eighty-five furlongs, that is, forty-eight of our miles. The phrase, *much bigger* may well extend to the other twelve miles to make it up sixty.

In this destruction of Nineveh was fulfilled the prophecies of Jonah,⁴ Nahum,⁵ and Zephaniah,⁶ against it. And we are told in the book of Tobit,⁷ that Tobias his son lived to hear of it, and that it was accomplished by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus, which exactly agrees with the account which, out of Alexander Polyhistor, I have just above given of it. For that the Assuerus here mentioned was Astyages, appears from Daniel; for Darius the Mede, who was Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, is there called the son of Ahasuerus,⁸ and Nabuchodonosor was the name among the Babylonians commonly given to their kings, as that of Pharaoh was among the Egyptians. And that Nabopollassar in particular was so called, not only appears from the rabbinical writings of the Jews,⁹ but also from Josephus himself, a writer, by reason of his antiquity, of much better authority in this matter. For, in his Antiquities, where he is speaking of this same king, he calls him in a quotation,¹⁰ which is there brought out of Berosus, by the name of Nabuchodonosor; and afterward, in his book against Apion,¹¹ repeating the same quotation, he there calls him Nabolassar, the same by contraction with Nabopollassar; which plainly proves him to have been called by both these names. I know there are those who take upon them, from this passage in the book against Apion, to mend that in the Antiquities, and put Nabopollassar in both places; but I see no reason for it but their own fancy. Others may, with as good authority, from the passage in the Antiquities, mend that in the book against Apion, and put Nabuchodonosor in both places. It is certain, the books of Tobit and Judith can never be reconciled with any other ancient writings, either sacred or profane, which relate to those times, unless we allow Nabuchodonosor to have been a name common to the kings of Babylon.

The archbishop of Armagh¹² hath put this destruction of Nineveh fourteen years earlier, that is, in the last year of Chyniladanus in the Canon of Ptolemy, for no other reason, I suppose, but that he reckoned that the end of his life, and the end of his reign in that canon, happened both at the same time, and both together in the destruction of that city: whereas, the computation of that canon being by the years of the kings that reigned at Babylon, Chyniladanus's reign there must end where Nabopollassar's begun, whether he then died or no, as it is most probable he did not, but that he continued to hold the kingdom of Assyria after he had lost that of Babylon, and that it was not till some time after that loss that Nineveh was destroyed: for Eusebius placeth the destruction of Nineveh in the twenty-third year of the reign of Cyaxares; and to put it back fourteen years, to the last of Chyniladanus in the canon, will make it fall in the ninth year of Cyaxares, which is too early either for his son Astyages to have a daughter marriageable, or for Nebuchadnezzar to be of age sufficient to take her to wife: for, after this rate, Nebuchadnezzar must be allowed to have been at the

1 Lib. 2.

2 Jonah iii. 3.

3 Lib. 16. p. 737.

4 Chap. iii.

5 Chap. ii. and iii.

6 Chap. ii. 13.

7 Chap. xiv. 15.

8 Daniel ix. 1.

9 In Juclasin, Nebuchadnezzar is called Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar, fol. 136. And David Ganz, under the year of the world 3285, calls the father Nebuchadnezzar the first, and the son Nebuchadnezzar the second.

10 Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

11 Lib. 1.

12 In Annalibus Veteris Testamenti sub anno mundi.

least eighty five years old at the time of his death,¹ and Astyages much older, which is an age very unlikely for such to live, who usually waste their lives, both by luxury and fatigue, much faster than other men.

At the destruction of this city of Nineveh ended the book of Tobit. It was first written in Chaldee by some Babylonian Jew,² and seems, in its original draught, to have been the memoirs of the family to which it relates; first begun by Tobit, then continued by Tobias, and lastly finished by some other of the family, and afterward digested by the Chaldee author into that form in which we now have it. Jerome translated it out of the Chaldee into Latin,³ and his translation is that which we have in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. But there is a Greek version much ancients than this; for we find it made use of by Polycarp, Clemens Alexandrianus, and other fathers who were before Jerome; and from this hath been made the Syriac version, and also that which we have in English among the apocryphal writers in our Bible: but the Chaldee original is not now extant. The Hebrew copies which go about of this book, as well as of that of Judith, seem both to be of a modern composure.⁴ It being easier to settle the chronology of this book than that of the book of Judith, it hath met with much less opposition from learned men, and is generally looked on, both by Jews and Christians, as a genuine and true history; though as to some matters in it (as particularly that of the angel's accompanying of Tobias in a long journey under the shape of Azarias, the story of Raguel's daughter, the frighting away of the devil by the smoke of the heart and liver of a fish, and the curing of Tobit's blindness by the gall of the same fish,) it is much less reconcilable to a rational credibility: for these things look more like the fictions of Homer than the writings of a sacred historian, and give an objection against this book which doth not lie against the other. However, it may excellently well serve to represent unto us the duties of charity and patience, in the example of Tobit's ready helping his brethren in distress to the utmost of his power, and his bearing with a pious submission the calamities of his captivity, poverty, and blindness, as long as inflicted upon him. The Latin and Greek versions of this book, which I have mention'd, do much differ, each having some particulars in it which are wanting in the other. But here the Latin version must give place to the Greek. For Jerome made it⁵ before he himself understood Chaldee, by the help of a learned Jew, from whose mouth he tells us, he wrote down in Latin what the other rendered into Hebrew from the original, and in this manner finished the whole work in one day's time: and a work so done must undoubtedly have abundance of mistakes as well as inaccuracies in it. But his translation of Judith was made afterward,⁶ when, by his farther studies in the oriental languages he had rendered himself as much master of the Chaldee as he was before of the Hebrew; and he did it with great care, comparing diligently many various copies, and making use only of such as he found to be the best; and therefore his version of that book may well deserve an authority beyond the Greek, which cannot be claimed for the other. If the copy which Jerome translated his Tobit from were a true copy, and he were not mistaken in the version, there is one passage in it which absolutely overthrows the whole authority of the book: for (ch. xiv. 7,) there is mention made of the temple of Jerusalem as then burnt and destroyed, which makes the whole of it utterly inconsistent with the times in which it is placed; the Greek version, as also the English, which is taken from it, I acknowledge, speaks only prophetically of it, as of that which was to be done, and not historically, as of that which was already done, as Jerome's doth. However, this Latin edition is that which the church of Rome hath canonized. If the historical ground-plot of the book be true, which is the most that

¹ For, according to this account, this marriage must have been twenty-one years before Nebuchadnezza began to reign, and he reigned forty-three years; and it must also have been thirty-one years before Astyages began to reign, and he reigned thirty years.

² Prefatio Hieronymi in Tobiam.

³ Hieronymi Prefatio in Tobiam.

⁴ They are generally thought to have been made by Munster.

⁵ Hieronymi Prefatio in Tobiam.

⁶ Hieronymi Prefatio in Librum Judith.

can be said of it, yet certainly it is interlarded with many fictions of the invention of him that wrote it.

The Babylonians and the Medes having thus destroyed Nineveh, as is above related, they became so formidable hereon, as raised the jealousy of all their neighbours; and therefore, to put a stop to their growing greatness, Necho, king of Egypt,¹ in the thirty-first year of king Josiah, marched with a great army toward the Euphrates to make war upon them. The words of Josephus are, "That it was to make war upon the Medes and Babylonians, who had dissolved the Assyrian empire;"² which plainly shows, that this war was commenced immediately upon that dissolution, and consequently, that the destruction of Nineveh, whereby this dissolution was brought to pass, was just before this war, in the year where, according to Eusebius, I have placed it.

An. 610. Josiah 31.—On Necho's taking his way through Judea, Josiah resolved to impede his march;³ and, therefore, getting together his forces, he posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, there to stop his passage: whereon Necho sent ambassadors unto him, to let him know that he had no design upon him; that the war he was engaged in was against others; and, therefore, advised him not to meddle with him, lest it should turn to his hurt. But Josiah not hearkening thereto, on Necho's marching up to the place where he was posted to stop his passage, it there came to a battle between them; wherein Josiah was not only overthrown, but also unfortunately received a wound, of which, on his return to Jerusalem, he there died, after he had reigned thirty-one years.

It is the notion of many, that Josiah engaged rashly and unadvisedly in this war, upon an over confidence in the merit of his own righteousness; as if God, for this reason, must necessarily have given him success in every war which he should engage himself in. But this would be a presumption very unworthy of so religious a person. There was another reason that engaged him in this undertaking, which hath been above hinted at. From the time of Manasseh's restoration, the kings of Judah were homagers to the kings of Babylon, and bound by oath to adhere to them against all their enemies, especially against the Egyptians, and to defend that border of their empire against them; and for this purpose, they seem to have had conferred on them the rest of the land of Canaan, that which had formerly been possessed by the other ten tribes, till conquered from them by the Assyrians. It is certain Josiah had the whole land of Israel in the same extent in which it had been held by David and Solomon, before it was divided into two kingdoms. For his reformation went through all of it; and it was executed by him, not only in Bethel (where one of Jeroboam's calves stood,) but also in every other part thereof, and with the same sovereign authority as in Judea itself; and, therefore, he must have been king of the whole. And it is to be remarked, that the battle was fought not within the territories of Judea, but at Megiddo, a town of the tribe of Manasseh, lying in the middle of the kingdom of Israel, where Josiah would have had nothing to do, had he not been king of that kingdom also, as well as of the other of Judah; and he could have had it no otherwise but by grant from the king of Babylon, a province of whose empire it was made by the conquest of it, first begun by Tiglath-Pileser, and afterward finished by Salmaneser and Esarhaddon. And if this grant was not upon the express conditions which I have mentioned, yet whatsoever other terms there were of this concession, most certainly fidelity to the sovereign paramount, and a steady adherence to his interest against all his enemies, was always required in such cases, and an oath of God exacted for the performance hereof. And it is not to be doubted, but that Josiah had taken such an oath to Nabopolassar, the then reigning king of Babylon, as Jehoiakim and Zedekiah afterward did to Nebuchadnezzar, his son and successor in that empire; and, therefore, should Josiah, when under such an obligation, have permitted an

¹ Herodotus, lib. 2. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6
³ 2 Kings xxxiii. 20, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25

² Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6

enemy of the king of Babylon to pass through his country to make war upon him, without any opposition, it would have plainly amounted to a breach of his oath, and a violation of that fidelity which he had in the name of his God sworn unto him, which so good and just a man, as Josiah was, could not but absolutely detest. For, although the Romanists make nothing of breaking faith with heretics, yet the breaking of faith with a heathen was condemned by God himself in Jehoiakim and Zedekiah;¹ and most certainly it would have been condemned in Josiah also, had he become guilty of it; which being what a person so well instructed in religion as Josiah was could not but be thoroughly convinced of, the sense which he had of his duty, in this particular, seems solely to have been that which engaged him in this war, in which he perished: and with him perished all the glory, honour, and prosperity of the Jewish nation; for after that, nothing else ensued but a dismal scene of God's judgments upon the land, till at length all Judah and Jerusalem were swallowed up by them in a woful destruction.

The death of so excellent a prince was deservedly lamented by all his people, and by none more than by Jeremiah the prophet, who had a thorough sense of the greatness of the loss, and also a full foresight of the great calamities that were afterward to follow upon the whole people of the Jews; and, therefore, while his heart was full with the view of both, he wrote a song of lamentation upon this doleful occasion,² as he afterward did another upon the destruction of Jerusalem. This last is that which we still have;³ the other is now extant.

Megiddo, where the battle was fought, was a city in the tribe of Manasseh,⁴ on this side Jordan, which is by Herodotus called Magdolum; nigh it was the town of Hadad-Rimmon, afterward called Maximianopolis;⁵ and, therefore, the lamentation for the death of Josiah is, in scripture, called the Lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon, in the valley of Megiddo; which was so great for this excellent prince, and so long continued, that the lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon afterward became a proverbial phrase for the expressing of any extraordinary sorrow.⁶

This great and general mourning of all the people of Israel for the death of the prince, and the prophet Jeremiah's joining so pathetically with them herein, sheweth in how great a reputation he was with them; which he would not have deserved, had he engaged in this war contrary to the words of that prophet, spoken to him from the mouth of the Lord, as the apocryphal writer of the first book of Esdras,⁷ and others from him, say: for then he would have died in rebellion against God, and disobedience to his command; and then, neither God's prophet nor God's people could in this case, without sinning against God, have expressed so great an esteem for him as this mourning implied; and therefore this mourning alone is a sufficient proof to the contrary. Besides, it is to be observed, that no part of canonical scripture gives us the least intimation of it; nor can we from thence have any reason or ground to believe that there was any such word from the Lord by the prophet Jeremiah, or any other prophet, to recall Josiah from this war. All that is said of it is from the apocryphal book I have mentioned; of which it may be truly said, that where it is not a transcript from Ezra, or some other canonical scripture, it is no more than a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves (for they have not taken this book into their canonical scripture, though they have those of Tobit and of Bel and the Dragon;) and therefore it is deserving of no man's regard in this particular.

It is said, indeed (2 Chron. xxxv. 21,) that Necho sent messengers to Josiah, to tell him, that he was sent of God on this expedition; that God was with him in it; and that to meddle with him would be to meddle with God; and that therefore he ought to forbear, that God destroy him not; and (ver. 22,) that Josiah hearkened not to the word of Necho, from the mouth of God. And, from all this put together, some would infer, that Josiah was disobedient to the word of

¹ Ezek. xvii. 13—19.

² 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

³ The last, referring throughout to the destruction of Jerusalem, could not be that which was wrote upon the death of Josiah.

⁴ Joshua xvii. 11. Judges I. 27.

⁵ Hieronymus.

⁶ Zechariah xii. 11.

⁷ Zechariah i. 28.

God, in going to that war. But this is utterly inconsistent with the character which is given us in scripture of that religious and excellent prince; and therefore what is here said must not be understood of the true God, the Lord Jehovah, who was the God of Israel, but of the Egyptian gods, whose oracles Josiah had no reason to have any regard to. For Necho, being a heathen prince, knew not the Lord Jehovah, nor ever consulted his prophets or his oracles: the Egyptian gods were those only which he worshipped, and whose oracles he consulted; and therefore when he saith he was sent of God on this expedition, and that God was with him, he meant none other than his false Egyptian gods whom he served: for, wherever the word God occurs in this text, it is not expressed in the Hebrew original by the word Jehovah, which is the proper name of the true God, but by the word Elohim, which, being in the plural number, is equally applicable to the false gods of the heathens as well as to the true God who was the God of Israel; and, in the scriptures of the Old Testament, it is equally used for the expressing of the one as well as the other. For wherever there is occasion therein to speak of those false gods, it is by the word Elohim that they are there mentioned. And, whereas it is said (ver. 22,) that "Josiah hearkened not to the words of Necho from the mouth of God" (and from hence it is chiefly inferred that the message which Necho sent to Josiah was truly from God,) it is to be observed, that the phrase which we render *from the mouth of God*, is in the Hebrew original Mippi Elohim, *i. e.* from the mouth of Elohim, which may be interpreted of the false gods as well as of the true God (as hath been already said,) and much rather, in this place, of the former than of the latter. For wherever else through the whole Hebrew text of the holy scriptures¹ there is mention made of any word coming from the mouth of God, he is there mentioned by the name Jehovah, which determines it to the true God; and this is the only place in the whole Hebrew Bible where, in the use of this phrase, it is expressed otherwise, that is, by the name Elohim, and not by the name Jehovah; which change in the phrase, in this place, is a sufficient proof to me that there must be here a change in the signification also, and that the word, which is here said to come from the mouth of Elohim, is not the same with the word which is, every where else, in the use of this phrase in scripture, said to come from the mouth of Jehovah, but that Elohim must, in this place, signify the false gods of the Egyptians; and that from their false oracles only Necho had this word which he sent to Josiah. For what had he to do with any word from the true God, who knew him not, nor ever worshipped him? Or how could any such revelation come to him, who knew not any of his prophets, or ever consulted them? And therefore, most certainly, the word which is here said to come Mippi Elohim, *i. e.* from the mouth of Elohim, must be understood only of Necho's Elohim, that is, of those false Egyptian gods whose oracles he consulted before he undertook this expedition, as it was then usual with heathen princes, on such occasions, to consult the false deluding oracles of the gods they worshipped. And had it been here Mippi Jehovah, *i. e.* from the mouth of Jehovah, instead of Mippi Elohim, considering who sent the message, it would not have much mended the matter; for Josiah would have had no reason to believe it from such a messenger. When Sennacherib came up against Judah, he sent Hezekiah word, that the Lord (Jehovah in the Hebrew) said unto him,² "Go up against this land, and destroy it." But it was not reckoned a fault in Hezekiah, that he believed him not, neither could it be reckoned a fault in Josiah for doing the same. For it is certain, that Sennacherib, in so pretending, lied to king Hezekiah; and why might not Josiah then have as good reason to conclude that Necho, in the like pretence, might have lied also unto him? for God used not to send his word to his servants by such messengers. But Necho's pretence was not so large as Sennacherib's: for Sennacherib pretended to be sent by Jehovah, the certain name of the true God, but Necho pretended to be sent only by Elohim, which

¹ See Deut. viii. 2. Josh. ix. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 21. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19. Isa. i. 20. 21. 5. lviii. 14. lxi. 2. Jer. ix. 12. xxiii. 16. Micah iv. 4. ² 2 Kings xviii. 25. Isa. xxxvi. 10.

may be interpreted of his false Egyptian gods as well as of the true God. And it seems clear he could mean none other than the former by that word in this text; and therefore Josiah could not be liable to any blame, in not hearkening to any words which came from them.

After the death of Josiah, the people of the land took Jehoahaz¹ his son, who was also called Shallum, and made him king in his stead. He was much unlike his father, for he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and therefore he was soon tumbled down from his throne into a prison, where he ended his days, with misery and disgrace, in a strange land.

For Pharaoh-Necho having had the good success,² in this expedition, to beat the Babylonians at the Euphrates; and having thereon taken Charchemis, a great city in those parts, and secured it to himself with a good garrison, after three months returned again toward Egypt, and hearing in his way that Jehoahaz had taken upon him to be king of Judah without his consent, he sent for him to Riblah in Syria,³ and on his arrival caused him to be put in chains, and sent him prisoner into Egypt, where he died; and then proceeding on in his way, came to Jerusalem, where he made Jehoiakim,⁴ another of the sons of Josiah, king, instead of his brother, and put the land to an annual tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold;⁵ and after that returned with great triumph into his own kingdom.

Herodotus, making mention of this expedition of Necho's, and also of the battle which he fought at Megiddo (or Magdolum, as he calleth it,) saith,⁶ that, after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great city Cadytis, which city he afterward describes to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis in Lydia, the chief city of all Lesser Asia in those times; by which description this city Cadytis could be none other than Jerusalem; for that is situated in the mountains of Palestine, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled to Sardis but that only: and it is certain, from scripture, that after this battle Necho did take Jerusalem; for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king.⁷ There is, I confess, no mention of this name, either in the scriptures or in Josephus: but that it was however called so, in the time of Herodotus, by the Syrians and Arabians, doth appear from this, that it is called by them, and all the eastern nations, by no other name but one of the same original, and the same signification, even to this day; for Jerusalem is a name now altogether as strange among them as Cadytis is to us. They all call it by the name of Alkuds,⁸ which signifies the same that Cadytis doth, that is, The Holy: for, from the time that Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, and it was thereby made to all Israel the common place of their religious worship, this epithet of The Holy was commonly given unto it; and therefore we find it thenceforth called, in the sacred writings of the Old Testament, Air Hakkodesh,⁹ *i. e.* the City of Holiness, or the Holy City, and so also in several places in the New Testament.¹⁰ And this same title they gave it in their coins; for the inscription of their shekels (many of which are still extant) was Jerusalem Kedushah,¹¹ *i. e.* Jerusalem the Holy; and this coin going current among the neighbouring nations, especially after the Babylonish captivity had made a dispersion of that people over all the east, it carried this name with it among them; and they from thence called this city by both names, Jerusalem Kedushah, and at length, for shortness-sake, Kedushah only, and the Syrians (who in their dialect usually turned the Hebrew $\frac{1}{2}$ into $\frac{1}{4}$) Kedutha. And the Syriac, in the time of Herodotus, being the only

1 2 Kings xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1. 2 Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

3 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.

4 This Jehoiakim was elder brother to Jehoahaz; for the latter was but twenty-three years old when the other was twenty-five, 2 Kings xxiii. 31. 36. and yet the people on the death of Josiah, chose Jehoahaz to succeed him.

5 The whole annual tribute, as here taxed, came to 52,300*l.* of our money.

6 Herodotus, lib. 2.

7 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

8 Gollii Note ad Afraganum, p. 137. Sandy's Travels, b. 3. p. 155. Baudrandi Geographia sub voce Hierosolyma.

9 Neh. xi. 1. 18. Isa. xlvi. 2. 1. Dan. ix. 24.

10 Matt. iv. 5. xxvii. 53. Rev. xxi. 2.

11 See Lightfoot's Works, vol. 1. p. 497. vol. 2. p. 303, and Walton's Apparatus before the Polyglot Bible p. 36, 37.

language that was then spoken in Palestine (the Hebrew having been no more used there, or any where else, as a vulgar language, after the Babylonish captivity,) he found it, when he travelled through that country, to be called there in the Syriac dialect Kedutha; from whence, by giving it a Greek termination, he made it, in the Greek language, *Καδύτις*, or Cadytis, in his history, which he wrote about the time that Nehemiah ended his twelve years' government at Jerusalem. And for the same reason that it was called Kedushah, or Kedutha, in Syria and Palestine, the Arabs in their language called it Bait Almokdes,¹ *i. e.* the Holy Buildings, or the Holy City, and often with another adjective of the same root, and the same signification, Bait Alkuds, and at length simply Alkuds, *i. e.* the Holy, by which name only it is now called by the Turks,² Arabs, and all other nations of the Mahometan religion in those parts. And that it may not look strange to prove an ancient name by the modern name which is now given that that place, it is necessary I acquaint the reader, that the Arabs being the ancientest nation in the world (who have never been by any conquest dispossessed or driven out of their country, but have there always remained in a continued descent from the first planters of it even to this day,) and being also as little given to make changes in their manners and usages, as they are as to their country, they have still retained those same names of places which were at first given them, and on their getting the empire of the east, restored them again to many of them, after they had been for several ages extinct, by the intermediate changes that had happened in them. And thus the ancient metropolis of Egypt,³ which from Mezraim, the son of Ham, the first planter of that country after the flood, was called Mesri, and afterward for many ages had the name of Memphis, was, on the Arabs making themselves masters of Egypt again, called Mesri, and hath retained that name ever since, though, by the building of Cairo on the other side of the Nile over against it (for Mesri stands on the west side of that river,) that ancient and once noble city is now brought in a manner to desolation. And for the same reason the city of Tyrus, which was anciently called Zor, or Zur,⁴ (from whence the whole country of Syria had its name,) hath, since it fell into the hands of the Arabs, on the erecting of their empire in the east, been again called Sor,⁵ and is at this day known by no other name in those parts. And by the same means the city of Palmyra hath again recovered the old name of Tadmor, by which it was in the time of Solomon,⁶ and is now known in the east by no other name: and abundance of other like instances might be given in the east to this purpose, and the like may be found nearer home. For it is well known that the Welsh, in their language, do still call all the cities in England by the old British names by which they were called one thousand three hundred years ago, before the Saxons dispossessed them of this country; and should they recover it again, and here get the dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again restore to all places here the same British names by which they still call them.

An. 609. Jehoiak. 1.—Jehoiakim, on his taking on him the kingdom, followed the example of his brother in doing that which was evil;⁷ for he went on in his steps to relax all the good order and discipline of his father, as the other had done, and the people (who never went heartily into that good king's reformation,) gladly laying hold thereof, did let themselves loose to the full bent of their own depraved inclinations, and run into all manner of iniquity; whereon the prophet Jeremiah, being sent of God, first went into the king's house,⁸ and there proclaimed God's judgments against him and his family if he went on in his iniquities, and did not amend and repent of them; and after that he went up

¹ Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137.

² Sandy's Travels, b. 3. p. 155. Baudrandi Geog. sub voce Hierosolyma.

³ Bocharti Phaleg. part 1. lib. 4. c. 24. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 152, 153, &c.

⁴ So it is called in the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament, wherever there is mention of this city therein.

⁵ Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 130, 131. Baudrandi Geog. sub voce Tyrus. Thevenot's Travels. part 1. b. 2. c. 60. p. 220.

⁶ 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4.

⁷ 2 Kings xxiii. 37. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.

⁸ Jer. xxii.

into the temple,¹ and there spoke to all the people that came up thither to worship after the same manner, declaring unto them, that if they would turn from their evil ways, God would turn from his wrath, and repent of the evil which he purposed to bring upon them; but that, if they would not hearken unto him to walk in the law of God, and keep his commandments, then the wrath of God should be poured out upon them, and both that city and the temple should be brought to utter desolation: which angering the priests that then attended in the temple, they laid hold of him, and brought him before the king's council to have him put to death. But Ahikam, one of the chief lords of the council, so befriended Jeremiah, that he brought him off, and got him discharged by the general suffrage, not only of the princes, but also of all the elders of the people that were then present. This Ahikam was the father of Gedaliah,² that was afterward made governor of the land under the Chaldeans, and the son of Shaphan the scribe (who was chief minister of state under king Josiah,³) and brother to Gemariah,⁴ Elashah,⁵ and Janzaniah,⁶ who were great men in those days, and members also of the council with him; and therefore, in conjunction with them, he had a great interest there, which he made use of on this occasion to deliver the prophet from that mischief which was intended against him.

But Uriah,⁷ another prophet of the Lord, who had this same year prophesied after the same manner, could not so come off. For Jehoiakim was so incensed against him for it, that he sought to put him to death; whereon Uriah fled into Egypt. But this did not secure him from his revenge; for he sent into Egypt after him, and, having procured him to be there seized, brought him up from thence and slew him at Jerusalem; which became a farther enhancing of his iniquity, and also of God's wrath against him for it.

About the same time also prophesied the prophets Habakkuk and Zephaniah, who being called to the prophetic office in the reign of Josiah, continued (as seems most likely) to this time; for they prophesied the same things that Jeremiah did, and upon the same occasion,⁸ that is, destruction and desolation upon Judah and Jerusalem, because of the many heinous sins they were then guilty of. Zephaniah doth not name the Chaldeans, who were to be the executors of this wrath of God upon them, but Habakkuk doth.⁹ As to Habakkuk, neither the time in which he lived, nor the parents from whom he was descended, are any where named in scripture; but he prophesying the coming of the Chaldeans in the same manner as Jeremiah did, this gives reason to conjecture that he lived in the same time. Of Zephaniah it is directly said, that he prophesied in the time of Josiah;¹⁰ and in his pedigree (which is also given us) his father's grandfather is called Hezekiah, which some taking to be king Hezekiah do therefore reckon this prophet to have been of royal descent.

An. 607. *Jehoiak. 3.*—In the third year of Jehoiakim, Nabopollasar, king of Babylon,¹¹ finding that on Necho's taking of Carchemish, all Syria and Palestine had revolted to him, and that he being old and infirm was unable to march thither himself to reduce them, he took Nebuchadnezzar his son into partnership with him in the empire, and sent him with an army into those parts;¹² and from hence the Jewish computation of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim: for it was about the end of that year that this was done; and therefore, according to the Jews, the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar;¹³ but, according to the Babylonians, his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years afterward; and both computations being found in scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them.

An. 606. *Jehoiak. 4.*—In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar

1 Jer. xxvi.

2 2 Kings xxv. 22.

3 2 Kings xxii.

4 Jer. xxxvi. 10.

5 Jer. xxix. 3.

6 Ezek. viii. 11.

7 Jer. xxvi. 20—23.

8 Hab. i. 1—11.

9 Zeph. i. 1—13.

10 Hab. i. 5.

11 Zeph. i. 1.

12 Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apion. lib. 1.

13 Daniel i. 1.

13 Jer. xxv. 1. Which same fourth year was the twenty-third from the thirteenth of Josiah, when Jeremiah first began to prophecy, ver. 3

having beaten the army of Necho,¹ king of Egypt, at the Euphrates, and taken Carchemish, marched toward Syria and Palestine, to recover those provinces again to the Babylonish empire; on whose approach the Rechabites,² who, according to the institution of Jonadab the son of Rechab their father, had always abstained from wine, and hitherto only lived in tents, finding on security from this invasion in the open country, retired for their safety to Jerusalem, where was transacted between them and Jeremiah what we find related in the thirty-fifth chapter of his prophecies.

This very same year Jeremiah prophesied of the coming of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah and Jerusalem,³ that the whole land should be delivered into his hands, and that a captivity of seventy years' continuance should after that ensue upon the people of the Jews; and he also delivered several other prophecies of the many calamities and woful desolations that were then ready to be brought upon them, intending thereby, if possible; to bring them to repentance, that so the wrath of God might be diverted from them.

But all this working nothing upon their hardened and obdurate hearts, God commanded him to collect together, and write in a roll,⁴ all the words of prophecy which had been spoken by him against Israel, Judith, and the nations, from the thirteenth year of Josiah (when he was first called to the prophetic office) to that time; whereon Jeremiah called to him Baruch, the son of Neriah, a chief disciple of his, who, being a ready scribe, wrote from his mouth all as God had commanded, and then went with the roll, which he had thus written, up into the temple, and there read it, in the hearing of all the people, on the great fast of the expiation, when all Judah and Jerusalem were assembled together at that solemnity; for Jeremiah, being then shut up in prison for his former prophesying, could not go up thither himself, and therefore, by God's command, Baruch was sent to do it in his stead; and at his first reading of the roll, whether it were that Jehoiakim and his princes were then absent to take care of the borders of the kingdom, which Nebuchadnezzar was then just ready to invade, or that amidst the distractions which usually happen on such impending dangers, men's minds were otherwise engaged, no resentments were at that time expressed either against the prophet or his disciple on this occasion. But Baruch being very much affrighted and dismayed at the threats of the roll, which he had thus wrote and publicly read, the word of prophecy, which we have in the forty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah, was sent from God on purpose to comfort him, and a promise is therein given him, that amidst all the calamities, destructions, and desolations, which, according to the words of the roll, should be certainly brought upon Judah and Jerusalem, he should be sure to find a deliverance; for that none of them should reach him, but God would give him his life for a prey, in all places wheresoever he should go.

The great fast of the expiation, wherein Baruch read the roll, as is above related, was annually kept by the Jews on the 10th day of the month Tizri,⁵ which answers to our September. Immediately after that, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea; and, having laid siege to Jerusalem, made himself master of it in the ninth month, called Cisleu,⁶ which answers to our November, on the 18th day of that month (for on that day is still kept by the Jews an annual fast in commemoration of it even to this day;) and having then taken Jehoiakim prisoner, he put him in chains, to carry him to Babylon. But he having humbled himself to Nebuchadnezzar,⁷ and submitted to become his tributary, and thereon sworn fealty to him, he was again restored to his kingdom; and Nebuchadnezzar marched from Jerusalem for the farther prosecuting of his victories against the Egyptians.

But, before he removed from Jerusalem, he had caused great numbers of the people to be sent captive to Babylon, and particularly gave order to Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs,⁸ that he should make choice out of the children of

¹ Jer. xlv. 1.

⁵ Lev. xvi. 29. xxiii. 27.

² Jer. xxxv. 6-11.

⁶ Dan. i. 2. ² Chron. xxxvi. 6.

³ Jer. xxv.

⁷ 2 Kings xxiv. 1. ⁸ Dan. i. 3.

⁴ Jer. xxxvi.

the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, of such as he found to be of the fairest countenance, and the quickest parts, to be carried to Babylon, and there made eunuchs in his palace; whereby was fulfilled the word of the Lord spoken by Isaiah the prophet to Hezekiah,¹ king of Judah, above a hundred years before. At the same time, also, he carried away a great part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to put them in the house of Bel,² his god, at Babylon. And therefore, the people being thus carried into captivity, the sons of the royal family and the nobility of the land made eunuchs and slaves in the palace of the king of Babylon, the vessels of the temple carried thither, and the king made a tributary, and the whole land now brought into vassalage under the Babylonians, from hence must be reckoned the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, foretold by the prophet Jeremiah:³ and the fourth year of Jehoiakim must be the first year in that computation.

Among the number of the children that were carried away in this captivity by the master of the eunuchs, were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.⁴ Daniel they called Belteshazzar, and the other three, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Some, indeed, do place their captivity some years later, but that is absolutely inconsistent with what is elsewhere said in scripture. For these children, after their carrying away to Babylon, were to be three years under the tuition of the master of the eunuchs,⁵ to be instructed by him in the language and the learning of the Chaldeans, before they were to be admitted to the presence of the king, to stand and serve before him. But in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign at Babylon,⁶ from his father's death (which was but the fourth year after his first taking of Jerusalem,) Daniel had not only admission and freedom of access to the presence of the king, but we find him there interpreting of his dream,⁷ and immediately thereon advanced to be chief of the governors of the wise men,⁸ and ruler over all the province of Babylon: for which trust less than four years' instruction in the language, laws, usages, and learning of the country can scarce be thought sufficient to qualify him, nor could he any sooner be old enough for it, for he was but a youth when he was first carried away from Jerusalem. And therefore all this put together doth necessarily determine the time of Daniel's and the other children's carrying away to Babylon to the year where I have placed it; and, if we will make scripture consistent with scripture, it could not possibly have been any later. Daniel, speaking of the captivity,⁹ begins the history of it from the third year of Jehoiakim, which placeth it back still a year farther than I have done: and this is an objection on the other hand; but the answer hereto is easy. Daniel begins his computation from the time that Nebuchadnezzar was sent from Babylon by his father on this expedition, which was in the latter end of the third year of Jehoiakim: after that two months at least must have been spent in his march to the borders of Syria. There, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (we suppose in the beginning of that year,) he fought the Egyptians; and having overthrown them in battle, besieged Carchemish, and took it; after this, he reduced all the provinces and cities of Syria and Phœnicia, in which having employed the greatest part of the year (and a great deal of work it was to do with in that time,) in the beginning of October he came and laid siege to Jerusalem, and about a month after took the city: and from hence we date the beginning of Daniel's servitude, and also the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity; and therefore do reckon that year to have been the first of both.

The Scythians, who had now for twenty-eight years held all the Upper Asia (that is, the two Armenians, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia,) were this year again driven out of it.¹⁰ The Medes, whom they had dispossessed of these provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open force; but finding themselves unable to succeed this way, they at length accomplished it by treachery; for, under the covert of a peace (which they had made on purpose to

¹ Isa. xxxii. 7. ² Kings xx. 10.

³ Ibid. i. 5.

⁴ Dan. ii. 16.

⁵ Dan. i. 2.

⁶ Ibid. ii. 31.

⁷ Jer. xxv. 11.

⁸ Jer. xxv. 11. ⁹ Ibid. i. 1.

¹⁰ Dan. i. 6.

¹¹ Herodot. lib. 1

carry on the fraud,) they invited the greatest part of them to the feast, where having made them drunk, they slew them all: after which, having easily subdued the rest, they recovered from them all that they had lost, and again extended their empire to the River Halys, which had been the ancient borders of it toward the west.

An. 605. Jehoiak. 5.—After the Chaldeans were gone from Jerusalem, Jehoiakim, instead of being amended by those heavy chastisements which by their hand God had inflicted on him and his kingdom, rather grew worse under them in all those ways of wickedness and impiety which he had before practised; and Judah and Jerusalem kept peace with him herein, to the farther provoking of God's wrath, and the hastening of their own destruction. However, no means were omitted to reclaim them; and Jeremiah the prophet, who was particularly sent to them for this purpose, was constantly calling upon them, and exhorting them to turn unto the Lord their God, that so his wrath might be turned from them, and they saved from the destruction which was coming upon them, of which he ceased not continually to warn them. And they having, on the ninth month, called Cisleu, proclaimed a public fast to be held on the 18th day of the same, because of the calamity which they had suffered thereon, in the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans the year foregoing (which hath ever since been annually observed by them in commemoration hereof, as hath been before said,) the prophet laying hold of this opportunity, when all Judah and Jerusalem were met together to keep this solemnity,¹ sent Baruch again up into the temple with the roll of his prophecies, there to read it the second time in the hearing of all of them, making thereby another trial, if by the terrors of these prophecies it were possible to fright them into their duty. And it being God's command by the mouth of his prophet, Baruch accordingly went up into the temple on the said fast-day, and entering into the chamber of Gemariah the scribe (which was the room where the king's council used to sit in the temple, near the east gate of the same,) did there, from a window aloft, read, in the hearing of all the people then gathered together in the court below, all the words of the said roll: which Michaiah the son of Gemariah, who was then present, hearing, went immediately to the king's house, and there informed the lords of the council of it; whereon they sent for Baruch, and caused him to sit down and read the roll over to them: at the hearing whereof, and the threats therein contained, they being much affrighted, inquired of Baruch the manner of his writing of it; and being informed that it was all dictated to him from the mouth of the prophet, they ordered him to leave the roll and depart, advising, that he and Jeremiah should immediately go and hide themselves where no one might find them; and then went in to the king, and informed him of all that had passed; whereon he sent for the roll, and caused it to be read to him; but after he had heard three or four leaves of it, as he was sitting by the fire in the winter parlour, he took it and cut it with a penknife, and cast it into the fire that was there before him, till it was all consumed, notwithstanding some of the lords of the council entreated him to the contrary; and immediately thereon issued out an order to have Baruch and Jeremiah seized; but having hid themselves, as advised by the council, they could not be found.

The Jews keep an annual fast even to this day for the burning of this roll; the day marked for it in their calendar is the 29th day of Cisleu,² eleven days after that which they keep for that fast, on which it was read in the temple. But the reading of the roll on the fast of the 18th of Cisleu, and the burning of it according to the account given hereof by Jeremiah, seem immediately to have followed each other.

After the burning of this roll, another by God's especial command was forthwith written in the same manner from the mouth of the prophet, by the hand

¹ Jer. xxxvi. 9, 10, &c.

² Cisleu is the ninth month in the Jewish year, and answers to our November.

of Baruch, wherein was contained all that was in the former roll; and there were added many other like words, and particularly that prophecy in respect of Jehoiakim and his house, which is, for this impious fact, in the thirtieth and thirty-first verses of the thirty-sixth chapter of Jeremiah, denounced against them.

In making the roll to be read twice in the temple by Baruch, I confess I differ from most that have commented upon this place of scripture. But as the reading of the roll by Baruch is, in the thirty-sixth chapter of Jeremiah, twice related, so it is plain to me that it was twice done: for in the first relation,¹ it is said to be done in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and in the second,² it is said to be done in the fifth; which plainly denotes two different times. And in the first relation, Jeremiah is said to be shut up in prison³ when the roll was read; but in the second relation it plainly appears he was out of prison, for he was then at full liberty to go out of the way and hide himself.⁴ For these reasons I take it for certain that the roll was twice read: and I have archbishop Usher with me in the same opinion, whose judgment must always be of the greatest weight in such matters.

Nebuchadnezzar, after his departure from Jerusalem, employed all this year in carrying on his war against the Egyptians, in which he had that success, that before the ensuing winter he had driven them out of all Syria and Palestine, and brought in subjection to him,⁵ from the River Euphrates to the river of Egypt, all that formerly belonged to the king of Egypt, *i. e.* all Syria and Palestine. For, as the River Euphrates was the boundary of Syria toward the north-east; so the river of Egypt was the boundary of Palestine toward the south-west. This river of Egypt, which is so often mentioned in scripture as the boundary of the land of Canaan, or Palestine, toward Egypt, was not the Nile, as many suppose, but a small river, which, running through the desert that lies between these two countries was anciently reckoned the common boundary of both. And thus far the land reached, which was promised to the seed of Abraham (Gen. xv. 18,) and was afterward by lot divided among them, Joshua xv. 4.

An. 604. Jehoiak. 6.]—Toward the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, died Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, and father of Nebuchadnezzar, after he had reigned one-and-twenty years,⁶ which Nebuchadnezzar being informed of,⁷ he immediately, with a few only of his followers, hastened through the desert the nearest way to Babylon, leaving the gross of his army, with the prisoners and prey, to be brought after him by his generals. On his arrival at the palace, he received the government from the hands of those who had carefully reserved it for him, and thereon succeeded his father in the whole empire, which contained Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, and reigned over it, according to Ptolemy, forty-three years; the first of which begins from the January following, which is the Babylonish account, from which the Jewish account differs two years, as reckoning his reign from the time he was admitted to be partner with his father. From hence we have a double computation of the years of his reign, the Jewish and the Babylonish; Daniel follows the latter, but all other parts of scripture that make mention of him the other.

An. 603. Jehoiak. 7.]—In the seventh year of Jehoiakim, which was the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Babylonish account, and the fourth according to the Jewish, Daniel revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar his dream,⁸ and also unfolded to him the interpretation of it, in the manner as we have it at large related in the second chapter of Daniel; whereon he was advanced to great honour, being made chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon, and also chief ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and one of the chief lords of the council, who always continued in the king's court, he being then about the age of twenty-two. And in his prosperity he was not forgetful of his three companions, who had been brought to Babylon with him, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; but having spoken to the king in their behalf, procured

¹ Jer. xxxvi. 1.

² Ibid. xxxvi. 9.

³ Ibid. xxxvi. 5.

⁴ Ibid. xxxvi. 26.

⁵ 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

⁶ Canon Ptolemæi.

⁷ Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

⁸ Dan. ii.

that they were preferred to places of great honour under him in the province of Babylon. These afterward made themselves very signally known to the king, and also to the whole empire of Babylon, by their constancy to their religion, in refusing to worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up, and by the wonderful deliverance which God wrought for them thereon; which deservedly recommending them to the king's highest regard, they were thereon much higher advanced; the whole history whereof is at full related in the third chapter of Daniel.

An. 599. Jehoiak. 11.]—The same year Jehoiakim, after he had served the king of Babylon three years,¹ rebelled against him, and refusing to pay him any more tribute, renewed his confederacy with Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, in opposition to him. Whereon Nebuchadnezzar, not being then at leisure, by reason of other engagements, to come himself and chastise him, sent orders to all his lieutenants and governors of provinces in those parts to make war upon him; which brought upon Jehoiakim inroads and invasions from every quarter,² the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Syrians, the Arabians, and all the other nations round him, who had subjected themselves to the Babylonish yoke, infesting him with incursions, and harassing him with depredations on every side: and thus they continued to do for three years together, till at length, in the eleventh year of his reign, all parties joining together against him,³ they shut him up in Jerusalem, where, in the prosecution of the siege, having taken him prisoner in some sally (it may be supposed) which he made upon them, they slew him with the sword, and then cast out his dead body into the highway, without one of the gates of Jerusalem, allowing it no other burial,⁴ as the prophet Jeremiah had foretold, than that of an ass, that is, to be cast forth into a place of the greatest contempt, there to rot and be consumed to dust in the open air.

The year before died his confederate,⁵ on whom he chiefly depended, Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, after he had reigned sixteen years, and Psammis his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

An. 598. Jehoiachin. Zedekiah 1.]—Jehoiachin being dead,⁶ Jehoiachin his son (who is also called Jeconiah and Coniah) reigned in his stead, who doing evil in the sight of the Lord, in the same manner as his father had done, this provoked a very bitter declaration of God's wrath against him,⁷ by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, and it was as bitterly executed upon him. For after Jehoiakim's death, the servants of Nebuchadnezzar (that is, his lieutenants and governors of the provinces, that were under his subjection in those parts) still continued to block up Jerusalem;⁸ and, after three months, Nebuchadnezzar himself came thither in person with his royal army, and caused the place to be begirt with a close siege on every side; whereon Jehoiachin, finding himself unable to defend it, went out to Nebuchadnezzar with his mother, and his princes and servants, and delivered himself into his hands. But hereby he obtained no other favour than to save his life; for being immediately put in chains he was carried to Babylon, and there continued shut up in prison till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, which was full seven-and-thirty years.

Nebuchadnezzar, having hereon made himself master of Jerusalem, took thence all the treasures of the house of the Lord,⁹ and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces the vessels of gold, which Solomon king of Israel had made in the temple of the Lord, and carried them to Babylon; and he also carried thither with him a vast number of captives, Jehoiachin the king, his mother, and his wives, and his officers, and princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even to the number of ten thousand men out of Jerusalem only, besides the smiths, and the carpenters, and other artificers; and out of the rest of the land, of the mighty men seven thousand, and of the craftsmen and smiths one thousand, besides three thousand twenty and three,¹⁰ which had been car-

1 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

2 Ibid. xxiv. 2.

3 Ibid. xxiv. 10.

4 Jer. xxxii. 18, 19. xxxvi. 30.

5 Herodot. lib. 2.

6 2 Kings xxiv. 6.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

7 Jer. xxii. 24—30.

8 2 King. xxi. 10.

9 2 Kings xxiv. 13—16.

10 Jer. lii. 28.

ried away the year before out of the open country, before the siege of Jerusalem was begun. With the mighty men of valour he recruited his army, and the artificers he employed in the carrying on of his building at Babylon, of which we shall speak hereafter.

In this captivity was carried away to Babylon Ezekiel the prophet,¹ the son of Buzi, of the house of Aaron, and therefore the era whereby he reckons throughout all his prophecies is from this captivity.

After this great carrying away of the Jews into captivity,² the poorer sort of the people being still left in the land, Nebuchadnezzar made Mattaniah, the son of Josiah and uncle of Jehoiachin, king over them, taking of him a solemn oath to be true and faithful unto him; and, to engage him the more to be so, he changed his name from Mattaniah to Zedekiah, which signifieth *the justice of the Lord*, intending by this name to put him continually in mind of the vengeance which he was to expect from the justice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity which he had in his name sworn unto him.

Zedekiah, being thus made king, reigned eleven years in Jerusalem; but his ways being evil in the sight of the Lord, as were those of his nephew and brothers that reigned before him, he did thereby so far fill up the measure of the iniquities of his forefathers, that they at length drew down upon Judah and Jerusalem that terrible destruction in which his reign ended.

And thus was concluded the second war which Nebuchadnezzar had with the Jews. Three years he managed it by his lieutenants and governors of the neighbouring provinces of his empire. In the fourth year he came himself in person, and put an end to it in the captivity of Jehoiachin, and the taking of Jerusalem. What hindered him from coming sooner is not said; only it appears, that in the tenth year of Jehoiakim, he was engaged in an arbitration between the Medes and Lydians. The occasion was this. After the Medes had recovered all the Upper Asia out of the hand of the Scythians,³ and again extended their borders to the River Halys, which was the common boundary between them and the Lydians, it was not long before there happened a war between these two nations, which was managed for five years together with various success. In the sixth year they engaged each other with the utmost of their strength, intending to make that battle decisive of the quarrel that was between them. But, in the midst of it, while the fortune of the day seemed to hang in an equal balance between them, there happened an eclipse, which overspread both armies with darkness; whereon, being frightened with what had happened, they both desisted from fighting any longer, and agreed to refer the controversy to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes. The Lydians chose Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and the Medes Nebuchadnezzar,⁴ king of Babylon, who agreed a peace between them, on the terms, that Astyages, son to Cyaxares, king of Media, should take to wife Ariana, the daughter of Halyattis, king of the Lydians; of which marriage, within a year after, was born Cyaxares, who is called Darius the Median in the book of Daniel. This eclipse was foretold by Thales the Milesian; and it happened on the 20th of September, according to the Julian account, in the hundred and forty-seventh year of Nabonassar. and in the ninth of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, which was the year before Christ 601.

The same year that Cyaxares was born to Astyages, he gave his daughter Mandana, whom he had by a former wife, in marriage to Cambyzes, king of Persia; of whom the next year after (which was the last year of Jehoiakim) was born Cyrus, the famous founder of the Persian monarchy, and the restorer of the Jews to their country, their temple, and their former state.

Jehoiachin being thus carried into captivity, and Zedekiah settled in the throne, Jeremiah had, in a vision,⁵ under the type of two baskets of figs, fore

¹ Ezek. xl. 1.

² 2 Kings xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

³ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁴ He is by Herodotus, lib. 1. called Labynetus.

⁵ Jer. xxiv.

shown unto him the restoration which God would again give to them who were carried into captivity, and the misery and desolation which should befall them, with their king, that were still in the land; that the captivity of the former should become a means of preservation unto them, while the liberty which the others were left in should serve only to lead them to their utter ruin; as accordingly it befell them in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter devastation of the land, which happened a few years afterward.

The same year (God also foreshowed to Jeremiah the confusion which he would bring upon Elam¹ (a kingdom lying upon the River Ulai, eastward beyond the Tigris,) and the restoration which he would afterward give thereto; which accordingly came to pass; for it was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar,² and subjected to him, in the same manner as Judah was. But afterward, joining with Cyrus, it helped to conquer and subdue the Babylonians, who had before conquered them; and Shushan, which was the chief city of that province,³ was thenceforth made the metropolis of the Persian empire, and had the throne of the kingdom placed in it.

After the departure of Nebuchadnezzar out of Judea and Syria, Zedekiah having settled himself in the kingdom,⁴ the kings of the Ammonites, and of the Moabites, and of the Edomites, and of the Zidonians, and the Tyrians, and of the other neighbouring nations, sent their ambassadors to Jerusalem, to congratulate Zedekiah on his accession to the throne, and then proposed to him a league against the king of Babylon, for the shaking off his yoke, and the hindering him from any more returning into those parts. Whereon Jeremiah, by the command of God, made him yokes and bonds, and sent them by the said ambassadors to their respective masters, with this message from God, That God had given all their countries unto the king of Babylon, and that they should serve him, and his son, and son's son, and that, if they would submit to his yoke, and become obedient to him, it should be well with them and their land, but if otherwise they should be consumed and destroyed before him. And he spake also to king Zedekiah according to the same words; which had that influence on him, that he did not then enter into the league that was proposed to him by the ambassadors of those princes. But, afterward, when it was farther strengthened, by the joining of the Egyptians and other nations in it, and he and his people began to be tired with the heavy burden and oppression of the Babylonish domination over them, he also was drawn into this confederacy; which ended in the absolute ruin both of him and his kingdom, as will be hereafter related.

An. 597. Zedek.]—Zedekiah, about the second year of his reign,⁵ sent Elasah the son of Shaphan, and Gemariah the son of Hilkiah, to Babylon, on an embassy to king Nebuchadnezzar. By them Jeremiah wrote a letter to the Jews of the captivity in Babylon. The occasion of which was, Ahab the son of Kilaiah, and Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, two of the captivity among the Jews at Babylon, taking upon them to be prophets sent to them from God, fed them with lying prophecies and false promises of a speedy restoration, whereon they neglected to make any settlements in the places assigned them for their habitation, either by building of houses, cultivating their land, marrying of wives, or doing any thing else for their own interest and welfare in the country where they were carried, out of a vain expectation of a speedy return. To remedy this evil, Jeremiah wrote to them to let them know, that they were deceived by those who made them entertain such false hopes: that, by the appointment of God, their captivity at Babylon was to last seventy years; and those who remained in Judah and Jerusalem should be so far from being able to effect any restoration for them, that God would speedily send against them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, for the consuming of the greatest part of them, and scatter the rest over the face of the earth, to be a curse, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach, among the nations whither he would drive them. And therefore, he exhorts them to provide for themselves in the country whither they

1 Jer. xlix. 34—39.

2 Xen. Cyropæd. lib. 6.

3 Strabo, lib. 15. p. 727.

4 Jer. xxvii.

5 Jer. xxix

are carried, as settled inhabitants of the same, and comport themselves there, according to all the duties which belong to them as such, without expecting any return till the time that God had appointed. And as to their false prophets, who had prophesied a lie unto them, he denounced God's curse against them in a speedy and fearful destruction; which accordingly was soon executed upon them: for Nebuchadnezzar finding that they disturbed the people by their vain prophecies, and hindered them from making settlements for themselves in the places where he had planted them, caused them to be seized and roasted to death in the fire. The latter Jews say, that these two men were the two elders who would have corrupted Susanna, and that Nebuchadnezzar commanded them to be burned for this reason. The whole foundation of this conceit is, that Jeremiah, in the twenty-third verse of the chapter, where he writes hereof, accuseth them for committing adultery with their neighbours' wives, from whence they conjecture all the rest.

These letters being read to the people of the captivity at Babylon, such as were loath to be dispossessed of their vain hopes, were much offended at them; and, therefore, Semaiah, the Nehelamite, another false pretender to prophecy among them, writing their as well as his own sentiments hereof, sent back letters by the same ambassadors, directing them to Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah, the second priest, and to all the priests and people at Jerusalem; wherein he complained of Jeremiah for writing the said letters, and required them to rebuke him for the same; which letters being read to Jeremiah, the word of God came unto him, which denounced a very severe punishment upon Semaiah for the same.

An. 595. Zedek. 4.]—In the fourth year of Zedekiah, and the fifth month of that year, Hananiah, the son of Azur of Gibeon,* took upon him to prophecy falsely in the name of the Lord, that within two full years God would bring back all the vessels of the house of the Lord; and king Jechoniah, and all the captives again to Jerusalem; whereon the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah concerning Hananiah, that seeing he had spoken to the people of Judah in the name of the Lord, who sent him not, and had made them thereby to trust in a lie, he should be smitten of God, and die before the year should expire; and, accordingly, he died the same year, in the seventh month, which was within two months after.

The same year Jeremiah had revealed unto him the prophecies, which we have in the fiftieth and fifty-first chapters of Jeremiah, concerning God's judgments, which were to be executed upon Chaldea and Babylon, by the Medes and Persians. All which Jeremiah wrote in a book, and delivered it to Seraiah,² the son of Neriah, and brother of Baruch, who was then sent to Babylon by Zedekiah, commanding him that when he should come to Babylon, he should there read the same upon the banks of Euphrates; and that when he should have there made an end of reading it, he should bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the river, to denote thereby, that, as that should sink, so should Babylon also sink, and never rise any more; which hath since been fully verified, about two thousand years having now passed since Babylon hath been wholly desolated, and without an inhabitant. Baruch seemeth to have gone with his brother in this journey to Babylon; for he is said, in the apocryphal book that bears his name,⁴ to have read that book at Babylon, in the hearing of king Jechoniah, or Jehoiachin, and of the elders and people of the Jews then at Babylon, on the fifth year after the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; which can be understood of no other taking of it, than that wherein Jehoiachin was made a captive; for, after the last taking of it, in the eleventh of Zedekiah, Baruch could not be in Babylon; for after that he went into Egypt with Jeremiah, from whence it is not likely that he did ever return. And farther, it is said, in this very book of Baruch, that after the reading of his book, as aforesaid, a collection was made at Babylon of money, which was sent to Jerusalem to Joakim, the

¹ Vide Gemaram in Sanhedrin.

² Jer. xxviii.

³ Ib. li. 59—64.

⁴ Baruch i. 1—4.

high-priest, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum, and to the priests, and to all the people that were found with him at Jerusalem, to buy burnt-offerings, and sin-offerings, and incense, and to prepare the mincha, and to offer upon the altar of the Lord their God; nothing of which could be true after the last taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans: for then the city and temple were burnt and utterly destroyed; and after that there was no high-priest, altar, altar-service, or people, to be found at Jerusalem, till the return of the Jews again thither, after the end of their seventy years' captivity. And if there were any such person as Joakim (for he is no where else named,) since he is here said to be the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum, he must have been the uncle of Seraiah, who was high-priest at the burning of the temple, and grandson to the same Hilkiah; and therefore he must have been high-priest before Seraiah, if there were any such person in that office at all: for it is certain, there were none such in it after him, during the life of Jechoniah. But of what authority this book is, or by whom it was written, whether any thing related therein be historically true, or the whole of it a fiction, is altogether uncertain. Grotius¹ thinks it wholly feigned by some Hellenistical Jews, under Baruch's name, and so do many others; and it cannot be denied, but that they have strong reasons on their side. The subject of the book is an epistle sent, or feigned to be sent, by king Jehoiachin, and the Jews in captivity with him at Babylon, to their brethren, the Jews that were still left in Judah and Jerusalem, with an historical preface premised; in which it is related, how Baruch, being then at Babylon, did, in the name of the said king and the people, by their appointment, draw up the said epistle, and afterward read it to them for their approbation; and how that the collection being then made which is above mentioned, the epistle with the money was sent to Jerusalem. There are three copies of it, one in Greek, and the other two in Syriac, whereof one agreeth with the Greek, but the other very much differs from it. But in what language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the original, or which of them may be so, is what no one can say. Jerome² rejected it wholly, because it is not to be found among the Jews, and calls the epistle annexed to it *ψευδογραφον*, i. e. a false or feigned writing. The most that can be said for it is, that Cyril of Jerusalem, and the Laodicean council, held A. D. 364, both name Baruch among the canonical books of holy scripture; for in both the catalogues which are given us by them of these canonical books, are these words, *Jeremias cum Baruch, Lamentationibus et Epistola*, i. e. Jeremiah with Baruch, the Lamentations and the Epistle; whereby may seem to be meant the prophecies of Jeremiah, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the book of Baruch, with the epistle of Jeremiah at the end of it, as they are all laid together in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. The answer given hereto is, that these words were intended by them to express no more than Jeremiah's prophecies and lamentations only; that by the epistle is meant none other than the epistle in the twenty-ninth chapter of Jeremiah; and that Baruch's name is added, only because of the part which he bore in collecting all these together, and adding the last chapter to the book of his prophecies; which is supposed to be Baruch's, because the prophecies of Jeremiah end with the chapter before, that is, the fifty-first, as it is positively said in the last words of it; and it must be said, that since neither in St. Cyril, nor in the Laodicean council, any of the other apocryphal books are named, it is very unlikely that by the name of Baruch in either of them, should be meant the apocryphal book, so named; which hath the least pretence of any of them to be canonical, as it appeared by the difficulty which the Trentine fathers³ found to make it so.

An. 594. Zedek. 5.—In the fifth year of Zedekiah, which was also the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, and the thirtieth from the great reformation made in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, Ezekiel⁴ was called of God to be a prophet among the Jews of the captivity. And this same year he saw the vision of

¹ In Comment. ad Baruch.

² In Prefatione ad Jeremiam.

³ The History of Trent, book 2. p. 144.

⁴ Ezek. i. 1, &c.

the four cherubims, and the four wheels, which is related in the first chapter of his prophecies. The same year were also revealed unto him the three hundred and ninety years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of Israel,¹ and the forty years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of Judah, and the judgment which after that God would inflict upon both; as the whole is contained in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of his prophecies.

In the same year died Cyaxares,² king of Media, after he had reigned forty years; and Astyages his son, who in scripture is called Ahasuerus, reigned in his stead.

In the same year died also Psammis,³ king of Egypt, in an expedition which he made against the Ethiopians; and Apries his son, the same who in scripture is called Pharaoh-Hophra, succeeded him in that kingdom, and reigned twenty five years.

In the same year Ezekiel, being in a vision, was carried to Jerusalem, and there shown all the several sorts of idolatry which were practised by the Jews in that place, and had revealed unto him the punishments which God would inflict upon them for those abominations; and this makes up the subject of the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of his prophecies. But at the same time, God promised to those of the captivity,⁴ who, avoiding these abominations, kept themselves steady and faithful to his service, that he would become a sanctuary unto them in the strange land where they were carried, and bring them back again unto the land of Israel, and there make them flourish in peace and righteousness as in former times. All which the prophet declared to the Jews of Babylon,⁵ among whom he dwelt.

An. 592. Zedek. 7.]—In the seventh year of Zedekiah, God did, both by types and words of revelation, foreshow unto Ezekiel the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, Zedekiah's flight from thence by night, the putting out of his eyes, and his imprisonment and death at Babylon; and also the carrying away of the Jews at the same time into captivity, the desolation of their country, and the many and great calamities which should befall them for their iniquities; and this is the subject of the twelfth chapter of his prophecies. And what is contained in the seven following chapters was also the same year revealed unto him, and relates mostly to the same subject.

At this time Daniel was grown to so great a perfection and eminence in all righteousness, holiness, and piety of life, in the sight both of God and man, that he is by God himself⁶ equalled with Noah and Job, and reckoned with these two to make up the three, who of all the saints that had till then lived upon the earth, had the greatest power to prevail with God in their prayers for others. And yet he was then but a young man; for, allowing him to be eighteen when he was carried away to Babylon, among other children to be there educated, and bought up for the service of the king (and a greater will not agree with his character,) thirty-two at this time must have been the utmost of his age. But he dedicated the prime and vigour of his life to the service of God; and that is the best time to make proficiency therein.

An. 591. Zedek. 8.]—Zedekiah, having in the seventh year of his reign sent ambassadors into Egypt,⁷ made a confederacy with Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt; and therefore the next year, after breaking the oath of fidelity which he had sworn in the name of the Lord his God unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, he rebelled against him; which drew on him that war which ended in his ruin, and in the ruin of all Judah and Jerusalem with him, in that calamitous destruction in which both were involved hereby.

An. 590. Zedek. 9.]—In the ninth year of Zedekiah,⁸ Nebuchadnezzar having drawn together a great army out of all the nations under his dominion, marched against him to punish him for his perfidy and rebellion. But on his coming into Syria, finding that the Ammonites had also entered into the same confederacy

¹ Ezek. iv. 4, &c.

² Jer. li. 14, 20.

³ Herodot. lib. 1.

⁴ Ezek. xvii. 13.

⁵ Ibid. lib. 2.

⁶ 2 Kings xxvi. 1.

⁷ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.

⁸ Ezek. xi. 15—21.

⁹ Ezek. xi. 25.

Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

with Egypt against him, he was in doubt¹ for some time which of these two people he should first fall upon, them or the Jews; whereon he committed the decision of the matter to his diviners, who consulting by the entrails of their sacrifices, their teraphim, and their arrows, determined for the carrying of the war against the Jews. This way of divining by arrows was usual among these idolaters. The manner of it, Jerome tells us, was thus;² they wrote on several arrows the names of the cities they intended to make war against, and then putting them promiscuously altogether into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out thence in a manner as they drew lots; and that city whose name was on the arrow first drawn, was the first they assaulted. And by this way of divination, the war being determined against Judah, Nebuchadnezzar immediately marched his army into that country, and in a few days took all the cities thereof³ excepting only Lachish, Azekah, and Jerusalem, whereon the Jews at Jerusalem, being terrified with these losses, and the apprehensions of a siege then ready to be laid to that place, made a show of returning unto the Lord their God, and entered into a solemn covenant, thenceforth to serve him only, and faithfully observe all his laws. And in pursuance hereof, proclamation was made,⁴ that every man should let his man-servant, and every man his maid-servant, being an Hebrew or an Hebrewess, go free,⁵ according to the law of God; and every man did according hereto.

On the tenth month of the same year,⁶ and the 10th day of the month (which was about the end of our December,) Nebuchadnezzar with all his numerous army laid siege to Jerusalem, and blocked it close up on every side; in memory whereof, the 10th day of Tebeth, which is their tenth month, hath ever since been observed by the Jews⁷ as a day of solemn fast even to this time.

On the same 10th day of the tenth month,⁸ in which this siege began at Jerusalem, was the same revealed to Ezekiel in Chaldea; where, by the type of a boiling pot, was foreshown unto him the dismal destruction which should thereby be brought upon that city. And the same night,⁹ the wife of the prophet, who was the desire of his eyes, was, by a sudden stroke of death, taken from him; and he was forbid by God to make any manner of mourning for her, or appear with any of the usual signs of it upon him, thereby to foreshow, that the holy city, the temple, and the sanctuary, which were dearer to them than any wife can be in the eyes of her husband, should not only by a speedy and sudden stroke of destruction be taken from them, but that the calamity ensuing thereon should be such, and so great, as should not allow them so much as to mourn for the loss of them.

An. 589. Zedek. 10.]—In the beginning of the tenth year of Zedekiah,¹⁰ the prophet Jeremiah, being sent of God declared unto him, that the Babylonians, who were now besieging of the city, should certainly take it, and burn it with fire, and take him prisoner and carry him to Babylon, and that he should die there. Whereon Zedekiah,¹¹ being much displeased, put him in prison, and while he was shut up there, even in this very year, he purchased of Hanameel,¹² his uncle's son, a field in Anathoth; thereby to foreshow, that although Judah and Jerusalem should be laid desolate, and the inhabitants led into captivity, yet there should be a restoration, when lands and possessions should be again enjoyed by the legal owners of them, in the same manner as in former times.

Pharaoh-Hophra,¹³ coming out of Egypt with a great army to the relief of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar raised the siege of Jerusalem to march against him. But before he went on this expedition he sent all the captive Jews which he then had in his camp to Babylon,¹⁴ the number of which were eight hundred and thirty-two persons.

On the departure of the Chaldeans from Jerusalem, Jeremiah being again set at liberty, Zedekiah sent unto him Jehucal the son of Shelemiah,¹⁵ and Zaphaniah

1 Ezek. xxi. 19—24.

2 In Comment. in Ezek. xxi.

3 Jer. xxxiv. 7.

4 Jer. xxxiv. 8—10.

5 Deut. xv. 12.

6 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. lli. 4.

7 Zech. viii. 19.

8 Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2.

9 Ibid. xxiv. 16—18.

10 Jer. xxxiv.

11 Ibid. xxxii. 1—3.

12 Ibid. xxxi. 7—17.

13 Jer. xxxvii. 5.

14 Ibid. lli. 29.

15 Ibid. xxviii. 3—10.

the son of Maaseiah the priest, to inquire of the Lord by him, and to desire him to pray for him and his people. To whom the prophet returned an answer from God, that the Egyptians, whom they did depend upon would certainly deceive them; that their army would again return into Egypt, without giving them any help at all; and that thereon the Chaldeans would again renew the siege, take the city, and burn it with fire.

But the general opinion of the people being, that the Chaldeans were gone for good and all, and would return no more to renew the war against them, they repented of the covenant of reformation,¹ which they had entered into before God, when they were in fear of them; and caused every man's servant, and every man's handmaid, whom they had set at liberty, again to return into servitude, to be unto them again for servants and for handmaids, contrary to the law of the Lord and the covenant which they had lately entered into with him, to walk according to it. For which inhuman and unjust act,² and their impious breach of the covenant lately made with God, Jeremiah proclaimed liberty to the sword, and to the famine, and to the pestilence, to execute the wrath of God upon them and their king, and their princes, and all Judah and Jerusalem, to their utter destruction.

While the Chaldeans were yet absent from Jerusalem, Jeremiah intending to retire to Anathoth,³ his native place, that thereby he might avoid the siege, which he knew would be again renewed on the return of the Chaldeans from their expedition against the Egyptians, put himself on his journey thither: but, as he was passing the gate of the city that led that way, the captain that kept guard there seized him for a deserter, as if his intentions were to fall away to the Chaldeans; whereon he was again put in prison in the house of Jonathan the scribe, which they had made the common jail of the city, where he remained many days.

The Egyptians, on the coming of the Chaldeans against them, durst not stay to engage in battle with so numerous and well-appointed an army; but, withdrawing on their approach,⁴ retired again into their own country, treacherously leaving Zedekiah and his people to perish in that war which they had drawn them into. Whereon the prophet Ezekiel⁵ reproaching them for their perfidy in thus becoming a staff of reed to those, whom by oaths and covenants of alliance they had made to lean and confide on them, denounced God's judgments against them, to be executed both upon king and people, in war, confusion, and desolation, for forty years ensuing, for the punishment hereof; and also foretold,⁶ how, after that, they should sink low, and become a mean and base people, and should no more have a prince of their own to reign over them. Which hath accordingly come to pass; for, not long after the expiration of the said forty years, they were made a province of the Persian empire, and have been governed by strangers ever since; for, on the failure of the Persian empire, they became subject to the Macedonians, and after them to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamelukes, and are now a province of the Turkish empire.

On the retreat of the Egyptians, Nebuchadnezzar returned to Jerusalem,⁷ and again renewed the siege of that place; which lasted about a year, from the second investing of it to the time when it was taken.

The siege being thus renewed, Zedekiah sent for Jeremiah out of prison,⁸ to consult with him, and inquire of him, what word there was from God concerning the present state of his affairs; to which he found there was no other answer, but that he was to be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon. However, at the entreaty of the prophet, he was prevailed with not to send him back again to the common jail of the city, lest he should die there by reason of the noisomeness of the place; and therefore, instead thereof, he was ordered to

¹ Jer. xxxiv. 11.

² Ezek. xxix.

³ Ibid. xxxiv. 17-22.

⁴ Ibid. xxx. 13.

⁵ Ibid. xxxvii. 11-15.

⁶ Jer. xxxvii. 8.

⁷ Jer. xxxvii. 7.

⁸ Ibid. xxxvii. 17-21.

the prison of the king's court, where he continued, with the allowance of a certain portion of bread out of the common store, till the city was taken.

Zedekiah, finding himself in the siege much pressed by the Chaldeans, sent messengers to Jeremiah,¹ farther to inquire of the Lord by him concerning the present war. To which he answered, that the word of the Lord concerning him was, that God, being very much provoked against him and his people for their iniquities, would fight against the city, and smite it; that both king and people should be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon; that those who continued in the city, during the siege, should perish by the pestilence, the famine, and the sword; but that those who should go out, and fall to the Chaldeans, should have their lives given them for a prey. At which answer,² several of the princes and chief commanders about the king, being very much offended, pressed the king against him, as one that weakened the hands of the men of war, and of all the people, and sought their hurt more than their good: whereon he being delivered into their hands, they cast him into a dungeon, where he must have perished, but that Ebedmelech,³ an eunuch of the court, having entreated the king in his behalf, delivered him thence; for which charitable act he had a message sent him from God, of mercy and deliverance unto him. After his Zedekiah sending for Jeremiah⁴ into the temple, there secretly inquired of him; but had no other answer than what had been before given him, saving only, that the prophet told him, that if he would go forthwith and deliver himself into the hands of the king of Babylon's princes, who commanded at the carrying on of the siege, this was the only way whereby he might save both himself and the city; and he earnestly pressed him hereto. But Zedekiah would not hearken unto him herein; but sent him back again to prison, and after that no more consulted with him.

An. 588. Zedek. 11.]—In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the beginning of the year, God declared, by the prophet Ezekiel, his judgments against Tyre, for their insulting on the calamitous state of Judah and Jerusalem, foreshowing, that the same calamities should be also brought upon them by the same Nebuchadnezzar, into whose hands God would deliver them; and this is the subject of the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth chapters of his prophecies; in the last of which God particularly upbraided Ithobal, then king of Tyre, with the insolent and proud conceit he had of his own knowledge and understanding, having puffed up himself herewith, as if he were wiser than Daniel; and that there was no secret that could be hid from him:⁵ which sheweth to how great a height the fame of Daniel's wisdom was at that time grown, since it now became spoken of, by way of proverb, through all the east; and yet, according to the account before given us of his age, he could not at this time exceed thirty-six years. And, in the conclusion of the twenty-eighth chapter, the like judgments are denounced also against Sidon, and for the same reason.

The same year God declared, by the same prophet, his judgments against pharaoh and the Egyptians; that he would bring the king of Babylon against them, and deliver them into his hands; and that, notwithstanding their greatness and pride, they should no more escape his revenging hand than the Assyrians had done before them, who were higher and greater than they. And this is the subject of the thirtieth and thirty-first chapters of his prophecies.

In the fourth month, on the 9th day of the month, of the same eleventh year of Zedekiah, Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans,⁶ after the siege had lasted from their last setting down before it, about a year. Hereon Zedekiah, with his men of war, fled away; and having broken through the camp of the enemy, endeavoured to make his escape over Jordan; but being pursued after, he was overtaken in the plains of Jericho: whereupon all his army being scattered from him, he was taken prisoner, and carried to the king of Babylon, at Riblah in Syria, where he then resided; who having caused his sons, and all his princes that were

¹ Jer. xxi. 1—14.
⁵ Ezek. xxviii. 3.

² Jer. xxxviii. 1—7.
⁶ 2 Kings xxv. 4.

³ Ibid. xxxviii. 7—13.

⁴ Ibid. xxxviii. 14—23.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 2—10. iii. 6—11.

taken with him, to be slain before his face, commanded his eyes to be put out, and then bound him in fetters of brass, and sent him to Babylon, where he died in prison: and hereby was fulfilled the prophesy of the prophet Ezekiel concerning him,¹ that he should be brought to Babylon in the land of the Chaldeans, yet should not see the place, though he should die there.

In the fifth month, on the 7th day of the month (*i. e.* toward the end of our July,) came Nebuzaradan,² captain of the guards to the king of Babylon, to Jerusalem; and, after having taken out all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and gathered together all the riches that could be found, either in the king's house, or in any other houses of the city, he did, on the 10th day of the same month, pursuant to the command of his master, set both the temple and city on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the walls, fortresses, and towers, belonging thereto, and wholly razing and levelling to the ground every building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect desolation; and so it continued for fifty-two years after, till by the favour of Cyrus, the Jews being released from their captivity, and restored again to their own land, repaired these ruins, and built again their holy city. In memory of this calamity, they keep two fasts even to this day, the 17th of the fourth month (which falls in our June) for the destruction of Jerusalem, and the 9th of the fifth month (which falls in our July) for the destruction of the temple; both which are made mention of in the prophecies of the prophet Zechariah,³ under the names of the fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth month, and are there spoken of as annually observed from the destruction of Jerusalem to this time, which was seventy years after. Josephus remarks,⁴ that the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar happened on the very same day of the year on which it was afterward again burned by Titus.

Nebuzaradan having thus destroyed the city and the temple of Jerusalem, made all the people he found there captives. Of these he took Saraiah the high-priest,⁵ and Zephaniah the second priest, and about seventy others of the principal persons he found in the place, and carried them to Riblah to Nebuchadnezzar, who caused them all there to be put to death. Of the rest of the people,⁶ he left the poorer sort to till the ground and dress their vineyards, and made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, governor over them, and all the other he carried away to Babylon.

But concerning Jeremiah, Nebuchadnezzar gave particular charge to Nebuzaradan,⁷ that he should offer him no hurt, but look well to him, and do for him in all things according as he should desire. And therefore as soon as he came to Jerusalem, with commission to destroy the place, he and the princes that were with him sent and took him out of prison, where he had lain bound from the time that Zedekiah had put him there, and restored him to his liberty; and having carried him with him as far as Ramah, on his return to Nebuchadnezzar he gave him his option, whether he would go with him to Babylon, where he should be well looked after and maintained at the king's charge, or else remain in the land; and he having chosen the latter, Nebuzaradan gave him victuals and a reward, and sent him back to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, with an especial charge to take care of him.

After Nebuchadnezzar was returned to Babylon,⁸ all those who before for fear of the Chaldeans had taken refuge among the neighbouring nations, or had hid themselves in the fields and the deserts, after their escape, on the dispersion of Zedekiah's army in the plains of Jericho, hearing that Gedaliah was made governor of the land, resorted to him; and he having promised them protection, and sworn unto them that they should be safe under his government, they settled themselves again in the land, and gathered in the fruits of it. The chief among these were Johanan and Jonathan the sons of Kereah, Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, Azariah the son of Hoshaiah, Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and others.

¹ Ezek. xli. 13. ² 2 Kings xxv. 8—17. Jer. lli. 12—23. ³ Zech. viii. 19. ⁴ De Bello Judaico, lib. vii. c. 10.
⁵ 2 Kings xxv. 18—21. Jer. lli. 24—27. ⁶ 2 Kings xvi. 22—25. Jer. xxxix. 9, 10. lli. 15, 16.
⁷ Jer. xxxix. 11—14. xl. 1—6. ⁸ Jer. xl. 7—12.

But Ishmael came to him only out of a treacherous design;¹ for being of the seed royal, he reckoned to make himself king of the land now the Chaldeans were gone; and for the accomplishing of it had formed a conspiracy to kill Gedaliah, and seize the government; and Baalis the king of the Ammonites was confederated with him herein. But Johanan the son of Kereah having got notice of it, he and all the chief men of the rest of the people went to Gedaliah, and informed him of it, proposing to kill Ishmael, and thereby deliver him from the mischief that was intended against him. But Gedaliah being of a very benign disposition, and not easy to entertain jealousies of any one, would not believe this of Ishmael, but still carried on a friendly correspondence with him; of which Ishmael² taking the advantage, came to him in the seventh month, which answers to our September, when the people were most of them scattered abroad from him to gather in the fruits of the land; and while they were eating and drinking together at an entertainment, which Gedaliah had in a very friendly manner made for him and his men, they rose upon him and slew him, and at the same time slew also a great number of the Jews and Chaldeans whom they found with him in Mizpah, and took the rest captive. And the next day, hearing of eighty men who were going on a religious account with offerings and incense to the house of God,³ they craftily drew them into Mizpah, and there slew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their stores for the redemption of their lives. And then taking with him all the captives, among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, they departed thence to go over to the Ammonites. But Johanan the son of Kereah, and the rest of the captains, hearing of this wicked fact, immediately armed as many of the people as they could get together, and pursued after Ishmael; and, having overtaken him at Gibeon, retook all the captives; but he and eight of his men escaped to the Ammonites. This murder of Gedaliah happened two months after the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, in the said seventh month, and on the 30th day of the month. For that day the Jews have kept as a fast in commemoration of this calamity ever since; and Zechariah⁴ also makes mention of it as observed in his time, calling it by the name of the *fast of the seventh month*; and they had reason to keep a fast for it, for it was the completion of their ruin.

After this great misfortune, Johanan⁵ the son of Kereah, and the people that were left, fearing the king of Babylon, because of the murder of Gedaliah whom he had made governor of the land, departed from Mizpah, to flee into the land of Egypt, and came to Bethlehem in their way thither: where they stopping a while, consulted the prophet Jeremiah (whom they had carried with them) about their intended journey, and desired him to inquire of God in their behalf; who, after ten days, having received an answer from God, called them together, and told them, that if they would tarry in the land, all should go well with them, and God would show mercy unto them, and incline the heart of the king of Babylon to be favourable unto them; but if they would not hearken unto the word of the Lord, but would, notwithstanding his word now delivered to the contrary, set their faces to go into the land of Egypt, that then the sword and famine should follow close after them thither, and they should be all there destroyed. But all this was of no effect with them: for their hearts being violently bent to go into Egypt, they would not hearken to the word of the Lord spoken to them by the mouth of his prophet, but told Jeremiah, that the answer which he gave them was not from God, but was suggested to him by Baruch the son of Neriah for their hurt. And therefore Johanan the son of Kereah, and the rest of the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah that were returned, from all nations whither they had been driven, again to dwell in the land, and all the persons whom Nebuchadnezzar had left with Gedaliah, even men, women, and children, and the king's daughters, and also Jeremiah the

1 Jer. xl. 13—16.

2 Ibid. xii.

3 i. e. at Jerusalem; for though the temple was destroyed, yet the people that were left continued to offer sacrifices, and worship there on the place where it stood, as long as they remained in the land.

4 Zech. viii. 19.

5 Jer. xlii.

prophet, and Baruch the son of Neriah, and went into Egypt, and settled in that country, till the plagues and judgments which God had threatened them with, for their disobedience to his word, there overtook them, to their utter destruction. And thus ended this unfortunate year, in which the temple and city of Jerusalem were destroyed, and the whole land of Judah brought in a manner to utter desolation for the sins thereof.

BOOK II.

An. 587. Nebuchadnezzar 18.]—In the twelfth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, one escaping from Jerusalem came to Ezekiel in the land of the Chaldeans,¹ and told him of the destruction of that city: whereon he prophesied desolation to the rest of the land of Judah, and utter destruction to the remainder of the Jews who were left therein.

The same year Ezekiel prophesied against Egypt, and Pharaoh-Hophra, the king thereof, that God would bring against him Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who should lay the land desolate; and that he and all his armies should be brought to destruction, and perish, like as other nations whom God had cut off for their iniquities: which is the subject of the thirty-second chapter of his prophecies.

The Jews which went into Egypt,² having settled at Migdol, and Tahpanhes, and Noph, and in the country of Pathros (*i. e.* at Magdalum by the Red Sea,³ at Daphne near Pelusium, at Memphis, and in the country of Thebais,) gave themselves there wholly up to idolatry,⁴ worshipping the queen of heaven, and other false deities of the land, and burning incense unto them, without having any more regard to the Lord their God. Whereon the prophet Jeremiah cried aloud against this impiety,⁵ unto those among whom he lived, that is, those who had settled in the land of Pathros, or Thebais.⁶ (For this being the farthest from Judea of all the places where they had obtained settlements in that country, they had carried him thither, the better to take from him all opportunity of again returning from them.) But all his exhortations were of no other effect, than to draw from them a declaration, that they would worship the Lord no more, but would go on in their idolatry;⁷ for they told him, that it had been best with them, when they practised it in Judah and Jerusalem; that it was since their leaving off, that all their calamities had happened unto them; and that therefore they would no more hearken unto any thing that he should deliver unto them in the name of the Lord. Whereon the word of the Lord came unto the prophet,⁸ denouncing utter destruction unto them by the sword, and by the famine, that thereby all of them, that is, all the men of Judah then dwelling in Egypt, should be consumed; excepting only some few, who should make their escape into the land of Judah. And, for a sign hereof, it was foretold unto them by the same prophet, that Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt, in whom they trusted, should be given into the hands of his enemies who sought his life, in the same manner as Zedekiah was given into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar that sought his life; that so, when this should be brought to pass in their eyes, they might be assured thereby, that all these words which the Lord had spoken against them should certainly be fulfilled upon them; as accordingly they were, about eighteen years afterward.

After this there is no more mention of Jeremiah. It is most likely that he died in Egypt soon after, he being then much advanced in years (for he had now prophesied forty-one years from the thirteenth of Josiah,) and also much broken (as we may well suppose) by the calamities which happened to himself and his country. Tertullian, Epiphanius, Dorotheus, Jerome, and Zonaras, tells us, that he was stoned to death by the Jews, for preaching against their idolatry. And

¹ Ezek. xxxiii. 21—23.

² Jer. xlv. 1.

³ Vide Boet. Phal. part 1. lib. 4. c. 27.

⁴ Jer. xlv. 8. 15—19

⁵ Ibid. xlv. 1—15.

⁶ Ibid. xlv. 15.

⁷ Ibid. xlv. 16—19.

⁸ Ibid. xlix. 26—30.

of this some interpret St. Paul's *κατασφηνωσαν* (i. e. they were stoned,) Heb. xi. 37. But others say, that he was put to death by Pharaoh-Hophra, because of his prophecy against him. But these seem to be traditions, founded rather on conjecture than on any certain account of the matter.

Nebuchadnezzar being returned to Babylon after the end of the Jewish war, and the full settling of his affairs in Syria and Palestine, did, out of the spoils which he had taken in that expedition, make that golden image to the honour of Bel his god,¹ which he did set up, and dedicate to him in the plain of Dura; the history of which is at large related in the third chapter of Daniel. But how Daniel escaped the fiery furnace, which his three friends on that occasion were condemned unto, is made a matter of inquiry by some. That he did not fall down and worship the idol, is most certain; it absolutely disagreeing with the character of that holy religious man, to make himself guilty of so high an offence against God as such a compliance would have amounted unto: either, therefore, he was absent, or else, if present, was not accused. The latter seems most probable: for Nebuchadnezzar having summoned all his princes, counsellors, governors, captains, and all his other officers and ministers, to be present, and assisting at the solemnity of this dedication, it is not likely that Daniel, who was one of the chiefest of them, should be allowed to be absent. That he was present, therefore, seems most probable: but his enemies thought it fittest not to begin with him, because of the great authority he had with the king; but rather to fall first on his three friends, and thereby pave the way for their more successful reaching of him after it. But what was in the interim miraculously done in their case, quashed all farther accusation about this matter; and for that reason it was that Daniel is not at all spoken of in it.

An. 586. Nebuchadnezzar 19.]—Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-first year of his reign, according to the Jewish account, which was the nineteenth according to the Babylonish account, and the second from the destruction of Jerusalem, came again into Syria, and laid siege to Tyre,² Ithabol being then king of that city; which found him hard work for thirteen years together, it being so long before he could make himself master of the place. For it was a strong and wealthy city, which had never as yet submitted to any foreign empire; and was of great fame in those days for its traffic and merchandise,³ whereby several of its inhabitants had made themselves as great as princes in riches and splendour.⁴ It was built by the Zidonians,⁵ two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem: for Zidon being then conquered and taken by the Philistines of Askalon,⁶ many of the inhabitants escaping thence in their ships, built Tyre; and, therefore, it was called by the prophet Isaiah the daughter of Zidon:⁷ but it soon outgrew its mother in largeness, riches, and power, and was thereby enabled to withstand for so many years the power of this mighty king, to whom all the east had then submitted.

An. 584. Nebuchadnezzar 21.]—While Nebuchadnezzar lay at this siege, Nebuzaradan, the captain of his guards, being sent out by him with part of his army, invaded the land of Israel, to take revenge, as it may be supposed, for the death of Gedaliah, there being no other reason why he should fall on the poor remains of those miserable people whom he himself had left and settled there. In which expedition Nebuzaradan⁸ seizing upon all of the race of Israel that he could meet with in the land, made them all captives and sent them to Babylon. But they all amounted to no more than seven hundred and forty-five persons, the rest having all fled into Egypt, as hath been before related.

By this last captivity was fully completed the desolation of the land, no more of its former inhabitants being now left therein. And hereby were also com-

¹ In the Greek version of Daniel, chap. iii. 1. this is said to have been done in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. But this is not in the original text; for in that no year at all is mentioned; and therefore it is most probable it crept into it from some marginal comment, for which, I doubt not, there was some very good authority. For it could in no year of that king's reign fall more likely; and therefore according hereto have here placed it.

² Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

³ Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii.

⁴ Isa. xxiii. 8.

⁵ Joseph. Ant. lib. 8. c. 2.

⁶ Justin, lib. 18. c. 3.

⁷ Isa. xxiii. 12.

⁸ Jer. lii. 30.

pleted the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets relating hereto; and particularly that of Ezekiel,¹ wherein God's forbearance of the house of Israel is limited to three hundred and ninety days, and his forbearance of the house of Judah to forty days. For, taking the days for years, according to the prophetic style of scripture, from the apostacy of Jeroboam to the time of this last captivity, there will be just three hundred and ninety years; and so long God bore the idolatry of the house of Israel. And from the eighteenth year of Josiah,² when the house of Judah entered into covenant with God to walk wholly in his ways, to the same time will be just forty years; and so long God bore their walking contrary to that covenant. But now the stated time of his forbearance, in respect of both being fully completed, he completed also the desolation of both in this last captivity, in which both had an equal share of them, part of them who were now carried away being of the house of Judah, and part of the house of Israel. There are others who end both the computations at the destruction of Jerusalem: and to make their hypothesis good, they begin the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah from the mission of the prophet Jeremiah to preach repentance unto them, that is, from the thirteenth of Josiah,³ when he was first called to this office; from which time, to the last year of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was destroyed, were exactly forty years. And as to the three hundred and ninety years' forbearance of the house of Israel, according as they compute the time from Jeroboam's apostacy, they make this period to fall exactly right also; that is, to contain just three hundred and ninety years from that time to the destruction of Jerusalem. But this period relating purely to the house of Israel, as contradistinct from the house of Judah, in this prophecy, it cannot be well interpreted to end in the destruction of Jerusalem, in which the house of Israel had no concern: for Jerusalem was not within the kingdom of Israel, but within the kingdom of Judah, of which it was the metropolis; and, therefore, the latter only, and not the former, had their punishment in it. But this last equally affected both; and, therefore, here may well be ended the reckoning which belonged to both. As to the computing of the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah, from the mission of Jeremiah to preach repentance unto them, it must be acknowledged, that from thence to the destruction of Jerusalem, the number of years falls exactly right; and, therefore, since the one hundred and twenty years of God's forbearance of the old world is reckoned from the like mission of Noah to preach repentance unto them,⁴ I should be inclined to come into this opinion, and reckon the forty years of this forbearance of Judah by the forty years of Jeremiah's like preaching of repentance unto them: but it cannot be conceived why Ezekiel should reckon the time of his mission by an era from the eighteenth year of Josiah (for the thirtieth year, on which he saith he was called to the prophetic office, is certainly to be reckoned from thence,) unless it be with respect to the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah in his own prophecies.

After this, Nebuzaradan marched against the Ammonites;⁵ and having destroyed Rabbah, their royal city, and by fire and sword made great desolation in that country, he carried their king, and their princes, and most of the chief of the land into captivity: and this was done by way of just revenge for the part which they had in the murder of Gedaliah, the king of Babylon's governor in the land of Israel.

And during this siege of Tyre, the other neighbouring nations, that is, the Philistines, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Zidonians, seem also to have been harassed and broken by the excursions of the Babylonians, and to have had all those judgments executed upon them, which we find in the prophecies of Jeremiah⁶ and Ezekiel⁷ to have been denounced against them.

An. 574. Nebuchadnezzar 31.]—In the fourteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin,

¹ Ezek. iv. 1—8.

² Chron. xxiv. 29—31.

³ Jer. i. 2.

⁴ Gen. vi. 3.

⁵ Jer. xlix. 1—6. Ezek. xxv. 1—7. Amos i. 14, 15.

⁶ Jer. xxvii.—xxix.

⁷ Ezek. xxv.

were revealed unto the prophet Ezekiel all those visions and prophecies concerning the future state of the church of God, which we have from the fortieth chapter of his prophecies to the end of that book.

This same year, the judgments which God had denounced by the mouth of his prophets against Pharaoh-Hophra, or Apries, king of Egypt, began to operate against him. For the Cyrenians,¹ a colony of the Greeks that had settled in Africa, having taken from the Lybians (a neighbouring nation laying between them and the Egyptians, and bordering upon both) a great part of their land, and divided it among themselves, the Lybians made a surrender both of themselves and their country into the hands of Apries, to obtain his protection. Hereon Apries sent a great army into Lybia to wage war against the Cyrenians; which, having the misfortune to be beaten and overthrown in battle, were almost all cut off and destroyed, so that very few of them escaped the carnage, and returned again into Egypt: whereon the Egyptians, entertaining an opinion that this army was sent by Apries into Lybia on purpose to be destroyed, that he might, when rid of them, with the more ease and security govern the rest, became so incensed against him, that a great many of them, embodying together, revolted from him. Apries, hearing of this, sent Amasis, an officer of his court to appease them, and reduce them again to their duty. But while he was speaking to them, they put on his head the ensigns of royalty, and declared him their king; which he accepting of, stayed among them, and increased the revolt. At which Apries being much incensed, sent Paterbemis, another officer of his court, and one of the first rank among his followers, to arrest Amasis, and bring him unto him; which he not being able to effect, in the midst of so great an army of conspirators as he found about him, was on his return very cruelly and unworthily treated by Apries; for out of anger for his not effecting that for which he sent him, though he had no power to accomplish it, he outrageously commanded his ears and his nose to be immediately cut off. Which wrong and indignity offered to a person of his high character and worth, so incensed the rest of the Egyptians, that they almost all joined with the conspirators in a general revolt from him. Whereon Apries being forced to flee, made his escape into the Upper Egypt toward the borders of Ethiopia; where he maintained himself for some years, while Amasis held all the rest.

An. 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.]—But while this was doing in Egypt, at length, in the twenty-sixth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin,² which was the fifteenth after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre, after a siege of thirteen years continuance,³ and utterly destroyed the place, that is, the city which was on the continent; the ruins of which were afterward called Palæ Tyrus, or Old Tyre. But, before it came to this extremity, the inhabitants had removed most of their effects into an island about half a mile distant from the shore, and there built them a new city. And therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar entered that, which he had so long besieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his soldiers in the spoil of the place, which they had so long laboured to take; and therefore wreaking his anger upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left in them, he razed the whole town to the ground, and slew all he found therein. After this it never more recovered its former glory; but the city on the island became the Tyre that was afterward so famous by that name; the other on the continent never arising any higher than to become a village by the name of Old Tyre, as was before said. That it was this Tyre only that Nebuchadnezzar besieged, and not the other on the island, appears from the description of the siege which we have in Ezekiel. For thereby we find, that Nebuchadnezzar made a fort against the place,⁴ and cast up a mount against it, and erected engines of battery to break down its walls,⁵ which could not be said of the Tyre on the island; for that was all surrounded by the sea. And that he also took, and utterly destroyed that city ap-

¹ Herodot. lib. 2. et 4. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2.

³ Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

⁴ Ezek. xxvi. 8.

² Ezek. xxix. 17.

⁵ Ibid. xxvi. 9.

pears likewise from the writings of the same prophet.¹ But that the city, on the island then escaped this fate is manifest from the Phœnician histories; for in them, after the death of Ithobal (who was slain in the conclusion of this war,²) we are told that Baal succeeded in the kingdom,³ and reigned ten years; and that after him succeeded several temporary magistrates, one after another, who, under the name of judges, had the government of the place. It is most probable, that, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken and destroyed the old town, those who had retired into the island came to terms, and submitted to him; and that thereon Baal was deputed to be their king under him, and reigned ten years: that, at the end of the said ten years (which happened in the very year that Nebuchadnezzar was again restored after his distraction,) Baal being then dead or deposed, the government, to make it more dependent on the Babylonians, was changed into that of temporary magistrates; who, instead of the name of kings, had only that of *suffetes*, or judges, given unto them; which was a name well known among the Carthaginians, who were descended of the Tyrians; for so their chief magistrates were called.⁴ It had its derivation from the Hebrew word *shopetim*, *i. e.* judges, which was the very name whereby the chief governors of Israel were called for several generations before they had kings. And under this sort of government the Tyrians seem to have continued for several years after, till they were restored to their former state by Darius Hystaspis seventy years after; as will, in its proper place, be hereafter related.

And here I cannot but observe, how exactly the chronology of the Phœnician annals agreeth with that of the holy scriptures. Ezekiel placeth the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar in the twenty-sixth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. For, in the first month, and in the first day of the month of the twenty-seventh year, he speaketh (ch. xxix. 17, 18, &c.) of that city as newly taken by Nebuchadnezzar; and therefore the taking of it must have been in the year before, that is, in the twenty-sixth of the said captivity. This fell in the thirty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar,⁵ according to the Babylonish account; from which year, according to Ptolemy's Canon, the first year of Cyrus at Babylon will be the thirty-sixth, and so, according to the Phœnician annals, will be exactly the same. For, according to them,⁶ after the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, Baal had the government of it ten years, Ecnibal two months, Chalbes ten months, Abbar three months, Mitgonus and Jerastratus six years, Balator one year, Merball four years, and Hirom twenty years; in whose fourteenth year, say the same annals, Cyrus began his empire. And, putting all these together, the fourteenth of Hirom will be exactly the thirty-sixth year from the thirty-second of Nebuchadnezzar, which was the twenty-sixth of the captivity of Jehoiachin, the year, according to Ezekiel, in which Tyre was taken. And therefore it doth hereby appear, that the said Phœnician annals place the taking of Tyre in the very same year that Ezekiel doth: for the twenty-sixth year from the captivity of Jehoiachin, computed downward, in which Ezekiel placeth it, and the thirty-sixth year from the fourteenth of Hirom, computed upward, in which the Phœnician annals place it, will be exactly the same year.

Nebuchadnezzar and his army having served so long before Tyre, "till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled,"⁷ through the length and hardship of the war, and gotten little on the taking of the place to reward him and his army for their service in executing the wrath of God upon the place, by reason that the Tyrians had saved the best of their effects in the island; God did, by the prophet Ezekiel, promise them the spoils of Egypt. And accordingly, this very same year, immediately after this siege was over, Nebuchadnezzar, taking

1 Ezek. xxvi. 4. 9—12.

2 Ibid. xxviii. 8—10.

3 Josephus contra Apionem. lib. 1.

4 Livius, lib. 28. *Suffetes eorum qui summus est penis magistratus.* Vide etiam ejusdem, lib. 30. et 34, ubi de *suffetibus* ut de summo apud Carthaginienses magistratu mentio fit.

5 For the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin being the last (which was the forty-third) year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 27. and Jer. lli. 31.) the twenty-sixth year of the said captivity must be in the thirty-second of Nebuchadnezzar.

6 Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 1.

7 Ezek. xxix. 18—20. xxx. 1—19.

the advantage of the intestine divisions which were then in that country, by reason of the revolt of Amasis, marched with his army thither, and overrunning the whole land, from Migdol,¹ or Magdolum (which is at the first entering into Egypt,) even to Syene (which is at the farthest end of it toward the borders of Ethiopia,) he made a miserable ravage and devastation therein,² slaying multitudes of the inhabitants, and reducing a great part of the country to such a desolation, as it did not recover from in forty years after.³ After this, Nebuchadnezzar having loaded himself and his army with the rich spoils of this country, and brought it all in subjection to him, he came to terms with Amasis; and having confirmed him in the kingdom, as his deputy, returned to Babylon.

During this ravage of the land of Egypt by the Babylonians, most of the Jews, who had fled thither after the murder of Gedaliah, fell into their hands. Many of them they slew;⁴ others they carried captive with them to Babylon. The few that escaped saved themselves by fleeing out of Egypt, and afterward settled again in their own land at the end of the captivity.

An. 570. Nebuchadnezzar 35.—After Nebuchadnezzar was gone out of Egypt, Apries, creeping out of his hiding places, got toward the sea-coasts, most likely into the parts of Lybia; and there hiring an army of Carians,⁵ Ionians, and other foreigners, marched against Amasis, and gave him battle near the city of Memphis; in which being vanquished, and taken prisoner, he was carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace. And hereby were completed all the prophecies of the prophets Jeremiah⁶ and Ezekiel,⁷ which they had foretold both concerning him and his people; especially that of Jeremiah, relating to his death, whereby it was foreshown, "That God would give Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hands of his enemies, and into the hands of them that sought his life, as he gave Zedekiah, king of Judah, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, his enemy, that sought his life."⁸ Which was exactly fulfilled on his being taken prisoner, and executed by Amasis in the manner as I have said. It is remarked of him by Herodotus,⁹ that he was of that pride and high conceit of himself, as to vaunt, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of his kingdom, so securely he thought himself established in it; and agreeably hereto is it, that the prophet Ezekiel chargeth him with saying, "The river is mine, and I have made it."¹⁰ For the first twenty years of his reign, he had enjoyed as prosperous a fortune as most of his predecessors, having had many successes against the Cypriots,¹¹ the Zidonians; the Philistines, and other nations; but after he took on himself, Caligula-like, to be thought as a god, he fell from his former state, and made that miserable exit which I have related. After his death, Amasis,¹² without any farther opposition, became possessed of the whole kingdom of Egypt, and held it from the death of Apries, forty-four years. This happened in the nineteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem.

In the same nineteenth year, Nebuchadnezzar being returned from this Egyptian expedition to Babylon, had there the dream of the wonderful great tree, and the cutting down thereof; of which, and the interpretation of it, there is a full account in the fourth chapter of Daniel.

Nebuchadnezzar being now at rest from all his wars, and in full peace at home, applied himself to the finishing of his buildings at Babylon. Semiramis is said by some,¹³ and Belus by others,¹⁴ to have first founded this city. But by whomsoever it was first founded, it was Nebuchadnezzar that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works therein,¹⁵ were, 1st, the walls of the

1 Ezek. xxx. 6. Where observe this passage (from the tower of Syene) in the English translation of the Bible is wrongly translated. For the Hebrew word Migdol, which is there translated tower, is the name of the city Magdolum, which was at the entrance of Egypt from Palestine, i. e. at the hither end of Egypt; whereas Syene was at the other end, upon the borders of Ethiopia, the translation ought to be thus; from Migdol to Syene; that is, from one end of Egypt to the other.

2 Ezek. xxix. 30—32.

3 Ibid. xxix. 13.

4 Jer. xlv. 27, 28.

5 Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2.

6 Chap. xliii. xlv.

7 Chap. xxix—xxxii.

8 Jer. xlv. 30.

9 Herodotus, lib. 2.

10 Ezek. xxxix. 9.

11 Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2. Jer. xlvii. 1.

12 Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus, lib. 2.

13 Herodotus, lib. 1. Ctesias, Justin, lib. 1. c. 2.

14 Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Abydenus ex Megasthenes apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

15 Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

city; 2dly, the temple of Belus; 3dly, his palace, and the hanging-gardens in it; 4thly, the banks of the river; and, 5thly, the artificial lake, and artificial canals made for the draining of that river. In the magnificence and expense of which works he much exceeded whatsoever had been done by any king before him. And, excepting the walls of China, nothing like it hath been since attempted, whereby any one else can be equalled to him herein.

First, the walls were every way prodigious: for they were in thickness eighty-seven feet, in height three hundred and fifty feet, and in compass four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles.¹ This is Herodotus's account of them, who was himself at Babylon, and is the most ancient author that hath wrote of this matter. And although there are others that differ from him herein, yet the most that agree in any measure of those walls give us the same, or very near the same,² that he doth. Those who lay the height of them at fifty cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of Darius Hystaspis: for the Babylonians having revolted from him, and in confidence of their strong walls stood out against him in a long siege, after he had taken the place, to prevent their rebellion for the future,³ he took away their gates, and beat down their walls to the height last mentioned; and beyond this they were never after raised. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square,³ each side of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles in length, and all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen,⁴ a glutinous slime, arising out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the brick or stones themselves which it cements together. These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides, after the manner of a scarp or counterscarp, and the earth, which was dug out of it, made the bricks, wherewith the walls were built; and therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch. In every side of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, a hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him, "that he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass." (Isa. xlv. 2.) Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; and every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers:⁵ for some parts of them lying against morasses always full of water, where they could not be approached by an enemy, they had there no need of any towers at all for their defence; and therefore in them there were none built; for the whole number of them amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty; whereas, had the same uniform order been observed in their disposition all round, there must have been many more. From the twenty-five gates on each side of this great square, went twenty-five streets in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them in the other side opposite to it. So that the whole number of the streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly crossing each other at right angles.⁶ And, besides these, there were also four half streets, which were built

¹ Herodotus, lib. 1.

² Plinius, lib. 6. c. 26. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

³ Herodot. lib. 3.

⁴ Ibid. lib. 1. Q. Curtius. lib. 5. c. 1. Strabo, lib. 16. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. Arianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

⁶ Herodotus, lib. 1. Much, according to this model, hath William Penn the quaker laid out the ground for his city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world. For it lieth between two navigable rivers, at the distance of two miles from their confluence, and consists of thirty streets, ten of which being drawn from river to river are two miles long, and the twenty others being drawn across the said ten, and cutting them at right angles, are a mile long. In the midst of the whole is left a square of ten acres, and in the middle of the four quarters of the town, into which it is equally divided, is a square of five acres, which void places are designed for the building churches, schools, and other public buildings, and also to serve for the inhabitants to walk, and other ways divert themselves in them, in the same manner as Moor-fields do in London. Above two thousand houses are in this place already built, and when it shall be wholly built according to the plan above mentioned, it will be the glory of all that part of the world; and if the

but of one side, as having the wall on the other. These went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad, and the rest were about one hundred and fifty.¹ By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares, on every side, toward the streets, stood the houses, all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of adornments toward the streets.² The space within, in the middle of each square, was all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses. A branch of the River Euphrates did run quite across the city, entering in on the north side, and going out on the south; over which, in the middle of the city, was a bridge of a furlong in length,³ and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art,⁴ to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces,⁵ the old palace on the east side, and the new palace on the west side of the river; the former of these took up four of the squares above mentioned,⁶ and the other nine of them;⁷ and the temple of Belus, which stood next the old palace, took up another of these squares. The whole city stood on a large flat or plain,⁸ in a very fat and deep soil. That part of it which was on the east side of the river⁹ was the old city; the other on the west side was added by Nebuchadnezzar. Both together were included within that vast square I have mentioned. The pattern hereof seemeth to have been taken from Nineveh, that having been exactly four hundred and eighty furlongs round, as this was.¹⁰ For Nebuchadnezzar having, in conjunction with his father, destroyed that old royal seat of the Assyrian empire, resolved to make this, which he intended should succeed it in that dignity, altogether as large; only, whereas Nineveh was in the form of a parallelogram,¹¹ he made Babylon in that of an exact square; which figure rendered it somewhat the larger of the two. To fill this great and large city with inhabitants, was the reason that Nebuchadnezzar, out of Judea and other conquered countries, carried so great a number of captives thither. And could he have made it as populous as it was great, there was no country in all the east could better, than that in which it stood, have maintained so great a number of people, as must then have been in it: for the fertility of this province was so great, that it yielded to the Persian kings, during their reign over Asia,¹² half as much as did all that large empire besides; the common return of their tillage being between two and three hundred fold every crop. But it never happened to have been fully inhabited;¹³ it not having had time enough to grow up thereto: for, within twenty-five years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the royal seat of the empire was removed from thence to Shushan by Cyrus; which did put an end to the growing glory of Babylon; for after that it never more flourished. When Alexander came to Babylon, Curtius tells us, no more than ninety furlongs of it was then built,¹³ which can no otherwise be understood, than of so much in length; and if we allow the breadth to be as

country round it comes to be thoroughly inhabited, the great conveniency of its situation for trade, by reason of the two navigable rivers on which it stands, and the great River Delaware, into which both fall within two miles of it, will soon draw people enough thither, not only to finish the scheme, which hath been laid of it by its first founder, but also to enlarge it by such additions on each side, as to make its breadth answer its length; and then, barring the walls and greatness of Babylon, it will imitate it in all things else, and in the conveniency of its situation far exceed it. But this is to be understood as a comparing of a small thing with a great. For though Philadelphia were built and inhabited to the utmost I have mentioned, that is, to the full extent of two miles in breadth as well as in length, yet fifty-six of such cities might stand within those walls that encompassed Babylon.

1 *Two plethra*, saith Diodorus, that is, two hundred feet; for a plethrum contained one hundred feet.

2 Herodotus, lib. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1.

3 Strabo saith, that the river which passed through Babylon was a furlong broad (lib. 16); but Diodorus saith (lib. 2), that the bridge was five furlongs long; if so, it must be much longer than the river was broad.

4 Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18. Herodotus, lib. 1.

5 Berossus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

6 It was thirty furlongs in compass. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

7 It was sixty furlongs in compass. Diodorus, *ibid.* 8 Herodotus, lib. 1. 9 Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. 10 *Ibid.*

11 Two of its sides were each one hundred and fifty furlongs long, and the other but eighty each. Diodorus, *ibid.*

12 Herodotus, lib. 1.

13 Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

much as the length (which is the utmost that can be allowed,) it will follow, that no more than eight thousand one hundred square furlongs were then built upon; but the whole space within the walls contained fourteen thousand four hundred square furlongs; and therefore there must have been six thousand three hundred square furlongs that were unbuilt, which Curtius tells us¹ were ploughed and sown. And, besides this, the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side between house and house. And the same historian tells us, this was done because this way of building seemed to them the safest. His words are: "*Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per nonaginta stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt, credo quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi.*" i. e. "Neither was the whole city built upon, for the space of ninety furlongs it was inhabited; but the houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other."—Which words (they thought it safest) are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing of their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health. For hereby, in cities situated in such hot countries, those suffocations and other inconveniences are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason Delhi, the capital of India, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the usage of those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every house that is built in them. And old Rome was built after the same manner. So that, putting all this together, it will appear that Babylon was so large a city, rather in scheme than in reality. For, according to this account, it must be by much the larger part that was never built; and therefore, in this respect, it must give place to Nineveh, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its infants at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand and their left, which the scriptures tell us were one hundred and twenty thousand in the time of Jonah, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited. It was intended, indeed, that Babylon should have exceeded it in every thing. But Nebuchadnezzar did not live long enough, nor the Babylonish empire last long enough, to finish the scheme that was first drawn of it.

The next great work of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon was the temple of Belus.² But that which was most remarkable in it was none of his work, but was built many ages before. It was a wonderful tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, it was a square of a furlong on each side,³ that is, half a mile in the whole compass, and consisted of eight towers, one built above over the other. Some following a mistake of the Latin version of Herodotus, wherein the lowest of these towers is said to be a furlong thick and a furlong high, will have each of these towers to have been a furlong high, which amounts to a mile in the whole. But the Greek of Herodotus, which is the authentic text of that author, saith no such thing, but only, that it was a furlong long and a furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height at all. And Strabo, in his high description of it, calling it a pyramid, because of its decreasing or benching-in at every tower, saith of the whole,⁴ that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every side. To reckon every tower a furlong, and the whole a mile high, would shock any man's belief, were the authority of both these authors for it, much more when there is none at all. Taking it only as it is described by Strabo, it was prodigious enough: for, according to his dimensions only, without adding any thing farther, it was one of the most wonderful works in the world, and much exceeding the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt, which hath been thought to excel all other works in the world besides. For although it fell short of that pyramid at the basis⁵ (where that was a square of seven hundred feet on every side, and this but of six-hundred,) yet it far exceeded it in the height; the

¹ C. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.
² Strabo, lib. 16.

³ Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

⁴ Herodot. lib. 1

⁵ See Mr. Greaves' Description of the Pyramids p. 62. G.

perpendicular measure of the said pyramid being no more than four hundred and eighty-one feet, whereas that of the other was full six hundred; and therefore, it was higher than that pyramid by one hundred and nineteen feet, which is one quarter of the whole. And therefore, it was not without reason that Bochartus asserts it to have been the very same tower which was there built at the confusion of tongues.¹ For it was prodigious enough to answer the scripture description of it; and it is particularly attested by several authors to have been all built of bricks and bitumen,² as the scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. Herodotus saith, that the going up to it was by stairs on the outside round it; from whence it seems most likely, that the whole ascent to it was by the benching-in, drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; and that this made the appearance of eight towers, one above another, in the same manner as we have the tower of Babel commonly described in pictures; saving only, that whereas that is usually pictured round, this was square. For such a benching-in, drawn in a slope eight times round in manner as aforesaid, would make the whole seem on every side as consisting of eight towers, and the upper tower to be so much less than that next below it, as the breadth of the benching-in amounted to. These eight towers being as so many stories one above another, were each of them seventy-five feet high, and in them were many great rooms with arched roofs supported by pillars. All which were made parts of the temple, after the tower became consecrated to that idolatrous use. The uppermost story of all was that which was most sacred, and where their chiefest devotions were performed. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by the benefit of which it was,³ that the Babylonians advanced their skill in astronomy beyond all other nations, and came to so early a perfection in it, as is related. For when Alexander took Babylon, Calisthenes the philosopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had astronomical observations for one thousand nine hundred and three years backward from that time: which carrieth up the account as high as the one hundred and fifteenth year after the flood, which was within fifteen years after the tower of Babel was built. For the confusion of tongues, which followed immediately after the building of that tower, happened in the year wherein Peleg was born, which was one hundred and one years after the flood, and fourteen years after that these observations began. This account Calisthenes sent from Babylon into Greece to his master Aristotle, as Simplicius, from the authority of Porphyry, delivers it unto us in his second book *De Cælo*. Till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the temple of Belus contained no more than this tower only, and the rooms in it served all the occasions of that idolatrous worship. But he enlarged it⁴ by vast buildings erected round it, in a square of two furlongs on every side,⁵ and a mile in circumference, which was one thousand eight hundred feet more than the square of the temple of Jerusalem:⁶ for that was but three thousand feet round, whereas this was, according to this account, four thousand eight hundred. And on the outside of all these buildings, there was a wall enclosing the whole, which may be supposed to have been of equal extent with the square in which it stood, that is, two miles and a half in compass, in which were several gates leading into the temple, all of solid brass;⁷ and the brazen sea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen vessels, which were carried to Babylon from the temple of Jerusalem, seem to have been employed to the making of them. For it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar did put all the sacred vessels, which he carried from Jerusalem, into the house of his god at Babylon,⁸ that is, into this house or temple of Bel; for that was the name of the great god of the Babylonians. He is supposed to have been the same with Nimrod, and to have been called Bel from his domi-

1 Phaleg. part 1. lib. 1. c. 9.

2 Strabo, lib. 16. Herodotus, lib. 1. Dior. Sic. lib. 2. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

3 Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 38.

4 Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

5 Herodot. lib. 1.

6 For it was a square of five hundred cubits on every side, and two thousand in the whole, i. e. three thousand feet. See Lightfoot's Description of the Temple of Jerusalem.

7 Herodot lib. 1.

8 Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7.

nion, and Nimrod from his rebellion: for Bel, or Baal, which is the same name, signifieth *lord*, and Nimrod, *a rebel*, in the Jewish and Chaldean languages: the former was his Babylonish name, by reason of his empire in that place, and the latter his scripture name, by reason of his rebellion, in revolting from God to follow his own wicked designs. This temple stood till the time of Xerxes: but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished the whole of it,¹ and laid it all in rubbish; having first plundered it of all its immense riches, among which were several images or statutes of massy gold, and one of them is said by Diodorus Siculus² to have been forty feet high, which might perchance have been that which Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is said, indeed, in scripture, to have been sixty cubits, *i. e.* ninety feet high, but that must be understood of the image and pedestal both together: for that image being said to have been but six cubits broad or thick, it is impossible that the image could have been sixty cubits high; for that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above six times his thickness, measuring the slenderest man living at his waist. But where the breadth of this image was measured is not said: perchance it was from shoulder to shoulder; and then the proportion of six cubits' breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure which Diodorus hath mentioned: for the usual height of a man being four and a half of his breadth between the shoulders, if the image were six cubits broad between the shoulders, it must, according to this proportion, have been twenty-seven cubits high, which is forty feet and a half. Besides, Diodorus tells us,³ that this image of forty feet high; contained one thousand Babylonish talents of gold, which, according to Pollux (who, in his Onomasticon, reckons a Babylonish talent to contain seven thousand Attic drachms, *i. e.* eight hundred and seventy-five ounces,) amounts to three millions and a half of our money.⁴ But, if we advance the height of the statue to ninety feet without the pedestal, it will increase the value to a sum incredible; and therefore, it is necessary to take the pedestal also into the height mentioned by Daniel. Other images and sacred utensils were also in that temple, all of solid gold. Those that are particularly mentioned by Diodorus contain five thousand and thirty talents, which, with the one thousand talents in the image above mentioned, amount to above twenty-one millions of our money. And, besides, this, we may well suppose the value of as much more in treasure and utensils not mentioned, which was a vast sum. But it was the collection of near two thousand years; for so long that temple had stood. All this Xerxes took away when he destroyed it. And, perchance to recruit himself with the plunder, after the vast expense which he had been at in his Grecian expedition, was that which chiefly excited him to the destruction of it, what other reason soever might be pretended for it. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition,⁵ proposed again to have rebuilt it; and, in order hereto, he did set ten thousand men on work to rid the place of its rubbish: but, after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, before they had perfected much of the undertaking; and this did put an end to all farther proceedings in that design. Had he lived, and made that city the seat of his empire, as it was supposed he would,⁶ the glory of Babylon would no doubt have been advanced by him to the utmost height that ever Nebuchadnezzar intended to have brought it to, and it would again have been the queen of the east.

Next this temple, on the same east side of the river,⁷ stood the old palace of the kings of Babylon, being four miles in compass. Exactly over against it, on

¹ Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. Herodot. lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

² Ibid. 2.

³ Ibid.

⁴ This is according to the lowest computation, valuing an Attic drachm at no more than seven-pence halfpenny, whereas Dr. Bernard reckons it to be eight-pence farthing, which would mount the sum much higher.

⁵ Strabo, lib. 16. Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

⁶ Strabo, lib. 15. p. 731.

⁷ Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18

the other side of the river, stood the new palace;¹ and this was that which Nebuchadnezzar built.² It was four times as big as the former, as being eight miles in compass.³ It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, and strongly fortified, according to the way of those times. But what was most wonderful in it were the hanging-gardens, which were of so celebrated a name among the Greeks. They contained a square of four plethra (that is, of four hundred feet) on every side,⁴ and were carried up aloft into the air, in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the highest equalled the height of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches built upon arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of twenty-two feet in thickness. The floors of every one of these terraces were laid in the same manner; which was thus:—On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long, and four broad, and over them was a layer of reed, mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, over which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together by plaster, and then over all were laid thick sheets of lead; and, lastly, upon the lead was laid the mould of the garden: and all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away down through the arches. The mould or earth laid hereon was of that depth, as to have room enough for the greatest trees to take rooting in it; and such were planted all over it in every terrace, as were also all other trees, plants, and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleasure. In the upper terrace there was an aqueduct or engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the river, which from thence watered the whole garden. Amyitis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country, as hath been before related,) had been much taken with the mountainous and woody parts of that country, and therefore desired to have something like it at Babylon; and to gratify her herein was the reason of erecting this monstrous work of vanity.

The other works attributed to him by Berosus⁵ and Abydenus,⁶ were the banks of the river, and the artificial canals, and artificial lake, which were made for draining of it in the times of the overflows: for, on the coming on of the summer,⁷ the sun melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia, from thence there is always a great overflow of water during the months of June, July, and August, which, running into the Euphrates, makes it overflow all its banks during that season, in the same manner as doth the River Nile in Egypt; whereby the city and country of Babylon suffering great damage, for the preventing hereof,⁸ he did, a great way up the stream, cut out of it, on the east side, two artificial canals, thereby to drain off these overflowings into the Tigris, before they should reach Babylon. The farthest of these was the current which did run into the Tigris near Seleucia,⁹ and the other that which, taking its course between the last mentioned and Babylon, discharged itself into the same river over against Apamia; which being very large, and navigable for great vessels, was from thence called Naharmalcha,¹⁰ that is, in the Chaldean language, the Royal River. This is said to have been made by Gobaris,¹¹ or Gobrias, who, being the governor of the province, had the overseeing of the work committed to his care, and seemeth to have been the same who afterward, on a great wrong done him, revolted from the Babylonians to Cyrus, as will be hereafter related. And, for the farther securing of the country, Nebuchadnezzar built also prodigious banks of brick and bitumen on each side of the river,¹² to keep

1 Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

2 Berosus apud Joseph. lib. 10. c. 11.

3 Diodor. lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 1.

4 Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1

5 Apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

6 Apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

7 Strabo, lib. 16. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

8 Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

9 Ptol. lib. 5. c. 18. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26.

10 Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Ptol. lib. 5. c. 18. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26. Polybius, lib. 5. Am

11 Plin. lib. 6. c. 26. Isidorus Characenus de Stathmis Parthicis.

12 Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

12 Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

it within its channel, which were carried along from the head of the said canals down to the city,¹ and some way below it. But the most wonderful part of the work was within the city itself; for there, on each side of the river,² he built from the bottom of it a great wall, for its banks, of brick and bitumen, which was of the same thickness with the walls of the city; and, over against every street that crossed the said river, he made, on each side, a brazen gate in the said wall, and stairs leading down from it to the river, from whence the citizens used to pass by boat from one side to the other, which was the only passage they had over the river, till the bridge was built, which I have above mentioned. The gates were open by day, but always shut by night. And this prodigious work was carried on,³ on both sides of the river, to the length of one hundred and sixty furlongs, which is twenty miles of our measure; and therefore must have been began two miles and a half above the city, and continued down two miles and a half below it; for through the city was no more than fifteen miles. While these banks were building, the river was turned another way: for which purpose, to the west of Babylon,⁴ was made a prodigious artificial lake, which was according to the lowest computation,⁵ forty miles square, and one hundred and sixty in compass; and in depth thirty-five feet, saith Herodotus; seventy-five, saith Megasthenes. The former seems to measure from the surface of the sides, and the other from the top of the banks that were cast up upon them. And into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till all the said work was finished, and then it was returned again into its own former channel. But that the said river, in the time of its increase, might not, through the gates above mentioned, overflow the city, this lake, with the canal leading thereto, was still preserved, and proved the best and most effectual means to prevent it; for whenever the river rose to such an height, as to endanger this overflowing, it always discharged itself, by this canal, into the lake, through a passage in the bank of the river, at the head of the said canal, made there of a pitch fit for this purpose, whereby it was prevented from ever rising any higher below that place. And the water received into the lake, at the time of these overflows, was there kept all the year, as in a common reservoir, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices, at all convenient times, for the watering of the lands below it. So it equally served the convenience of Babylon, and also the convenience of that part of the province, in improving their lands, and making them the more fertile and beneficial to them; though at last it became the cause of great mischief to both; for it afforded to Cyrus the means of taking the city, and, in the effecting thereof, became the cause of drowning a great part of that country, which was never after recovered; of both which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place. Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, attribute all these works to Nebuchadnezzar; but Herodotus tells us, that the bridge, the river banks, and the lake, were the work of Nitocris, his daughter-in-law. Perhaps Nitocris finished what Nebuchadnezzar had left unperfected at his death, and this procured her, with that historian, the honour of the whole.

All the flat whereon Babylon stood being by reason of so many rivers and canals running through it, made in many places marshy, especially near the said rivers and canals, this caused it to abound much in willows; and, therefore, it is called, in scripture, *the valley of willows*, (for so the words, Isa. xv. 7, which we translate *the brook of the willows*, ought to be rendered:) and, for the same reason, the Jews (Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2,) are said, when they were by the rivers of Babylon, in the land of their captivity, to have hung their harps upon the willows, that is, because of the abundance of them which grew by those rivers.

1 Herod. lib. 1.

2 Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

3 Diod. lib. 2. p. 96.

4 Abydenus apud Euseb. Prep. Evang. lib. 9. Herod. lib. 1. Diod. lib. 2. p. 96.

5 According to Herodotus, this lake was four hundred and twenty furlongs square, i. e. fifty-two miles and a half on every side, and then the whole compass must be two hundred and ten miles; but according to Megasthenes, the whole compass was but forty parasangs, i. e. one hundred and sixty miles, for each parasanga contained four of our miles.

An. 560. Nebuchadnezzar 36.]—At the end of twelve months after Nebuchadnezzar's last dream,¹ while he was walking in his palace at Babylon, most likely in his hanging-gardens, and in the uppermost terrace of them, from whence he might have a full prospect of the whole city, he proudly boasting of his great works done therein, said, "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"² But, while the words were yet in his mouth, there came a voice to him from heaven to rebuke his pride, which told him, that his kingdom was departed from him, and that he should be driven from the society of men, and thenceforth for seven years have his dwelling with the wild beasts of the field, there to live like them in a brutal manner. And immediately hereon, his senses being taken from him, he fell into a distracted condition; and continuing so for seven years, he lived abroad in the fields, eating grass like the oxen, and taking his lodgings on the ground, in the open air, as they did, till his hair was grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws. [*An. 563.*]—But, at the end of seven years, his understanding returning unto him, he was restored again to his kingdom, and his former majesty and honour re-established on him. And hereon, being made fully sensible of the almighty power of the God of heaven and earth, and that it is he only that doth all things according to his will, both in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, and by his everlasting dominion disposeth of all things at his good pleasure, he did, by a public decree, make acknowledgment hereof through all the Babylonish empire, praising his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy, in his late restoration shown upon him.

An. 562. Nebuchadnezzar 43.]—After this he lived only one year, having reigned, according to the Babylonish account, from the death of his father, forty-three years, and according to the Jewish account, from his first coming with an army into Syria, forty-five years. His death happened about the end of the year, a little before the conclusion of the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. He was one of the greatest princes that had reigned in the east for many ages before him. Megasthenes prefers him for his valour to Hercules.³ But his greatness, riches, and power, did in nothing more appear, than in his prodigious works at Babylon above described, which, for many ages after, were spoken of as the wonders of the world. He is said at his death to have prophesied of the coming of the Persians,⁴ and their bringing of the Babylonians in subjection to them. But in this he spake no more than what he had been informed of by Daniel the prophet, and, in the interpretation of his dreams, been assured by him should speedily come to pass, as accordingly it did within twenty-three years after.

An. 561. Evilmerodach 1.]—On the death of this great prince, Evilmerodach his son succeeded him in the Babylonish empire;⁵ and, as soon as he was settled in the throne, he released Jehoiachin, the king of Judah, out of prison, after he had lain there near thirty-seven years, and promoted him to great honour in his palace, admitting him to eat bread continually at his table, and placing him there before all the other kings and great men of his empire that came to him to Babylon; and also made him a daily allowance to support him, with an equipage in all things else suitable hereto. Jerome tells us,⁶ from an ancient tradition of the Jews, that Evilmerodach, having had the government of the Babylonish empire during his father's distraction, administered it so ill, that, as soon as the old king came again to himself, he put him in prison for it; and that the place of his imprisonment happening to be the same where Jehoiachin had long lain, he there entered into a particular acquaintance and friendship with him; and that this was the cause of the great kindness which he afterward showed him. And since

¹ Dan. iv.

² Dan. iv. 30.

³ Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Strabo, lib. 15. p. 687.

⁴ Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

⁵ 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jer. lxi. 31. Bero sus apud Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. et Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 2.

⁶ Comment. in Esaiam xiv. 19.

the old historical traditions of the Jews are often quoted in the New Testament,¹ if this were such, it is not wholly to be disregarded; and that especially since the mal-administrations, which Evilmerodach was guilty of after his father's death, give reason enough to believe, that he could not govern without them before. For he proved a very profligate and vicious prince,² and for that reason was called Evilmerodach, that is, *foolish* Merodach; for his proper name was only Merodach. But, whatsoever was the inducing reason, this favour he showed to the captive prince as soon as his father was dead. So that the last year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign was the last of the thirty-seven years of Jehoiachin's captivity; and this shows us when it begun, and serves to the connecting of the chronology of the Babylonish and Jewish history in all other particulars. For which reason it may be useful to have a particular state of this matter, which I take to have been as followeth.—In the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Babylonish account, in the beginning of the Jewish year,³ that is, in the month of April, according to our year, Jehoiachin was carried captive to Babylon. And therefore, the first year of his captivity, beginning in the month of April, in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, the thirty-seventh year of it must begin in the same month of April, in the forty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar; toward the end whereof that great king dying, with the beginning of the next year began the first year of the reign of Evilmerodach; and the March following, that is,⁴ on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth or last month of the Jewish year, Jehoiachin was, by the great favour of the new king, released from his captivity, in the manner as is above expressed, about a month before he had fully completed thirty-seven years in it.

An. 561. Evilmerodach 1.]—In the same year, which was the first of Evilmerodach at Babylon,⁵ Cræsus succeeded Alyattis, his father, in the kingdom of Lydia, and reigned there fourteen years. This was the twenty-eighth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the forty-sixth of the seventy years' captivity of Judah.

An. 559. Neriglissar 1.]—When Evilmerodach had reigned two years at Babylon, his lusts, and his other wickedness, made him so intolerable, that at length even his own relations conspired against him,⁶ and put him to death, and Neriglissar, his sister's husband,⁷ who was the head of the conspiracy against him, reigned in his stead. And since it is said, that Jehoiachin was fed by him until the day of his death,⁸ it is inferred from hence that he did not outlive him, but that he either died a little before him, or else, as a favourite, was slain with him. The last seemeth most probable, as best agreeing with the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning him; for it is therein denounced against him, that he should not prosper in his days;⁹ which could not be so well verified of him, if he died in full possession of all that prosperity which Evilmerodach advanced him unto.

On the death of Jehoiachin, Salathiel his son became the nominal prince of the Jews after him.¹⁰ For, after the loss of the authority, they still kept up the title; and for a great many ages after, in the parts about Babylon, there was always one of the house of David, which, by the name of *the head of the captivity*,¹¹ was acknowledged and honoured as a prince among that people, and had some sort of jurisdiction, as far as it was consistent with the government they were under, always invested in him, and sometimes a ratification was obtained of it from the princes that reigned in that country. And it is said, this pageantry is still kept up among them;¹² and chiefly, it seems, that they may be furnished from hence with an answer to give the Christians, when they urge the prophecy of.

¹ By St. Stephen, Acts vii. By St. Paul, Heb. xi. 35—37; and to Timothy 2nd Ep. iii. 8; and by St. Jude 9. 14. 15.

² Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1:

³ Chron. xxxvi. 10. For there it is said, that it was at the return of the year.

⁴ 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jer. lli. 31.

⁵ Herodotus, lib. 1.

⁶ Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Megasthenes apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

⁷ Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Ptol. in Canone. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12. Megasthenes apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

⁸ Jer. lli. 33.

⁹ Ibid. xxii. 30.

¹⁰ 2 Esdras v. 16.

¹¹ Vide Notas Constantini l'Empereur ad Benj. Itinerarium, p. 192, &c.

¹² Vid. Jacobi Altingi librum Shilo, lib. 1. c. 3. 13, 14, &c. Et Seidenum de Synedris, lib. 2. c. 7. see 5.

Jacob against them: for whensoever, from that prophecy, it is pressed upon them that the Messiah must be come, because the sceptre is now departed from Judah, and there is no more a lawgiver among them from between his feet, we are commonly told of *this head of the captivity*; their usual answer being, that the sceptre is still preserved among them in *the head of the captivity*; and that they have also in their nasi,¹ or prince of the Sanhedrin (another pageantry officer of theirs,) a lawgiver from between the feet of Judah (that is, of his seed,) still remaining in Israel. But if these officers are now ceased from among them, as some of them will acknowledge, then this answer must cease also; and the prophecy returns in its full force upon them; and why do they then any longer resist the power of it?

The same year that Evilmerodach was slain, died Astyages,² king of Media, and after him succeeded Cyaxares the second, his son, in the civil government of the kingdom, and Cyrus, his grandson, by his daughter Mandana, in the military. Cyrus at this time was forty years old,³ and Cyaxares forty-one.⁴ And from this year those who reckon to Cyrus a reign of thirty years, begin that computation. For Neriglissar, on his coming to the crown, making great preparations for a war against the Medes,⁵ Cyaxares called Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance, and on his arrival with an army of thirty thousand Persians, Cyaxares made him general of the Medes also, and sent him with the joint forces of both nations to make war against the Babylonians. And from this time he was reckoned by all foreigners as king over both these nations; although, in reality, the regal power was solely in Cyaxares, and Cyrus was no more than general of the confederate army under him. But after his death, he succeeded him in the kingdom of the Medes, as he did his father a little before in that of Persia; which, with the countries he had conquered, made up the Persian empire, of which he was the founder and first monarch.

He was a very extraordinary person in the age in which he lived, for wisdom, valour, and virtue, and of a name famous in holy writ, not only for being the restorer of the state of Israel,⁶ but especially in being there appointed for it by name many years before he was born;⁷ which is an honour therein given to none, save only to him and Josiah, king of Judah.⁸ He was born (as hath been already taken notice of) in the same year in which Jehoiachin died. It is on all hands agreed, that his mother was Mandana, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, and his father Cambyzes, a Persian. But whether this Cambyzes was king of that country, or only a private person, is not agreed. Herodotus, and those who follow him, allow him to have been no more than a private nobleman of the family of Achæmenes, one of the most ancient in that country. But Xenophon's account makes him king of the Persians, but subject to the Medes. And not only in this particular, but also in most things else concerning this great prince, the relations of these two historians are very much different. But Herodotus's account of him, containing narratives which are much more strange and surprising, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader, must have chosen rather to follow him, than Xenophon, that have written after their times of this matter. Which humour was much forwarded by Plato, in his giving a character of Xenophon's History of Cyrus⁹ (in which he was also followed by Tully,) as if therein,¹⁰ under the name of Cyrus, he rather drew a description of what a worthy and just prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. It must be acknowledged, that Xenophon, being a great commander, as well as a great philosopher, did graft many of his maxims of war and policy into that history; and to make it a vehicle for

¹ Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 1399. et Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 6.

² Cyropædia, lib. 1.

³ Cicero, lib. 1. De Divinatione dicit de Cyro; Ad Septuagesimum pervenit cum quadraginta annos natus regnare cepisset.

⁴ For he was sixty-two when he began to reign in Babylon, after the death of Belshazzar, Dan. v. 31. which being nine years before Cyrus's death (who lived seventy years,) it must follow that Cyrus was then sixty one; and, therefore, when he was forty, Cyaxares must have been forty-one.

⁵ Cyropædia, lib. 1.

⁶ Ezra i.

⁷ Isa. xlv. 28; and xlv. 1.

⁸ 1 Kings xlii. 2.

⁹ De Legibus, lib. 3.

¹⁰ Ep. 1. ad Quintum fratrem.

this, perchance was his whole design in writing that book. But it doth not follow from hence, but that still the whole foundation and ground-plot of the work may all be true history. That he intended it for such is plain, and that it was so, its agreeableness with the holy writ doth abundantly verify. And the true reason why he chose the life of Cyrus before all others, for the purpose above mentioned, seemeth to be no other, but that he found the true history of that excellent and gallant prince to be, above all others, the fittest, for those maxims of right policy and true princely virtue to correspond with, which he grafted upon it. And, therefore, bating the military and political reflections, the descants, discourses, and speeches, interspersed in that work, which must be acknowledged to have been all of Xenophon's addition, the remaining bare matters of fact I take to have been related, by that author, as the true history of Cyrus. And thus far I think him to have been an historian of much better credit in this matter than Herodotus. For Herodotus, having travelled through Egypt, Syria, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, did, as travellers use to do, that is, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them. But Xenophon was a man of another character,¹ who wrote all things with great judgment, and due consideration; and, having lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, a descendant of the Cyrus whom we now speak of, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote of this great prince, than Herodotus was; and, confining himself to this argument only, no doubt he examined all matters, relating to it, more thoroughly, and gave a more accurate and exact account of them, than could be expected from the other, who wrote of all things, at large, as they came in his way. And, for these reasons, in all things relating to this prince, I have chosen to follow Xenophon, rather than any of those who differ from him.

For the first twelve years of his life,² Cyrus lived in Persia with his father. and was there educated after the Persian manner, in hardship and toil, and all such exercises as would best tend to fit him for the fatigues of war, in which he exceeded all his contemporaries. But here it must be taken notice of, that the name of Persia did then extend only to one province of that large country which hath been since so called: for then the whole nation of the Persians could number no more than one hundred and twenty thousand men.³ But afterward, when, by the wisdom and valour of Cyrus, they had obtained the empire of the East, the name of Persia became enlarged with their fortunes; and it thenceforth took in all that vast tract, which is extended east and west, from the River Indus to the Tigris, and north and south, from the Caspian Sea to the ocean; and so much that name comprehends even to this day. After Cyrus was twelve years old, he was sent for into Media by Astyages, his grandfather, with whom he continued five years: and, there, by the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and his constant endeavour to do good offices with his grandfather for all he could, he did so win the hearts of the Medes to him, and gained such an interest among them, as did afterward turn very much to his advantage, for the winning of that empire which he erected. In the sixteenth year of his age, Evilmerodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and Assyria, being abroad on a hunting expedition, a little before his marriage, for a show of his bravery, made an inroad into the territories of the Medes, which drew out Astyages, with his forces, to oppose him.⁴ On which occasion Cyrus, accompanying his grandfather, then first entered the school of war; in which he behaved himself so well, that the victory, which was at that time gained over the Assyrians, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year after, he went home to his father into Persia, and there continued till the fortieth year of his life; at which time he was called forth to the assistance of his uncle Cyaxares, on the occasion of which I have mentioned. Hereon he marched out of Persia with his army, and

¹ Diog. Laertius in Vita Xenophontis.

² Cyropedia, lib. 1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ From hence it may be inferred, that Evilmerodach was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar by Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages, but by some other wife, it not being likely that the grandfather and grandson would thus engage in war against each other.

behaved himself so wisely, that, from this small beginning, in twenty years time he made himself master of the greatest empire that had ever been erected in the East to that time, and established it with such wisdom, that, upon the strength of this foundation only, it stood above two hundred years, notwithstanding what was done by his successors (the worst race of men that ever governed an empire) through all that time to overthrow it.

An. 558. Neriglissar 2.—Neriglissar, upon intelligence that Cyrus was come with so great an army to the assistance of the Medes, farther to strengthen himself against them, sent ambassadors to the Lydians,¹ Phrygians, Carians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, and other neighbouring nations, to call them to his aid; and, by representing to them the strength of the enemy, and the necessity of maintaining the balance of power against them, for the common good of Asia drew them all into a confederacy with him for the ensuing war. [*An. 557.*]—Whereon the king of Armenia, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the Medes, looking on them as ready to be swallowed up by so formidable a confederacy against them, thought this a fit time for the recovering of his liberty, and therefore refused any longer to pay his tribute,² or send his quota of auxiliaries for the war, on their being required of him; which being a matter that might be of dangerous consequence to the Medes, in the example it might give to other dependent states to do the same, Cyrus thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition; and, therefore, marching immediately with the best of his horse, and covering his design under the pretence of a hunting match, entered Armenia,³ before there was any intelligence of his coming; and, having surprised the revolted king, took him and all his family prisoners; and, after this, having seized the hills toward Chaldea, and planted good forts and garrisons on them, for the securing of the country against the enemy on that side, he came to new terms with the captive king; and, having received from him the tribute and the auxiliaries which he demanded, he restored him again to his kingdom, and returned to the rest of his army in Media. This happened about the third year of the reign of Neriglissar, and the thirty-second after the destruction of Jerusalem.

An. 556. Neriglissar 4.—After both parties had now been for three years together forming their alliances, and making their preparations for the war, in the fourth year of Neriglissar, the confederates on both sides being all drawn together, both armies took the field, and it came to a fierce battle between them;⁴ in which Neriglissar being slain, the rest of the Assyrian army was put to the rout, and Cyrus had the victory. Cræsus, king of Lydia, after the death of Neriglissar, as being in dignity next to him, took upon him the command of the vanquished army, and made as good a retreat with it as he could. But the next day following, Cyrus pursuing after them, overtook them at a disadvantage, and put them to an absolute rout, taking their camp, and dispossessing them of all their baggage; which he effected chiefly by the assistance of the Hyrcanians who had the night before revolted to him. Hereon Cræsus, taking his flight out of Assyria, made the best of his way into his own country. He, being aware of what might happen, had, the night before, sent away his women, and the best of the baggage; and therefore, in this respect, escaped much better than the rest of the confederates.

The death of Neriglissar was a great loss to the Babylonians; for he was a very brave and excellent prince.⁵ The preparations which he made for the war showed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. And there was nothing else wanting in him for his obtaining of better success in it; and, therefore, that he had it not, was owing to nothing else but that he had to deal with the predominant fortune of Cyrus, whom God had designed for the empire of the East, and therefore nothing was to withstand him. But nothing made the loss of Neriglissar more appear, than the succeeding of Laborsorarchod his son in the

¹ Cyropædia, lib. 1.² Ibid. lib. 2.³ Ibid. lib. 3.⁴ Ibid. lib. 3 et 4.⁵ Cyropædia, lib. 4.

kingdom after him; for he was in every thing the reverse of his father,¹ being given to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice; to which, on his advancement to the throne, he did let himself loose in the utmost excess, without any manner of restraint whatsoever, as if the regal office which he was now advanced to, were for nothing else but to give him a privilege of doing without control all the vile and flagitious things that he pleased. Two acts of his tyrannical violence toward two of his principal nobility, Gobrias and Gadates, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting to which he had invited him, for no other reason but that he had thrown his dart with success at a wild beast when he himself had missed it; and the other he caused to be castrated, only because one of his concubines had commended him for a handsome man. These wrongs done those two noblemen drove them, with the provinces which they governed, into a revolt to Cyrus; and the whole state of the Babylonish empire suffered by it: for Cyrus encouraged hereby penetrated into the very heart of the enemy's country,² first taking possession of the province, and garrisoning the castles of Gobrias, and afterward doing the same in the province and castles of Gadates. The Assyrian king was before him in the latter, to be revenged on Gadates for his revolt. But Cyrus on his coming having put him to the rout, and slain a great number of his men, forced him again to retreat to Babylon. After Cyrus had thus spent the summer in ravaging the whole country, and twice shown himself before the walls of Babylon to provoke the enemy to battle, at the end of the year he led back his army again toward Media; and, ending the campaign with the taking of three fortresses on the frontiers, entered into winter-quarters, and sent for Cyaxares to come thither to him, that they might consult together about the future operations of the war.

As soon as Cyrus was retreated, Laborosarchod being now freed from the fear of the enemy, gave himself a thorough loose to all the flagitious inclinations that were predominant in him; which carried him into so many wicked and unjust actions, like those which Gobrias and Gadates had suffered from him, that, being no longer tolerable, his own people conspired against him and slew him,³ after he had reigned only nine months. He is not named in the Canon of Ptolemy; for it is the method of that Canon to ascribe all the year to him that was king in the beginning of it, how soon soever he died after, and not to reckon the reign of the successor, but from the first day of the year ensuing; and therefore, if any king reigned in the interim, and did not live to the beginning of the next year, his name was not put into the Canon at all. And this was the case of Laborosarchod: for Neriglissar his father being slain in battle in the beginning of the spring, the nine months of his son's reign ended before the next year began; and therefore, the whole of that year is reckoned to the last of Neriglissar, and the beginning of the next belonged to his successor; and this was the reason that he is not at all mentioned in that Canon.

An. 555. Belshaz. 1.]—After him succeeded Nabonadius,⁴ and reigned seven years. Berosus calls him Nabonnedus;⁵ Megasthenes, Nabonnidochus;⁶ Herodotus, Labynetus;⁷ and Josephus, Naboandelus;⁸ who, he saith, is the same with Belshazzar. And there is as great a difference among writers what he was as well as what he was called. Some will have him to be of the royal blood of Nebuchadnezzar,⁹ and others no way at all related to him.¹⁰ And some say he was a Babylonian,¹¹ and others that he was of the seed of the Medes.¹² And of those who allow him to have been of the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar, some will have it that he was his son, and others that he was his grandson. For the clearing of this matter, these following particulars are to be taken notice of:—First; that he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the Babylonish kings.

¹ Cyropedia, lib. 4. 5.

² Ibid. lib. 5.

³ Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Megasthenes apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

⁴ Canon Ptolemæi.

⁵ Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

⁶ Herodotus, lib. 1.

⁷ Apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

⁸ Megasthenes apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

⁹ Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

¹² Scaliger in notis ad Fragmenta veterum Græcorum selecta, et de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. cap. De Regibus Babylonis.

Secondly, That therefore he must have been the same who in scripture is called Belshazzar: for, immediately after the death of Belshazzar, the kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians. (Dan. v. 28. 30, 31.) Thirdly, That he was of the seed of Nebuchadnezzar; for he is called his son, and Nebuchadnezzar is said to be his father in several places of the same fifth chapter of Daniel; and, in the second book of Chronicles (chap. xxxvi. 20,) it is said that Nebuchadnezzar and his children, or offspring, reigned at Babylon till the kingdom of Persia. Fourthly, That the nations of the east were to serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (chap. xxvii. 7;) and therefore, he must have had a son, and a son's son, successors to him in the throne of Babylon. Fifthly, That as Evilmerodach was his son, so none but Belshazzar, of all the kings that reigned after him at Babylon, could be his son's son; for Neriglissar was only his daughter's husband, and Laborosoarchod was the son of Neriglissar; and therefore, neither of them was either son or son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. Sixthly, That this last king of Babylon is said by Herodotus¹ to be son to the great queen Nitocris; and therefore she must have been the wife of a king of Babylon to make her so; and he could have been none other than Evilmerodach: for by that king of Babylon only could she have a son, that was son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And therefore, putting all this together, it appears that this Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, was the same with him that in scripture is called Belshazzar; and that he was the son of Evilmerodach, by Nitocris his queen, and so son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And that whereas he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar in the fifth chapter of Daniel, and Nebuchadnezzar is there called his father; this is to be understood in the large sense, wherein any ancestor upward is often called father, and any descendant downward son, according to the usual style of scripture.

This new king came young to the crown; and had he been wholly left to himself, the Babylonians would have gotten but little by the change: for he hath in Xenophon the character of an impious prince;² and it sufficiently appears, by what is said of him in Daniel, that he was so. But his mother, who was a woman of great understanding and a masculine spirit,³ came in to their relief: for, while her son followed his pleasures, she took the main burden of the government upon her, and did all that could be done by human wisdom to preserve it. But God's appointed time for its fall approaching, it was beyond the power of any wisdom to prevent it.

On the coming of Cyaxares to Cyrus's camp, and consultation thereon had between them concerning the future carrying on of the war,⁴ it was found that by ravaging and plundering the countries of the Babylonish empire they did not at all enlarge their own; and therefore it was resolved to alter the method of the war for the future, and to apply themselves to the besieging of the fortresses, and the taking of their towns, that so they might make themselves masters of the country; and in this sort of war they employed themselves for the next seven years.

In the mean time Nitocris⁵ did all that she could to fortify the country against them, and especially the city of Babylon; and therefore did set herself diligently to perfect all the works that Nebuchadnezzar had left unfinished there, especially the walls of the city, and the banks of the river within it. By this last she fortified the city as much against the river by walls and gates as it was against the land; and had it been in both places equally guarded, it could never have been taken. And moreover, while the river was turned for the finishing of these banks and walls, she caused a wonderful vault or gallery to be made under the river,⁶ leading across it from the old palace to the new, twelve feet high, and fifteen feet wide; and having covered it over with a strong arch, and over that with a layer of bitumen six feet thick, she turned the river again over it; for it is

¹ Herodotus, lib. 1.
⁵ Herodotus, lib. 1.

² Cyropedia, lib. 7.
⁶ Herodotus, lib. 1.

³ Herodotus, lib. 1.
Diod. Sic. lib. 2.

⁴ Cyropedia, lib. 6.
Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

the nature of that bitumen to petrify when water comes over it, and grow as hard as stone; and thereby the vault or gallery under was preserved from having any of the water of the river to pierce through into it. The use this was intended for, was to preserve a communication between the two palaces, whereof one stood on one side of the river, and the other on the other side, that in case one of them were distressed (for they were both fortresses strongly fortified,) it might be relieved from the other; or, in case either were taken, there might be a way to retreat from it to the other. But all these cautions and provisions served in no stead when the city was taken by surprise; because in that hurry and confusion, which men were then in, none of them were made use of.

An. 555. Belshaz. 1.]—In the first year of this king's reign, which was the thirty-fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, Daniel had revealed unto him the vision of the four monarchies, and of the kingdom of the Messiah that was to succeed after them; which is at full related in the seventh chapter of Daniel.

An. 553. Belshaz. 3.]—In the third year of king Belshazzar, Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, whereby were signified the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution that was to be raised against the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria. This vision is at full related in the eighth chapter of Daniel; and it is there said, that it was revealed unto him at Shushan, in the palace of the king of Babylon, while he attended there as a counsellor and minister of state about the king's business; which shows that Shushan, with the province of Elam, of which it was the metropolis, was then in the hands of the Babylonians. But, about three years after, Abradates, viceroy or prince of Shushan, revolting to Cyrus, it was thenceforth joined to the empire of the Medes and Persians; and the Elamites came up with the Medes to besiege Babylon, according to the prophecy of Isaiah (chap. xxi. 2;) and Elam was again restored, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (chap. xlix. 39;) for it recovered its liberty again under the Persians, which it had been deprived of under the Babylonians.

An. 551. Belshaz. 5.]—The Medes and Persians growing still upon the Babylonians, and Cyrus making great progress in his conquests, by taking fortresses, towns, and provinces, from them, to put a stop to this prevailing power,¹ the king of Babylon, about the fifth year of his reign, taking a great part of his treasure with him, goes into Lydia, to king Cræsus his confederate, and there, by his assistance, framed a very formidable confederacy against the Medes and Persians; and with his money hiring a very numerous army of Egyptians, Greeks, Thracians, and all the nations of Lesser Asia, he appointed Cræsus to be their general, and sent him with them to invade Media, and then returned again to Babylon.

An. 548. Belshaz. 8.]—Cyrus having full intelligence of all these proceedings from one of his confidants, who by his order, under the pretence of a deserter, had gone over to the enemy, made suitable preparations to withstand the storm, and when all was ready, marched against the enemy. By this time Cræsus had passed over the River Halys,² taken the city of Pteria, and in a manner destroyed all the country thereabout. But before he could pass any farther Cyrus came up with him, and having engaged him in battle, put all his numerous army to flight; whereon Cræsus returning to Sardis, the chief city of his kingdom, dismissed all his auxiliaries to their respective homes, ordering them to be again with him by the beginning of the ensuing spring, and sent to all his allies for the raising of more forces, to be ready against the same time, for the carrying on the next year's war; not thinking that in the interim, now winter being approaching, he should have any need of them. But Cyrus pursuing the advantage of his victory, followed close after him into Lydia, and there came upon him just as he had dismissed his auxiliaries. However, Cræsus getting together all his own forces, stood battle against him. But the Lydians being mostly horse, Cyrus brought his camels against them, whose smell the horses not being

¹ Cyropædia, lib. 6.

² Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 6.

ble to bear, they were all put into disorder by it; whereon the Lydians dismounting, fought on foot; but being soon overpowered, were forced to make their retreat to Sardis, where Cyrus immediately shut them up in a close siege.

While he lay there, he celebrated the funeral of Abradates and Panthea his wife.¹ He was prince of Shushan under the Babylonians, and had revolted to Cyrus about two years before, as hath been already mentioned. His wife, a very beautiful woman, had been taken prisoner by Cyrus in his first battle against the Babylonians.² Cyrus having treated her kindly, and kept her chastely for her husband, the sense of this generosity drew over this prince to him;³ and he happening to be slain in this war, as he was fighting valiantly in his service, his wife, out of grief for his death, slew herself upon his dead body, and Cyrus took care to have them both honourably buried together, and a stately monument was erected over them near the River Pactolus, where it remained many ages after.

Cræsus being shut up in Sardis sent to all his allies for succours;⁴ but Cyrus pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city before any of them could arrive to its relief, and Cræsus in it, whom he condemned to be burned to death; and accordingly a great pile of wood was laid together, and he was placed on the top of it for the execution; in which extremity, calling to mind the conference he formerly had with Solon, he cried out with a great sigh three times, "Solon, Solon, Solon." This Solon was a wise Athenian,⁵ and the greatest philosopher of his time, who coming to Sardis on some occasion, Cræsus, out of the vanity and pride of his mind, caused all his riches, treasures, and stores, to be shown unto him, expecting that, on his having seen them, he should have applauded his felicity, and pronounced him of all men the most happy herein; but, on his discourse with him, Solon plainly told him, that he could pronounce no man happy as long as he lived, because no one could foresee what might happen unto him before his death. Of the truth of which Cræsus being thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, this made him call upon the name of Solon; whereon Cyrus, sending to know what he meant by it, had the whole story related to him; which excited in him such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such a compassion for Cræsus, that he caused him to be taken down from the pile, just as fire had been put to it; and not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable subsistence, and made use of him as one of his chief counsellors all his life after; and, at his death, recommended him to his son Cambyses, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow. The taking of this city happened in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad,⁶ which was the eighth year of Belshazzar, and the forty-first after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Cræsus being a very religious prince, according to the idolatrous superstition of those times, entered not on this war without having first consulted all his gods; and taken their advice about it; and he had two oracular answers given him from them, which chiefly conduced to lead him into this unfortunate undertaking, that cost him the loss of his kingdom. The one of them was, that Cræsus should then only think himself in danger, when a mule should reign over the Medes;⁷ and the other, that when he should pass over Halys, to make war upon the Medes, he should overthrow a great empire. The first, from the impossibility of the thing, that ever a mule should be a king, made him argue that he was forever safe. The second made him believe, that the empire that he should overthrow, on his passing over the River Halys, should be the empire of the Medes. And this chiefly encouraged him in this expedition, contrary to the advice of one of the wisest of his friends, who earnestly dissuaded him from it. But now all things having happened otherwise than these oracles had made

1 Cyropædia, lib. 7.

2 Ibid. lib. 5.

3 Ibid. lib. 6.

4 Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

5 Plutarchus in Vita Solonis. Herodotus, lib. 1.

6 Solinus, cap. 7. Eusebius in Chronico.

7 Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

8 Nebuchadnezzar prophesied of the coming of Cyrus under the same appellation, telling the Babylonians, at the time of his death, that a Persian mule should come and reduce them into servitude. So saith Megasthenes in Eusebius de Prep. Evang. lib. 9.

him expect, he obtained leave of Cyrus to send messengers to the temples of those gods who had thus misled him, to expostulate with them about it. The answers which he had hereto were, that Cyrus was the mule intended by the oracle; for that he was born of two different kinds of people, of the Persians by his father, and of the Medes by his mother, and was of the more noble kind by his mother. And the empire which he was to overthrow, by his passing over the Halys, was his own. By such false and fallacious oracles did those evil spirits, from whom they proceeded, delude mankind in those days; rendering their answers, when consulted, in such dubious and ambiguous terms, that whatsoever the event were, they might admit of an interpretation to agree with it.

An. 540. Belshaz. 16.]—After this Cyrus continued some time in Lesser Asia,¹ till he had brought all the several nations which inhabited it, from the Egean Sea to the Euphrates, into thorough subjection to him. From hence he went into Syria and Arabia, and there did the same thing, and then marched into the upper countries of Asia; and, having there also settled all things in a thorough obedience under his dominion, he again entered Assyria, and marched on toward Babylon, that being the only place in all the east which now held out against him: and, having overthrown Belshazzar in battle, he shut him up in Babylon, and there besieged him. This happened in the ninth year after the taking of Sardis, and in the beginning of the sixteenth year of Belshazzar. But this siege proved a very difficult work: for the walls were high and impregnable, the number of men within to defend them very great, and they were fully furnished with all sorts of provisions for twenty years, and the void ground within the walls was able both by tillage and pasturage to furnish them with much more.² And therefore the inhabitants, thinking themselves secure in their walls and their stores, looked on the taking of the city by a siege as an impracticable thing; and therefore, from the top of their walls, scoffed at Cyrus, and derided him for every thing he did toward it. However, he went on with the attempt: and first he drew a line of circumvallation round the city, making the ditch broad and deep, and by the help of palm trees, which usually grow in that country to the height of one hundred feet,³ he erected towers higher than the walls, thinking at first to have been able to take the place by assault; but finding little success this way, he applied himself wholly to the starving of it into a surrender, reckoning that the more people there were within, the sooner the work would be done. But, that he might not over fatigue his army, by detaining them all at this work, he divided all the forces of the empire into twelve parts, and appointed each its month to guard the trenches.

An. 539. Belshaz. 17.]—But, after near two years had been wasted this way, and nothing effected, he at length lighted on a stratagem, which, with little difficulty, made him master of the place; for understanding⁴ that a great annual festival was to be kept at Babylon on a day approaching, and that it was usual for the Babylonians on that solemnity to spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and all manner of disorders, he thought this a proper time to surprise them; and, for the effecting of it, he had this device: he sent up a party of his men to the head of the canal leading to the great lake above described, with orders, at a time set, to break down the great bank or dam, which was between the river and that canal, and to turn the whole current that way into the lake. In the interim, getting all his forces together, he posted one part of them at the place where the river ran into the city, and the other where it came out, with orders to enter the city that night by the channel of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. And then, toward the evening, he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, to let the water of it run into them. And, by this means, and the opening of the great dam, the river was so drained, that, by the middle of the night, it being then in a manner empty, both parties, according to their orders, entered the channel, the one hav-

¹ Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

² Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

³ Vide Q. Curtium, lib. 5. c. 1.

⁴ Cyropædia lib. 7.

ing Gobrias, and the other Gadates, for their guides; and, finding the gates leading down to the river, which used on all other nights to be shut, then all left open, through the neglect and disorder of that time of looseness, they ascended through them into the city; and both parties being met at the palace, as had been concerted between them, they there surprised the guards, and slew them all: and when, on the noise, some that were within opened the gates to know what it meant, they rushed in upon them, and took the place; where, finding the king with his sword drawn, at the head of those who were at hand to assist him, they slew him, valiantly fighting for his life, and all those that were with him. After this, proclamation being made, of life and safety to all such as should bring in their arms, and of death to all that should refuse so to do, all quietly yielded to the conquerors, and Cyrus, without any farther resistance, became master of the place: and this concluded all his conquests, after a war of twenty-one years; for so long was it from his coming out of Persia with his army, for the assistance of Cyaxares, to his taking of Babylon; during all which time, he lay abroad in the field, carrying on his conquests from place to place, till, at length, he had subdued all the east, from the Egean Sea to the River Indus, and thereby erected the greatest empire that had ever been in Asia to that time; which work was owing as much to his wisdom as his valour, for he equally excelled in both. And he was also a person of that great candour and humanity to all men, that he made greater conquests by his courtesy, and his kind treatment of all he had to do with, than by his sword, whereby he did knit the hearts of all men to him; and, in this foundation, lay the greatest strength of his empire, when he first erected it.

This account Herodotus and Xenophon both give of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus; and herein they exactly agree with the scripture. For Daniel tells us,¹ that Belshazzar made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, and for his wives, and for his concubines, and that in that very night he was slain, and Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus, took the kingdom; for Cyrus allowed him the title of all his conquests as long as he lived. In this feast Belshazzar having impiously profaned the gold and silver vessels that were taken out of the temple of Jerusalem, in causing them to be brought into the banqueting-house, and there drinking out of them, he, and his lords, and his wives, and his concubines, God did, in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner, express his wrath against him for the wickedness hereof; for he caused a hand to appear on the wall, and there write a sentence of immediate destruction against him for it. The king saw the appearance of the hand that wrote it; for it was exactly over against the place where he sat. And, therefore, being exceedingly affrighted and troubled at it, he commanded all his wise men, magicians, and astrologers, to be immediately called for, that they might read the writing, and make known unto him the meaning of it. But none of them being able to do it,² the queen-mother, on her hearing of this wonderful thing, came into the banqueting-house, and acquainted the king of the great skill and ability of Daniel in such matters; whereon, he being sent for, did read to the king the writing, and boldly telling him of his many iniquities and transgressions against the great God of heaven and earth, and particularly in profaning at that banquet the holy vessels which had been consecrated to his service in his temple at Jerusalem, made him understand, that this hand-writing was a sentence from heaven against him for it, the interpretation of it being, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. And it seemeth to have been immediately upon it that the palace was taken, and Belshazzar slain; for candles were lighted before the hand-writing appeared:³ some time after this must be required for the calling of the wise men, the magicians, and astrologers, and some time must be wasted in their trying in vain to read the writing. After that, the queen-

¹ Daniel v.

² The reason why they could not read it was, because it was written in the old Hebrew letters, now called the Samaritan character, which the Babylonians knew nothing of.

³ Dan. v. 5.

mother came from her apartment into the banqueting-house to direct the king to send for Daniel, and then he was called for, perchance from some distant place. And by this time many hours of the night must have been spent; and therefore we may well suppose, that, by the time Daniel had interpreted the writing, the Persians were got within the palace, and immediately executed the contents of it, by slaying Belshazzar, and all his lords that were with him. The queen, that entered the banqueting-house to direct the king to call for Daniel, could not be his wife; for all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast; and therefore, it must have been Nitocris, the queen-mother. And she seemeth to have been there called the queen, by way of eminency, because she had the regency of the the kingdom under her son, which her great wisdom eminently qualified her for. And Belshazzar seemeth to have left this entirely to her management: for when Daniel was called in before him, he did not know him,¹ though he was one of the chief ministers of state that did the king's business in his palace,² but asked of him whether he were Daniel. But Nitocris, who constantly employed him in the public affairs of the kingdom, knew him well, and therefore advised that he should be sent for on this occasion. This shows Belshazzar to have been a prince that wholly minded his pleasures, leaving all things else to others to be managed for him; which is a conduct too often followed by such princes, who think kingdoms made for nothing else but to serve their pleasures, and gratify their lusts. And therefore that he held the crown seventeen years, and against so potent an enemy as Cyrus, was wholly owing to the conduct of his mother, into whose hands the management of his affairs fell: for she was a lady of the greatest wisdom of her time, and did the utmost that could be done to save the state of Babylon from ruin. And therefore her name was long after of that fame in those parts, that Herodotus speaks of her as if she had been sovereign of the kingdom, in the same manner as Semiramis is said to have been, and attributes to her all those works about Babylon which other authors ascribe to her son.³ For, although they were done in his reign, it was she that did them, and therefore she had the best title to the honour that was due for them; though, as hath been above hinted, the great lake, and the canal leading to it (which though reckoned among the works of Nebuchadnezzar, must at least have been finished by her, according to Herodotus,) how wisely soever they were contrived for the benefit both of the city and country, turned to the great damage of both; for Cyrus draining the river by this lake and canal, by that means took the city. And when, by the breaking down of the banks at the head of the canal, the river was turned that way, no care being taken afterward again to reduce it to its former channel, by repairing the breach, all the country on that side was overflowed and drowned by it;⁴ and the current, by long running this way, at length making the breach so wide, as to become irreparable, unless by an expense as great as that whereby the bank was first built, a whole province was lost by it; and the current which went to Babylon afterward grew so shallow as to be scarce fit for the smallest navigation, which was a farther damage to that place. Alexander, who intended to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, endeavoured to remedy this mischief, and did accordingly set himself to build the bank anew, which was on the west side of it; but when he had carried it on the length of four miles, he was stopped by some difficulties that he met with from the nature of the soil, which possibly would have been overcome, had he lived; but his death, which happened a little after, put an end to this, as well as to all his other designs. And, a while after, Babylon falling into decay, on the building of Seleucia in the neighbourhood, this work was never more thought of; but that country hath remained all bog and marsh ever since. And no doubt this was one main reason which helped forward the desertion of that place, especially when they found a new city built in the neighbourhood, in a much better situation.

¹ Dan. v. 13.² Ibid. viii. 27.³ Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.⁴ Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

In the taking of Babylon ended the Babylonish empire, after it had continued from the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar (who first founded it) two hundred and nine years. And here ended the power and pride of this great city, just fifty years after it had destroyed the city and temple of Jerusalem; and hereby were in a great measure accomplished the many prophecies which were by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Daniel, delivered against it. And here it is to be observed, that, in reference to the present besieging and taking of the place, it was particularly foretold by them, that it should be shut up,¹ and besieged by the Medes, Elamites, and Armenians; that the river should be dried up;² that the city should be taken in the time of a feast,³ while her princes and her wise men, her captains and her rulers, and her mighty men, were drunken; and that they should be thereon made to sleep a perpetual sleep, from which they should not awake. And so accordingly all this came to pass, Belshazzar, and all his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast, having been all slain by Cyrus's soldiers when they took the palace.⁴ And so also was it particularly foretold, by the prophet Isaiah (xiv,) that God would make the country of Babylon "a possession for the bittern, and pools of water" (ver. 23,) which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam, in order to take the city; which I have above given an account of; and so also that God would cut off from that city the son and the grandson (ver. 22,) that is, the son and grandson of their great king Nebuchadnezzar; and they were accordingly both cut off by violent deaths in the flower of their age, Evilmerodach the son before this time in the manner as hath been above related, and Belshazzar the grandson in the present taking of Babylon; and hereby the sceptre of Babylon was broken, as was foretold by the same prophecy (ver. 5,) for it did never after any more bear rule. Where I read the son and the grandson (ver. 22,) it is, I confess, in the English translation, the son and the nephew. But, in the twenty-first chapter of Genesis (ver. 23,) the same Hebrew word *neked* is translated *son's son*, and so it ought to have been translated here; for this is the proper signification of the word, which appears from the use of the same word, Job xviii. 19. For Bildad, there speaking of the wicked, and the curse of God which shall be upon him, in the want of a posterity, expresseth it thus: *Lo nin lo velo neked*, i. e. *he shall have neither son nor grandson*. For nephew, in the English signification of the word, whether brother's son or sister's son, cannot be within the meaning of the text, the context not admitting it.

An. 538. *Darius the Mede* 1.]—After the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom:⁵ for Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the empire, although it was all gained by his own valour, and out of deference to him yielded him the first place of honour in it. But the whole power of the army, and the chief conduct of all affairs being still in his hands, he only was looked on as the supreme governor of the empire, which he had erected; and therefore there is no notice at all taken of Darius in the Canon of Ptolemy;⁶ but immediately after the death of Belshazzar (who is there called Nabonadius) Cyrus is placed as the next successor, as in truth and reality he was; the other having no more than the name and the shadow of the sovereignty, excepting only in Media, which was his own proper dominion.

There are some who will have Darius the Median to have been Nabonadius,⁷ the last Babylonish king in the Canon of Ptolemy. And their scheme is, that after the death of Evilmerodach, Neriglissar succeeded only as guardian to Laborosoarchod his son, who was next heir in right of his mother, she having been daughter to Nebuchadnezzar: and Laborosoarchod was the Belshazzar of the scriptures, who was slain in the night of the impious festival, not by Cyrus (say they,) but by a conspiracy of his own people; that the scriptures attribute to him

1 Isa. xlii. 17. xxi. 2. Jer. li. 11. 27—30.

4 Cyropædia, lib. 7.

5 Dan. v. 31.

2 Jer. i. 33. li. 36.

3 Ibid. li. 36. 57.

6 Scaliger, Calvisius, and others.

the whole four years of Belshazzar, which the Canon of Ptolemy doth to Neriglissar (or Nericassolassar, as he is there called,) because Neriglissar reigned only as guardian for him; and that hence it is, that we hear of the first and the third year of Belshazzar,¹ in Daniel, though Laborosoarchod reigned alone, after his father's death, only nine months; that, after his death, the Babylonians made choice of Nabonadius, who was no way of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, but a Median by descent; and that for this reason only is he called Darius the Median in scripture. As to what they say of Nabonadius not being of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, it must be confessed, that the fragments of Megasthenes² may give them some authority for it; but as for all the rest, it hath no other foundation but the imagination of them that say it. And the whole is contrary to scripture; for, 1st, The hand-writing on the wall told Belshazzar, that his kingdom should be divided, or rent from him, and be given to the Medes and Persians;³ and immediately after the sacred text tells us,⁴ that Belshazzar was slain that night, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, who could be none other than Cyaxares, king of Media, who, in conjunction with Cyrus the Persian, conquered Babylon. 2dly, Therefore Belshazzar must have been the last Babylonish king, and consequently, the Nabonadius of Ptolemy. 3dly, This last king was not a stranger to the family of Nebuchadnezzar; for the sacred text makes him his descendant.⁵ 4thly, Darius is said to have governed the kingdom by the laws of the Medes and Persians;⁶ which cannot be supposed, till after the Medes and Persians had conquered that kingdom. Had this Darius been Nabonadius the Babylonish king, he would certainly have governed by the Babylonish laws, and not by the laws of his enemies, the Medes and the Persians, who were in hostility against him all his reign, and sought his ruin. 5thly, Darius is said to have divided his empire into one hundred and twenty provinces,⁷ which could not have been true of the Babylonish empire, that never having been large enough for it. But it must be understood of the Persian empire only, which was vastly larger. And afterward, on the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes, and of Thrace and India by Darius Hystaspis, it had seven other provinces added to its former number; and therefore, in the time of Esther, it consisted of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces. And this having been the division of the Persian empire at that time, it sufficiently proves the former to have been of the same empire also: for if the Persian empire from India to Ethiopia contained but one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, the empire of Babylon alone, which was not the seventh part of the other, could not contain one hundred and twenty. The testimony which Scaliger brings to prove Nabonadius to have been a Mede by descent, and by election made king of Babylon, is very absurd. In the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar, delivered to the Babylonians a little before his death, concerning their future subjection to the Persians, which is preserved in the fragments of Megasthenes, there are these words:⁸—"A Persian mule shall come, who, by the help of your own gods fighting for him, shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant, or fellow-causer herein, shall be the Mede." By which Mede is plainly meant Cyaxares, king of Media, who was confederate with Cyrus in the war, wherein Babylon was conquered. But Scaliger saith it was Nabonadius; and hence proves that he was a Mede, and quotes this place in Megasthenes for it. If you ask him, why he saith this, his answer is, that the person who is in that prophecy said to be the assistant of Cyrus, and fellow-causer with him in bringing servitude upon Babylon, must be Nabonadius, because he was an assistant and fellow-causer with him herein, in being beaten and conquered by him. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore, Isaac Vossius well observes, that the arguments which Scaliger brings for this are *indigna Scaligero*, i. e. *unworthy of Scaliger*.—*Chronologia Sacra*, p. 144.

1 Dan. vii. 1. viii. 1.

2 Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

3 Dan. v. 28.

4 Ibid. v. 30, 31.

5 Dan. v. 11, 13, 18, 22.

6 Ibid. vi. 8—15.

7 Ibid. vi. 1.

8 Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

After Cyrus had settled his affairs at Babylon,¹ he went into Persia, to make a visit to his father and mother, they being both yet living; and, on his return through Media, he there married the daughter of Cyaxares, having with her for dowry the kingdom of Media, in reversion after her father's death; for she was his only child; and then with his new wife he went back to Babylon. And Cyaxares, being earnestly invited by him thither, accompanied him in the journey. On their arrival at Babylon, they there took counsel, in concert together, for the settling of the whole empire; and, having divided it into one hundred and twenty provinces, which I have before spoken of,² they distributed the government of them among those that had borne with Cyrus the chief burden of the war,³ and best merited from him in it. Over these were appointed three presidents,⁴ who, constantly residing at court, were to receive from them, from time to time, an account of all particulars relating to their respective government, and again remit to them the king's orders concerning them. And therefore, in these three, as the chief ministers of the king, was intrusted with the superintendency and main government of the whole empire: and of them Daniel was made the first. To which preference, not only his great wisdom (which was of eminent fame all over the east,) but also his seniority, and long experience in affairs, gave him the justest title: for he had now, from the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, been employed full sixty-five years as a prime minister of state under the kings of Babylon. However, this station advancing him to be the next person to the king in the whole empire, it stirred up so great an envy against him among the other courtiers, that they laid that snare for him, which cast him into the lions' den. But he being there delivered by a miracle from all harm, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors; and Daniel being thenceforth immoveably settled in the favour of Darius and Cyrus,⁵ he prospered greatly in their time, as long as he lived.

In the first year of Darius, Daniel computing that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, which were prophesied of by the prophet Jeremiah, were now drawing to an end, earnestly prayed unto God⁶ that he would remember his people, and grant restoration to Jerusalem, and make his face again to shine upon the holy city, and his sanctuary which he had placed there. Whereon, in a vision, he had assurance given him by the angel Gabriel, not only of the deliverance of Judah from their temporal captivity under the Babylonians, but also of a much greater redemption, which God would give his church in his deliverance of them from their spiritual captivity under sin and Satan, to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, after the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem, that is, at the end of four hundred and ninety years. For, taking each day for a year, according as is usual in the prophetic style of scripture, so many years seventy weeks of years will amount to, which is the clearest prophecy of the coming of the Messiah that we have in the Old Testament; for it determines it to the very time, on which he accordingly came, and by his death and passion, and a resurrection from the dead, completed for us the great work of our salvation.

Cyrus, immediately on his return to Babylon, had issued out his orders for all his forces to come thither to him⁷, which, at a general muster, he found to be one hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand scythed chariots, and six hundred thousand foot. Of these having distributed into garrisons as many as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the rest in an expedition into Syria, where he settled all those parts of the empire; reducing all under him as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia. In the interim, Cyaxares (whom the Scriptures call Darius the Median) stayed at Babylon,⁸ and there governed the affairs of the empire; and during that time happened what hath been above related concerning Daniel's being cast into the lion's den, and his miraculous deliverance from it.

¹ Cyropedia, lib. 8.² Dan. vi. 1.³ Cyropedia, lib. 8.⁴ Dan. vi. 2.⁵ Ibid. vi. 28.⁶ Ibid. ix.⁷ Cyropedia, lib. 8.⁸ Dan. v. 31.

And about the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called Darics, which,¹ by reason of their fineness, were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout all the east; for we are told that the author of this coin was not Darius Hystaspis,² as some have imagined, but an ancients Darius. But there is no ancients Darius mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this Darius, whom the scripture calls Darius the Median. And therefore it is most likely that he was the author of this coin, and that, during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent from thence on his Syrian, Egyptian, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold which had been brought thither into the treasury, as the spoils of the war which he and Cyrus had been so long engaged in; from whence it became dispersed all over the east, and also into Greece, where it was of great reputation. According to Dr. Bernard,³ it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but the fineness added much more to its value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, in respect to each other, to be worth twenty-five shillings of our money. In those parts of scripture which were written after the Babylonish captivity,⁴ these pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim,⁵ and in the Talmudists by the name of Darkonoth, both from the Greek *Δαρικαι*, *i. e.* Darics. And, it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold, which were afterward coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persians but also of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius that was the first author of them. And these were either whole Darics or half Darics, as with us there are guineas and half guineas.

But, about two years after, Cyaxares dying, and Cambyses being also dead in Persia,⁶ Cyrus returned, and took on him the whole government of the empire; over which he reigned seven years. His reign is reckoned, from his first coming out of Persia, with an army for the assistance of Cyaxares, to his death, to have been thirty years, from the taking of Babylon nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire after the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses seven years. Tully⁷ reckons by the first account, Ptolemy⁸ by the second, and Xenophon⁹ by the third. And the first of these seven years, is that first year of Cyrus mentioned in the first verse of the book of Ezra, wherein an end was put to the captivity of Judah, and a licence given them, by a public decree of the king's, again to return into their own country. The seventy years, which Jeremiah had prophesied should be the continuance of this captivity, were now just expired: for it began a year and two months before the death of Nabopolassar, after that Nebuchadnezzar reigned forty-three years, Evilmerodach two years, Neriglissar four years, Belshazzar seventeen years, and Darius the Median two years; which being all put together, make just sixty-nine years and two months; and if you add hereto ten months more to complete the said seventy years, it will carry down the end of them exactly into the same month, in the first year of Cyrus, in which it began in the last save one of Nabopolassar, *i. e.* in the ninth month of the Jewish year, which is the November of ours. For in that month Nebuchadnezzar first took Jerusalem, and carried great numbers of the people into captivity, as hath been before related. And that their release from it happened also in the same month, may be thus inferred from scripture. The first time the Jews are found at Jerusalem after their return, was in their Nisan, *i. e.* in our April, as will hereafter be shown. If you allow them four months for their march thither from Babylon (which was the time in which Ezra performed the like march,¹⁰) the beginning of that march will fall in the middle

¹ Herodotus, lib. 4. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

² Harpocration. Scholiastes Aristophanis ad Eccles. p. 741, 742.

³ De Ponderibus et Mensuris Antiquis, p. 171.

⁴ Vide Buxtorffii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 577.

⁵ De Divinatione, lib. 1.

⁶ Cyropedia, lib. 8.

⁷ In Canone.

⁸ Cyropedia, lib. 8. where Xenophon saith, that Cyrus reigned after the death of Cyaxares seven years.

⁹ Ezra vii. 9.

Suidas sub voce *Δαρικαι*.

⁴ 1 Chron. xxix. 7. and Ezra viii. 27.

⁶ Cyropedia, lib. 8.

⁸ In Canone.

⁹ Cyropedia, lib. 8. where Xenophon saith, that Cyrus reigned after the death of Cyaxares seven years.

¹⁰ Ezra vii. 9.

of the December preceding. And if you allow a month's time after the decree of release for their preparing for that journey, it will fix the end of the said captivity, which they were then released from, exactly in the middle of the month of November, in the first year of Cyrus; which was the very time on which it began, just seventy years before. And that this first of Cyrus is not to be reckoned with Ptolemy, from the taking of Babylon, and the death of Belshazzar; but with Xenophon, from the death of Darius the Mede, and the succession of Cyrus into the government of the whole empire, appears from hence, that this last is plainly the scripture reckoning: for therein, after the taking of Babylon and the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede¹ is named in the succession before Cyrus the Persian, and the years of the reign of Cyrus are not there reckoned,² till the years of the reign of Darius had ceased; and therefore, according to scripture, the first of Cyrus cannot be till after the death of Darius.

There can be no doubt, but that this decree in favour of the Jews was obtained by Daniel. When Cyrus first came into Babylon, on his taking the city, he found him there an old minister of state, famed for his great wisdom all over the east, and long experienced in the management of the public affairs of the government, and such counsellors wise kings always seek for: and, moreover his late reading of the wonderful hand-writing on the wall, which had puzzled all the wise men of Babylon besides, and the event which happened immediately after, exactly agreeable to his interpretation, had made a very great and fresh addition to his reputation; and therefore, on Cyrus having made himself master of the city, he was soon called for, as a person that was best able to advise and direct about the settling of the government on this revolution, and was consulted with in all the measures taken herein. On which occasion, he so well approved himself, that afterward, on the settling of the government of the whole empire, he was made first superintendent, or prime minister of state, over all the provinces of it, as hath been already shown: and when Cyrus returned from his Syrian expedition again to Babylon, he found a new addition to his fame, from his miraculous deliverance from the lions' den. All which put together gave sufficient reason for that wise and excellent prince to have him in the highest esteem; and therefore, it is said, that he prospered under him,³ as he did under Darius the Median, with whom, it appears, he was in the highest favour and esteem. And since he had been so earnest with God in prayer for the restoration of his people, as we find in the ninth chapter of Daniel, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his intercessions for it with the king, especially when he was in so great favour, and of so great authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his request, he showed him the prophecies of the prophet Isaiah,⁴ which spake of him by name one hundred and fifty years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, in causing the temple to be built, and the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem to be again dwelt in by its former inhabitants. That Cyrus had seen and read these prophecies, Josephus tells us;⁵ and it is plain from scripture that he did so; for they are recited in his decree in Ezra for the rebuilding of the temple.⁶ And who was there that should show them unto him, but Daniel, who, in the station that he was in, had constant access unto him, and of all men living had it most at heart to see these prophecies fulfilled, in the restoration of Sion? Besides, Cyrus, in his late expedition into Syria and Palestine, having seen so large and good a country as that of Judea lie wholly desolate, might justly be moved with a desire of having it again inhabited; for the strength and riches of every empire being chiefly in the number of its subjects, no wise prince would ever desire that any part of his dominions should lie unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the desolated country of Judea than its former inhabitants? They were first carried out of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar to people and strengthen Babylon

1 Dan. vi. 23.

2 Compare Dan. ix. 1 with the 10th chap. ver. 1.

3 Dan. i. 21. vi. 23.

4 Isa. xlv. 23. xlv. 1.

5 Lib. 11. c. 1.

6 Ezra i. 2.

and perchance, under this government of the Persians, to which the Babylonians were never well affected, the weakening and dispeopling of Babylon might be as strong a reason for their being sent back again into their own country. But whatsoever second causes worked to it, God's overruling power, which turneth the hearts of princes which way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that, in the first year of Cyrus's monarchy over the east, he issued out his royal decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and the return of the Jews again into their own country. And hereon the state of Judah and Jerusalem began to be restored; of which an account will be given in the next book.

BOOK III.

An. 536. Cyrus 1.]—CYRUS¹ having issued out his decree for the restoring of the Jews unto their own land, and the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, they gathered together out of the sveral parts of the kingdom of Babylon, to the number of forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty persons, with their servants, which amounted to seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven more.

Their chief leaders were Zerubbabel,² the son of Salathiel, the son of Jehoiachin, or Jeconias, king of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Jozadack, the high-priest. Zerubbabel (whose Babylonish name was Shezbazzar³) was made governor of the land,⁴ under the title of Tirshatha, by commission from Cyrus. But Jeshua was high-priest by lineal descent from the pontifical family; for he was the son of Jozadack,⁵ who was the son of Seraiah, that was high-priest when Jerusalem was destroyed, and the temple burned by the Chaldeans. Seraiah, being then taken prisoner by Nebuzaradan, and carried to Nebuchadnezzar to Riblah in Syria, was then put to death by him;⁶ but Jozadack, his son, being spared as to his life,⁷ was only with the rest led captive to Babylon, where he died before the decree of restoration came forth; and therefore the office of high-priest was then in Jeshua, his son; and under that title he is named,⁸ next Zerubbabel, among the first of those that returned. The rest were Nehemiah,⁹ Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilsham, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, and Baanah, who were the prime leaders of the people, and the chief assistants to Zerubbabel, in the resettling of them again in their own land, and are by the Jewish writers eckoned the chief men of the great synagogue; so they call the convention of elders, which they say sat at Jerusalem after the return of the Jews, and did here again re-establish all their affairs both as to church and state, of which they speak great things, as shall hereafter be shown. But it is to be observed, that the Nehemiah and Mordecai above mentioned, were not the Nehemiah and Mordecai of whom there is so much said in the books of Nehemiah and Esther, but quite different persons, who bore the same name.

At the same time that Cyrus issued out his decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, he ordered all the vessels to be restored which had been taken from thence.¹⁰ Nebuchadnezzar, on the burning of the former temple, had brought them to Babylon, and placed them there in the temple of Bel his god. From thence they were, according to Cyrus's order, by Mithredath, the king's treasurer, delivered to Zerubbabel, who carried them back again to Jerusalem. All the vessels of gold and silver that were at this time restored were five thousand four hundred; the remainder was brought back by Ezra, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, many years after.

And not only those of Judah and Benjamin, but several also of the other tribes, took the benefit of this decree to return again into their own land: for some of them, who were carried away by Tiglath-Pileser,¹¹ Salmeser, and Esarhaddon,

¹ Ezra i. ii.

² 2 Kings xxv. 18.

³ Ezra i. 7—11.

⁴ Ibid. ii. 2.

⁵ 1 Chron. vi. 15.

⁶ 1 Chron. ii. 11, 12. xiv. 9.

⁷ Ibid. i. 8. 11.

⁸ Ezra ii. 2. iii. 2.

⁹ Hag. i. 12. ii. 2.

¹⁰ Ibid. v. 14.

¹¹ 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15.

¹² Ezra ii. 2. Neh. vii. 7.

still retained the true worship of God in a strange land, and did not go into the idolatrous usages and impieties of the heathens, among whom they were dispersed, but joined themselves to the Jews, when, by a like captivity, they were brought into the same parts; and some, after all the Assyrian captivities were left in the land. For we find some of them still there in the time of Josiah,¹ and they suffered the Babylonish captivity, as well as the Jews, till at length they were wholly carried away in the last of them by Nebuzaradan, in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar.² And many of them had long before left their tribes for their religion,³ and incorporating themselves with their brethren of Judah and Benjamin, dwelt in their cities, and there fell into the same calamity with them in their captivity under the Babylonians. And of all these a great number took the advantage of this decree again to return and dwell in their own cities; for both Cyrus's decree as well as that of Artaxerxes extended to all the house of Israel. The decree of Artaxerxes⁴ is by name to all the people of Israel, and that of Cyrus⁵ is to all the people of the God of Israel, that is, as appears by the text, to all those that worshipped God at Jerusalem, which must be understood of the people of Israel as well as of Judah: for that temple was built for both, and both had an equal right to worship God there. And therefore Ezra, when he returned, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus,⁶ sent a copy of the king's decree, whereby that favour was granted him through all Media, where ten tribes were in captivity; as well as through all Chaldea and Assyria, where the Jews were in captivity: which plainly implies, that both of them were included in that decree, and that being a renewal of the decree of Cyrus, both must be understood of the same extent. And we are told in scripture, that, after the captivity,⁷ some of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh dwelt in Jerusalem, as well as those of Judah and Benjamin. And it appears, from several places in the New Testament,⁸ that some of all the tribes were still in being among the Jews, even to the time of their last dispersion on the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, though then all were comprehended under the name of the Jews, which, after the Babylonish captivity, became the general name of the whole nation, as that of Israelites was before. And this being premised, it solves the difficulty which ariseth from the difference that is between the general number, and the particulars of those that returned upon Cyrus's decree. For the general number, both in Ezra and Nehemiah, is said to be forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty; but the particulars, as reckoned up in the several families in Ezra, amount only to twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and in Nehemiah, to thirty-one thousand and thirty-one. The meaning of which is, they are only the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, that are reckoned by their families in both these places,⁹ the rest being of the other tribes of Israel, are numbered only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both the computations. But how it comes to pass, that the particulars in Ezra differ from the particulars in Nehemiah, since there are several ways how this may be accounted for, and we can only conjecture which of them may be the right, I shall not take upon me to determine.

Of the twenty-four courses of the priests that were carried away to Babylon, only four returned,¹⁰ and they were the courses of Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim, which made up the number four thousand two hundred and eighty-nine persons. The rest either tarried behind, or were extinct. However, the old number of the courses, as established by king David, were still kept up. For, of the four courses that returned,¹¹ each subdivided themselves into six, and the new courses taking the names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old titles; and hence it is, that after this Mattathias is said to have been of the course of

1 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. xxv. 18.

2 Jer. lli. 30.

3 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9. xxx. 6.

4 Ezra vii. 13.

5 Ibid. i. 3.

6 Joseph Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

7 1 Chron. ix. i. 3.

8 Luke ii. 36. James i. 1. Acts xxvi. 7.

9 Seder Olam Rabba, c. 29.

10 Ezra ii. 36-39.

11 Talmud. Hierosol. in Taanith.

Joarib,¹ and Zacharias, of the course of Abia,² though neither of these courses were of the number of those that returned. For the new courses took the names of the old ones, though they were not descended from them, and so they were continued by the same names under the second temple, as they had been under the first, only the fifth course, though of the number of those that returned, changed its name, and for that of Malchijah, under which it was first established, took the name of Pashur, that is, the name of the son, instead of that of the father; for Pashur³ was the son of Malchijah. It is a common saying among the Jews, that they were only the bran⁴ that is, the dregs of the people, that returned to Jerusalem after the end of the captivity, and that all the fine flour stayed behind at Babylon. It is most certain, that, notwithstanding the several decrees that had been granted by the kings of Persia for the return of the Jews into their own land, there was a great many that waved taking the advantage of them, and continued still in Chaldea, Assyria, and other eastern provinces, where they had been carried; and, it is most likely, that they were the best and richest of the nation that did so: for, when they had gotten houses and lands in those parts, it cannot be supposed that such would be very forward to leave good settlements to new plant a country that had lain many years desolate. But of what sort soever they were, it is certain a great many stayed behind, and never again returned into their own country. And if we may guess at their number, by the family of Aaron, they must have been many more than those who settled again in Judea; for of the twenty-four courses of the sons of Aaron, which were carried away, we find only four among those that returned, as hath been already taken notice of; and hereby it came to pass, that, during all the time of the second temple, and for a great many ages after, the number of the Jews in Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia, grew to be so very great, that they were all along thought to exceed the number of the Jews of Palestine, even in those times when that country was best inhabited by them.

An. 535. Cyrus 2.]—Those who made this first return into Judea, arrived there in Nisan, the first month of the Jewish year (which answers to part of March and part of April in our calendar;) for the second month of the next year is said to be in the second year after their return;⁵ and therefore they must then have been a whole year in the land. As soon as they came thither,⁶ they dispersed themselves according to their tribes, and the families of their fathers, in their several cities, and there betook themselves to rebuild their houses, and again manure their lands, after they had now, from the destruction of Jerusalem, and the flight of the remainder of the people into Egypt, on the death of Gedaliah, lain desolate and uncultivated fifty-two years, according to the number of the sabbatical years, which they had neglected to observe; for, according to the Mosaic law, they ought to have left their lands fallow every seventh year.⁷ But, among other commandments of God, this also they had neglected; and, therefore,⁸ God made the land lie desolate without inhabitants or cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full number of its sabbaths that it had been deprived of. And this tells us how long the Jews had neglected this law of the sabbatical year: for, it is certain, the land was desolated only fifty-two years, that is, from the death of Gedaliah till the end of the seventy years' captivity, in the first year of the empire of Cyrus. And fifty-two sabbatical years make fifty-two weeks of years, which amount to three hundred and sixty-four years; which carries up the computation to the beginning of the reign of Asa; and, therefore, from that time the Jews having neglected to observe the sabbatical years, till they had deprived the land of fifty-two of them, God made that land lie desolate, without cultivation or inhabitants just so many years, till he had restored to it that full rest, which the wickedness of its inhabitants had, contrary to the law of their God, denied unto it. If we reckon the whole seventy years of the captivity into

¹ 1 Mac. ii. 1.

² Ezra iii. 8.

³ 1 Levit. xxv. 2-4.

⁴ Luke i. 5.

⁵ 1 Chron. ix. 12. Nehem. xi. 12.

⁶ Ibid. ii. 1. 70. iii. 1. Nehem. vii. 6.

⁷ Ibid. xxvi. 34. 35. 43. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

⁸ Talmud. Bab. in Kiddushim.

those years of desolation, which were to make amends for the sabbatical years that the land had been deprived of, then we must reckon the observation of them to have been laid aside for seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years. But this will carry back the omission higher up than the days of David and Samuel, in whose time it is not likely that such a breach of the law of God would have been permitted in the land.

On the seventh month, which is called the month Tisri, all the people which had returned to their several cities gathered together at Jerusalem,¹ and there, on the first day of that month,² celebrated the feast of trumpets. This month began about the time of the autumnal equinox, and was formerly the first month of the year,³ till it was changed at the time of the coming up of the children of Israel out of Egypt;⁴ for that happening in the month of Abib, afterward called Nisan, that month, for this reason, had the honour given it as henceforth to be reckoned among the Israelites for the first month of the year, that is, in all ecclesiastical matters. Before this time Tisri⁵ was reckoned every where to begin the year, because from thence did commence (it was thought) the beginning of all things;⁶ it being the general opinion, among the ancients, that the world was created and first began at the time of the autumnal equinox. And for this reason the Jews do still, in their era of the world, as well as in their era of contracts, compute the beginning of the year from the first of Tisri; and all their bills and bonds, and all other civil acts and contracts, are still dated among them according to the same computation. And from this month also they began all their jubilees and sabbatical years.⁷ And, therefore, although their ecclesiastical year began from Nisan, and all their festivals were reckoned according to it, yet their civil year was still reckoned from Tisri, and the first day of that month was their new year's day; and for the more solemn celebration of it, this feast of trumpets seems to have been appointed.

On the tenth day of the same month was the great day of expiation,⁸ when the high-priest made atonement for all the people of Israel; and on the fifteenth day began the feast of tabernacles,⁹ and lasted till the twenty-second inclusively. During all which solemnities the people stayed at Jerusalem, and employed all that time to the best of their power to set forward the restoration of God's worship again in that place; toward which all that had riches contributed according to their abilities. And the free-will-offerings which were made on this occasion,¹⁰ besides one hundred vestments for the priests, amounted to sixty-one thousand drachms of gold, and five thousand minas of silver, which in all comes to about seventy-five thousand five hundred pounds of our money; for every drachm of gold is worth ten shillings of our money, and every mina of silver nine pounds; for it contained sixty shekels,¹¹ and every shekel of silver is worth of our money three shillings.¹² And upon this fund they began the work. And a great sum it was to be raised by so small a number of people, and on their first return from their captivity, especially if they were only of the poorer sort, as the Rabbins say. It must be supposed, that these offerings were made by the whole nation of the Jews, that is, by those who stayed behind, as well as by those who returned; otherwise it is scarce possible to solve the matter; for all having an equal interest in that temple, and the daily sacrifices there offered up having been in the behalf of all, it is very reasonable to suppose, that all did contribute to the building of it; and that especially seeing that as long as that temple stood every Jew annually paid a half shekel,¹³ i. e. about eighteen pence of our money, toward its repair, and the support of the daily service in it, into what parts soever they were dispersed through the whole world.

The first thing they did was to restore the altar of the Lord for burnt-offerings.¹⁴

¹ Ezra iii. 1.

² Ibid. iii. 6. Levit. xxiii. 24. Numb. xxix. 1.

³ Exod. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22.

⁴ Exod. xii. 2.

⁵ Chaldee Paraphrast on Exodus xii. 2.

⁶ Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 5. c. De Conditu Mundi, p. 365, &c.

⁷ Levit. xxv. 9.

⁸ Levit. xvi. 23, 30. xxii. 27. Numb. xix. 7.

⁹ Levit. xxiii. 24. Numb. xxix. 12, &c.

¹⁰ Ezra ii. 69.

¹¹ Ezek. xlv. 12.

¹² Vide Burnardum de Mensuris et Ponderibus antiquis, p. 129.

¹³ Exod. xxx. 13—15. Maimonides in Shekalim cap. 1, 2, 4.

¹⁴ Ezra iii. 3.

This stood in the middle of the inner court of the temple,¹ exactly before the porch leading into the holy place; and hereon were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening service, and all other offerings, ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by fire. It had been beaten down and destroyed by the Babylonians at the burning of the temple, and in the same place was it now again restored. That it was built,² and stood in another place, with a tabernacle round it, till the rebuilding of the temple was fully finished and completed, is a fancy without a foundation. It was certainly built in its proper place,³ that is, in the same place where it before stood, and there they daily offered sacrifices upon it, even before any thing else of the temple was built about it. It was a large pile built all of unhewn stones,⁴ thirty-two cubits (*i. e.* forty-eight feet) square at the bottom; from thence it rising one cubit, benched-in one cubit; and from thence being thirty cubits square, it did rise five cubits, and benched-in one cubit; and from thence being twenty-eight cubits square, it did rise three cubits, and benched-in two cubits; from whence it did rise one cubit, which was the hearth upon which the offerings were burned, and the benching-in of two cubits' breadth was the passage round it, on which the priests stood when they tended the fire, and placed the sacrifices on it. So this hearth was a square of twenty-four cubits, or thirty-six feet on every side, and one cubit high, which was all made of solid brass, and from hence it was called the brazen altar.⁵ For it is not to be imagined that it was all made of solid brass; for to make up so big a pile all of that metal would cost a vast sum of money. And besides, if it were so made, it would not only be against the law, but also impracticable for the use intended. It would be against the law, because thereby they are commanded, that wheresoever they should make an altar, other than the portable altar of the tabernacle, they should make it of earth, or else of unhewn stone.⁶ And it would be impracticable for the use intended; because, if it were all brass, the fire continually burning upon the top of it would so heat the whole, and especially that part of it next the hearth, that it would be impossible for the priests to stand on it when they were to come thither to officiate in tending the altar, and offering the sacrifices thereon; and that especially since they were always to officiate barefooted, without any thing at all upon their feet to fence them from the heat of it. It is not indeed any where commanded that the priests should officiate barefooted; but among the garments assigned for the priests (Exod. xxviii.) shoes not being named, they were supposed therefore to be forbid, and the text saying, ver. 4, "these are the garments which they shall make," this (they say) excludes all that are not there named. And Moses being commanded, at the burning bush, to put off his shoes,⁷ for that the ground on which he stood was holy, because of the extraordinary presence of God then in that place; this they make a farther argument for it: for, say they, the temple was all holy for the same reason, that is, because of the extraordinary presence of God there residing in the Shechinah over the mercy-seat. And for these reasons it was most strictly exacted, that the priests should be always barefooted in the temple, although their going there with their bare feet upon the marble pavement was very pernicious to the health of many of them. On the four corners of the altar, on the last benching-in, where the priests stood when they offered the sacrifices, there were fixed four small pillars of a cubit height, and a cubit on every side, in the form of an exact cube. And these were the horns of the altar so often mentioned in scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the blood of the sacrifices. The ascent up to the altar was by a gentle rising on the south side, called the kibbesh, which was thirty-two cubits in length, and sixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the hearth, or the top of the altar; for to go up to the altar by steps was forbid by the law.⁸

¹ See Lightfoot on the Temple, ch. 34.

² Bishop Patrick in his Comment on the First of Chronicles, ch. ix.

³ Ezra iii. 3. For there it is said, that they did set the altar upon its bases or foundations, *i. e.* upon the same bases or foundations on which it before had stood.

⁴ Mishnaic in Middoth. Maimonides in Beth-Habbechirah, c. i. 2.

⁵ Exod. xx. 24, 25.

⁷ Ibid. iii. 5. Acts vii. 33.

⁵ 1 Kings viii. 64.

⁸ Exod. xx. 26.

[An. 534. Cyrus 3.]—But their zeal for the temple* being that which had brought most of them back again into Judea, the rebuilding of this was what they had their hearts most intent upon. And therefore, having employed the first year in preparing materials,¹ and contracting with carpenters and masons for the work, in the second month of the second year they laid the foundation of the house;² which was done with great solemnity: for Zerubbabel the go-

* AN EXPLANATION OF THE ICHNOGRAPHY OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

(AAAA) The outer wall of the temple, which was a square of 500 cubits on every side, i. e. 2000 in the whole circuit. It was 25 cubits high measuring on the inside, which was the size of all the other walls of the temple, as well in the inner part as the outer, excepting only that of the *Chel*: every cubit was a foot and a half. (B) The east gate or gate of *Susham*. (CC) The shops where wine, oil, salt, meal, and other things used in the sacrifices, were sold; with chambers over on either side. (D) The north gate called *Tedi*. (EE) The porters' lodges and chambers over on either side. Between this gate and the western corner upon a jetting out of the mountain stood the castle *Antonia*, formerly called *Baris*, where the *Romans* kept a garrison to overawe the temple, from whence the captain of it was called the captain of the temple, *Luke* xxii. 52. *Acts* iv. 1. It was a square pile two furlongs in compass, standing at a little distance from the temple wall, and from which there was a passage by stairs down into the cloisters at the north-west corner, through which the soldiers ran down to appease the tumult risen about Paul, *Acts* xxi. 32, and from which Paul spoke to the people, *ver.* 40.

(FF) The two gates in the south side called the gates of *Huldah*.

(G) The porters' lodges, and chambers over on either side.

(H) The gate *Shallecheth* or *Coponus* on the west side. (I) The gate *Parbor* on the same side. (K) The porters' lodges, and chambers over on either side of the said two gates. (L) The two gates of *Asuppin* on the same west side. (M) The rooms and chambers over on either side of the said two gates, where a treasury of the temple was kept; the pile of each gate was 15 cubits broad and 30 high, and the entrance 10 cubits broad and 20 cubits high. And all the gates, as well in the inner parts of the temple as the outer, were every one of them of the same size. (N) The portico or cloisters round the temple; that on the south side was called the royal cloisters, because of its largeness, for it contained 3 isles, the middle 42 cubits and a half broad and 50 cubits high, the other two each 15 cubits broad and 25 cubits high; which was the size of all the other cloisters of this court; that on the east side was called *Solomon's* porch, because it stood upon that vast terrace which *Solomon* built up from the valley beneath, of 400 cubits height, which was the only work of *Solomon's* temple that remained in our Saviour's time, and therefore, it was called *Solomon's* porch or cloister, *John* x. 23. *Acts* iii. 11. (O) The outer court of the temple called the court of the *Gentiles*. (P) The outer enclosure of the inner courts, being a wall curiously wrought of 3 cubits height, within which no Gentile was to enter, or any polluted with the dead. (Q) The wall enclosing the inner court of the temple.

(R) The space between the said wall and the outer enclosure 10 cubits broad, called the *Chel*. (S) The stairs on the east end leading from the court of the *Gentiles* into the *Chel*, consisting of 14 steps, each 9 inches high. (T) The stairs from the *Chel* into the court of the women, consisting of 5 steps, each 9 inches high.

(V) The gate entering into the court of the women on the east, called the beautiful gate of the temple, *Acts* iii. 2, because of its sumptuousness and beautiful adornments. (W) Other two gates entering into the court of the women, one on the south, and the other on the north. (X) The court of the women, so called because thus far the women might enter to worship, but not further; it was 135 cubits square.

(Y) Cloisters on three sides of the court of the women, over which were galleries for the women. (ZZ) Two rooms under the floor of the court of *Israel*, where the musicians did lay up their instruments. 1. 2. 3. 4. Four smaller courts in the four corners of the court of women, each 40 cubits long and 30 broad. (1) Where the *Nazarites* performed what the law required. (2) Where the wood for the altar was wormed by the blemished priests before it was used. (3) Where the leper was cleansed. (4) Where the wine and oil was laid up for the use of the altar in cellars built round it on the inside.

(5) The treasury-chests, where our Saviour saw the widow cast in her two mites, he then sitting on the bench in the cloisters. For all the cloisters of the temple had benches next the inner wall for the people to sell in this court as well as in the outer. And of some place nigh these chests it is to be understood where our Saviour is said to preach in the treasury, *John* viii. 20. (6) The semicircular stairs leading up from the court of the women to the great brazen gate, consisting of 15 steps. (7) The great brazen gate, or the gate *Nicanor*, leading into the inner court, in which the temple and altar stood, which court represented the tabernacle, and contained that part which was properly called the sanctuary; it was 135 cubits in breadth and 187 in length. (8) The wall parting the sanctuary from the court of the women. (9) The place within the sanctuary properly called the court of *Israel*: for here stood the stationary men who represented the whole people of *Israel* at all times of public worship, and hither came up all other *Israelites* when they had any sacrifice to be offered (the ordinary place where all the rest worshipped was in the court of the women, the men on the floor, and the women in the galleries.) It contained the first aisle of the double cloisters on the east end, and both the single cloisters on the north and south sides. (10) The place properly called the court of the priests, it contained the second aisle of the double cloisters at the east end of the sanctuary; the first two cubits of its breadth next the court of *Israel* were taken up by the desks of the singers and musicians, the other part was the place where the priests did worship that were out of attendance. (11) The king's seat near the pillar, 2 *Chron.* vi. 13, and chap. xxviii. 13. (12) Winding stairs leading up to the rooms over the gate *Nicanor*, that on the right hand to the wardrobe, where the vestments for the priests were kept, and that on the left to the room where were provided the cakes for the high-priest's daily meat-offering. (13) The room *Gazeth*, where the *Sanhedrin* sat, part was within the sanctuary and part without; the *Sanhedrin* sat in the part which was without. (14) The well-room, where was a well from whence water was drawn for the use of the temple.

(15) Three gates leading into the sanctuary on the south side; the first next the draw well-room was from thence called the well-gate, over which was the room of *Aslines*, where the incense was made, the second was the gate of *Firstlings*, and the third the gate of *Kindling*.

(16) The wood-room; where the wood for the altar, after it had been wormed, was laid ready for use; over it was the chamber of the high-priest called *Paradrin*, where he held the council of the temple.

(17) A guard-room for the *Levites*. (18) A treasury-room.

(19) The common fire-room and chief guard-room for the *Levites*.

(20) The common fire-room and chief guard-room for the priests.

(21) A stone in the middle of the said room, under which the keys of the temple were laid every night.

(22) The room where the lamps for the daily sacrifice were kept. (23) The bath-room where the priests bathed on their contracting uncleanness. (24) The room where the show-bread was made. (25) The room where the stones of the altar polluted by *Antiochus* were laid up by the *Maccabees*.

vernor, and Jeshua the high-priest, being present with all the congregation, the trumpeters blew their trumpets, and the musicians sounded their instruments, and singers sung, all in praise to the Lord their God, and all the rest of the people shouted for joy while the first stones were laid; only the old men, who had seen the glory of the first temple, and had no expectation that this, which was now building by a few poor exiles lately returned into their country, could ever equal that which had all the riches of David and Solomon, two of the wealthiest princes of the east, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the remembrance of the old temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the foundations of the new. And indeed the difference between the former temple and this which was now building was so great, that God himself tells the prophet Haggai,¹ that the latter, in comparison with the former, was as nothing; so much did it come short of it. But this is not to be understood of its bigness; for the second temple was of the same dimensions with the first, it being built upon the very same foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the same length and breadth. Cyrus's commission may seem to make it broader; for that allows sixty cubits to its breadth,² whereas Solomon's temple is said to have been but twenty cubits in breadth.³ But these different measures are to be understood in respect of the different distances between which the said measures were taken. The twenty cubits' breadth, said of Solomon's temple, was only the breadth of the temple itself, measuring from the inside of the wall on the one side, to the inside of the wall on the other side. But the sixty cubits' breadth in Cyrus's commission was the breadth of the temple itself, measuring from the inside of the outer wall of it on the one side, to the inside of the outer wall on the other side. For besides the temple itself,⁴ which contained the holy place, and the holy of holies, each twenty cubits broad, there were thick walls enclosing it on each side, and without them chambers on each side; then another wall, then a gallery, and then the outer walls of all enclosing the whole building, being five cubits thick; which altogether made up the whole breadth to be seventy cubits from out to out: from which deducting the five cubits' breadth of the outer wall on each side, you have remaining the breadth of Cyrus's commission, that is, sixty cubits; which was the breadth of the whole

(26) Three gates on the north side leading into the sanctuary; the first towards the east end, called the gate *Nitzotz*, or of singing; the second the gate of women, and the gate *Corban*. (27) The room where the salt was kept for the service of the altar. (28) The room where the skins of the sacrifices were laid up. (29) The room where the inward of the sacrifices were washed. (30) Another guard-room for the *Levites*, over which was a guard-chamber for the priests.

(31) The room where the priests was set apart seven days, that was to burn the red cow. (32) Ringles where the sacrifices were tied down to be slain. (33) Eight posts on which the sacrifices were hung up to be flayed. (34) Marble tables where the sacrifices were cut out in pieces. (35) The altar of burnt-offerings, 24 cubits square at the top and 32 at the bottom. (36) The ascent to the altar, being 32 cubits long. (37) The marble tables where the pieces of the sacrifices were laid that were ready for the altar.

(38) The brazen sea.

(39) The stairs up into the porch, being 12 in number.

(40) The entrance into the porch, 20 cubits broad and 40 high.

(a) The two pillars *Jachin* and *Boaz* standing in the entrance.

(b) The porch, 11 cubits broad and 60 long.

(c) The room where the butchering instruments used about the sacrifices were laid up. (d) The outer wall of the porch. (e) The inner wall of the porch. (f) The gate from the porch into the holy place. (g) The wicket through which the priest went to unbar the gate on the inside for the opening of it in the morning, and come out after having barred it in the evening. (h) The holy place, 20 cubits broad and 40 long, in which were (i) The candlestick having seven lamps. (k) The shew-bread table. (l) The altar of incense. (m) The holy of holies, 20 cubits square, in which were (n) The ark of the covenant. (o) The two *Cherubims*, 10 cubits high, with their faces inwards, and their wings extended to each other over the ark and to the walls on either side. (p) The veil of the temple parting between the holy and the holy of the holies, which was rent in pieces at our Saviour's death. (q) The treasury-rooms on the sides and west end of the temple, three stories high, in which the tithes were laid up.

(r) The passage into the said rooms.

(s) The galleries running before them.

(t) The winding staircases leading into the upper story.

(u) Winding stairs leading up into the rooms over the porch and temple.

(see) The *Hirepoyot* or wings of the temple stretching out on either side.

The length of the temple from out to out was 100 cubits.

The breadth of the temple at the *Hirepoyot* from out to out 100 cubits; the breadth of the temple beyond the *Hirepoyot* from out to out 70 cubits; the height of the temple, 100 cubits. The height of the *Hirepoyot*, 124 cubits; at the top of which it was said that the devil set our Saviour.—*Matt. iv. 5.*

Delineated and described according to the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and the *Talmud*, by H. Prideaux, D. D. Dean of Norwich.

building from the inside of one outer wall to the inside of the other. So that the difference of the said twenty cubits' breadth, and of the said sixty cubits' breadth, is no more than this, that one of them was measured from the inside to the inside of the inner walls, and the other from the inside to the inside of the outer walls of the said temple.

But the glory of Solomon's temple was not in the temple itself, much less in the bigness of it; for that alone was but a small pile of building, as containing no more than one hundred and fifty feet in length, and one hundred and five in breadth, taking the whole of it together from out to out; which is exceeded by many of our parish churches. The main grandeur and excellency of it consisted, first, In its ornaments; its workmanship being every where exceeding curious, and its overlayings vast and prodigious: for the overlayings of the holy of holies only, which was a room but thirty feet square and thirty feet high, amounted to six hundred talents of gold,¹ which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our sterling money. Secondly, In its materials; for Solomon's temple was all built of new large stones, hewn out in the most curious and artful manner, whereas the second temple was 'mostly built of such stones only as they dug up out of the ruins of the former. Thirdly, In its out-buildings; for the court in which the temple stood, and that without it called the *court of the women*, were built round with stately buildings and cloisters; and the gates entering thereinto were very beautiful and sumptuous. And the outer court, which was a large square encompassing all the rest, of seven hundred and fifty feet on every side, was surrounded with a most stately and magnificent cloister, sustained by three rows of pillars on three sides of it, and by four on the fourth: and all the out-buildings then lay in their rubbish, without any prospect of a speedy reparation; and there could then be no such ornaments or materials in this new temple as these were in the former. In process of time, indeed, all the out-buildings were restored, and such ornaments and materials were added, on Herod's repairing of it, that the second temple, after that, came little short herein of the former; and there are some who will say that it exceeded it.² But still what was the main glory of the first temple, those extraordinary marks of the divine favour with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the second. The Jews reckon them up in these five particulars:³ 1. The ark of the covenant, and the mercy-seat which was upon it; 2. The Shechinah, or divine presence; 3. The Urim and Thummin; 4. The holy fire upon the altar; and, 5. The spirit of prophecy.

1. The ark of the covenant was a small chest,⁴ or coffer, three feet nine inches in length, and two feet three inches in breadth, and two feet three inches in height; in which were put the two tables of the law, as well the broken ones (say the rabbins) as the whole;⁵ and that there was nothing else in it, when it was brought into Solomon's temple, is said in two places of scripture.⁶ But the rabbins raise a controversy concerning Aaron's rod and the pot of manna, and the original volume of the law written by Moses' own hand, whether they were not also in the ark. It is said of Aaron's rod,⁷ and the pot of manna,⁸ that they were laid up before the testimony; and it being agreed on all hands, that by the testimony are meant the two tables, those who interpret these words [*before the testimony*] in the strictest sense, will have the said rod and pot of manna to have been laid up immediately before the tables within the ark; for otherwise, say they, they would not have been laid up before the testimony, but before the ark. But others, who do

1 2 Chron. iii. 8.

2 R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, part 3. c. 51.

3 Talmud Bab. in Yoma, c. 1. f. 21. and Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2. f. 65.

4 Exod. xxv. 10-22.

5 For the proof of this they bring the second verse of the tenth chapter of Deuteronomy, which they read thus: "And I will write on the tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest, and hast put in the ark." And it is true, the word is *vashamata*, i. e. "thou hast put." in the preter tense; but it being with a *vau* before it, that turns the preter tense into the future, and therefore it must be read, "thou shalt put them," as in our translation, and not, "thou hast put them," as the authors of this opinion would have it.

6 1 Kings viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10.

7 Numb. xvii. 10.

8 Exod. xvi. 33, where "to lay up before the Lord," is, by the Jewish commentators, interpreted as the same with "before the testimony of the Lord."

not understand the words in so strict a sense, say, they were laid up in the holy of holies without the ark, in a place just before it: thinking that in this position, without the ark, they may be as well said to be laid up before the testimony or tables of the law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the ark. But the holy apostle St. Paul decides this controversy; for he positively tells us, "That within the ark were the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant."¹ As to the book, or volume of the law, it being commanded to be put *mitzzad*,² i. e. *on the side* of the ark those who interpret that word of the inside, place it within the ark, and those who interpret it of the outside, place it on the outside of it, in a case or coffer made on purpose for it, and laid on the right side; meaning, by the right side, that end of it which was on the right hand. And the last seem to be in the right as to this matter; for, first, The same word, *mitzzad*,³ is made use of, where it is said, that the Philistines sent back the ark with an offering of jewels of gold put in a coffer *by the side of it*. And there it is certain, that word must be understood of the outside, and not of the inside. Secondly, The ark was not of capacity enough to hold the volume of the whole law of Moses, with the other things placed therein. Thirdly, The end of laying up the original volume of the law in the temple was, that it might be reserved there as the authentic copy, by which all others were to be corrected and set right; and, therefore, to answer this end, it must have been placed so as that access might be had thereto on all occasions requiring it; which could not have been done, if it had been put within the ark, and shut up there by the cover of the mercy-seat over it, which was not to be removed. And, fourthly, When Hilkiah, the high-priest,⁴ in the time of Josiah, found the copy of the law in the temple, there is nothing said of the ark; neither is it there spoken of, as taken from thence, but as found elsewhere in the temple. And, therefore, putting all this together, it seems plain that the volume of the law was not laid within the ark, but had a particular coffer or repository of its own, in which it was placed on the side of it. And the word *mitzzad*, which answers to the Latin *a latere*, cannot truly bear any other meaning in the Hebrew language. And therefore the Chaldee paraphrase, which goes under the name of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, in paraphrasing on these words of Deuteronomy—"Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant,"⁵ renders it thus, "Take the book of the law, and place it in a case or coffer, on the right side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God." Over the ark was the mercy-seat,⁶ and it was the covering of it. It was all made of solid gold, and of the thickness (say the rabbins) of a hand's-breadth. At the two ends of it were two cherubims, looking inward toward each other, with wings expanded, which embracing the whole circumference of the mercy-seat, did meet on each side in the middle; all which (say the rabbins⁷) was made out of the same mass, without joining any of the parts by solder.⁸ Here it was where the Sechinah, or divine presence, rested both in the tabernacle and temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it; and from hence the Divine oracles were given out by an audible voice,⁹ as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people. And hence it is that God is so often said in scripture to dwell between the cherubims,¹⁰ that is, between the cherubims on the mercy-seat, because there was the seat or throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them. And for this reason the high-priest appeared before this mercy-seat once every year,¹¹ on the great day of expiation, when he was to make his nearest approach to the divine presence, to mediate and make atonement for the whole people of Israel. And all else of that nation, who served God according to the Levitical law, made it the centre of their worship,

¹ Heb. ix. 4. and hereto agree Abarbanel on 1 Kings viii. 9. and R. Levi Ben Gersom.

² Deut. xxxi. 26.

³ 2 Kings xxii. 8.

⁴ Deut. xxxi. 26.

⁵ 1 Sam. vi. 8.

⁶ R. Levi Ben Gersom. R. Solomon, Abarbanel, and others.

⁶ Exod. xxv. 17—22.

⁷ Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89.

⁸ Levit. xvi. 2.

⁹ 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15. 1 Chron. xiii. 6. Ps. lxxx. i. ic. l.

¹⁰ Levit. xvi. 29—34. Numb. xxix. 7. Heb. ix. 7. Talmud in Yoma.

not only in the temple when they came up thither to worship, but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world, whenever they prayed, they turned their faces toward the place where the ark stood,¹ and directed all their devotions that way. And therefore the author of the book Cozri justly saith,² that the ark, with the mercy-seat and cherubims, were the foundation, root, heart, and marrow, of the whole temple, and all the Levitical worship therein performed. And therefore, had their nothing else of the first temple been wanting in the second but the ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old men to have wept when they remembered the first temple in which it was, and also for the saying of Haggai, that the second temple was as nothing in comparison of the first,³ so great a part had it in the glory of this temple as long as it remained in it. However, the defect was supplied as to the outward form; for in the second temple there was also an ark made of the same shape and dimensions with the first,⁴ and put in the same place. But though it was there substituted in its stead (as there was need that such a one should for the service that was annually performed before it on the great day of expiation,) yet it had none of its prerogatives or honours conferred upon it; for there were no tables of the law, no Aaron's rod, no pot of manna in it, no appearance of the divine glory over it, no oracles given from it. The first ark was made and consecrated by God's appointment, and had all these prerogatives and honours given unto it by him. But the second, being appointed and substituted by man only, to be in the stead and place of the other, could have none of them. And the only use that was made of it, was to be a representative of the former on the great day of expiation, and to be a repository of the holy scriptures; that is, of the original copy of that collection which was made of them after the captivity by Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue, as will be hereafter related: for when this copy was perfected, it was there laid up in it. And, in imitation hereof, the Jews in all their synagogues have a like ark or coffer,⁵ of the same size or form, in which they keep the scriptures belonging to the synagogue; and from whence they take it out with great solemnity whenever they use it, and return it with the like when they have done with it. That there was any ark at all in the second temple, many of the Jewish writers do deny; and say, that the whole service of the great day of expiation was performed in the second temple, not before any ark, but before the stone on which the ark stood in the first temple.⁶ But since, on their building of the second temple, they found it necessary, for the carrying on of their worship in it, to make a new altar of incense, a new shew-bread table, and a new candlestick, instead of those which the Babylonians had destroyed, though none of them could be consecrated as in the first temple, there is no reason to believe but that they made a new ark also; there being as much need of it, for the carrying on of their worship, as there was of the others. And since the holy of holies, and the veil that was drawn before it, were wholly for the sake of the ark, what need had there been of these in the second temple, if there had not been the other also? Were it clear, that it is the figure of the ark that is on the triumphal arch of Titus, still remaining at Rome, this would be an undeniable demonstration for what I here say; for therein his triumph for the taking of Jerusalem being set forth in sculpture, there is to be seen, even to this day, carried before him in that triumph the golden candlestick, and another figure, which Adrichomius and some others say is the ark: but Villalpandus, Cornelius a Lapide, Ribara, and the generality of learned men who have viewed that triumphal arch, tell us that it is the table of shew-bread. The obscurity of the figures, now almost worn out by length of time, makes the difficulty: but, by the exactest draughts that I have seen of it, it plainly appears to have

1 1 Kings viii. 48. Dan. vi. 10.

2 Chap. ii. 3.

3 Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam, c. 14.

4 This the rabbins call the stone of foundation, and give us a great deal of trash about it. See the Mishna in Yoma, and Buxtorf. de Arca, c. 22.

5 Part 2. s. 28.

6 Lightfoot on the temple, c. 15. s. 4.

been the shew-bread table, especially from the two cups on the top of it; for two such cups filled with frankincense were always put upon the shew-bread table, but never upon the ark. Josephus, who was present at the triumph of Titus, and saw the whole of it, tells us of three things therein carried before him: first, The shew-bread table; secondly, The golden candlestick (which he mentions in the same order as they are on the arch;) and, thirdly, The law, which is not on the arch. Most likely it was omitted there only for want of room to engrave it: for as there is the figure of a table carried aloft before the shew-bread table, and another before the golden candlestick, to express by the writings on them what the things were which they were carried before; so, after the golden candlestick, there is on the said arch a third table without any thing after it, the arch there ending without affording room for any other sculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt was what Josephus saith was carried in the third place, that is, the law; which is not to be understood of any common volume (of which there were hundreds every where in common use, both in their synagogues and in private hands,) but of that which was found in the temple (as the other two particulars were,) and laid up there, as the authentic and most sacred copy of it. And it cannot be imagined it should be carried otherwise, than in that repository in which it was laid, that is, in the ark which was made for it under the second temple. But, to return to the ark under the first temple, which was that I was describing: it was made of wood,¹ excepting only the mercy-seat, but overlaid with gold both in the inside and the outside, and it had a ledge of gold surrounding it on the top, in form of a crown; into which, as into a socket, the cover was let in. The place where it stood was the innermost and most sacred part of the temple,² called the holy of holies, and sometimes the most holy place, which was ordained and made on purpose for its reception; the whole end and reason of that most sacred place being none other but to be a tabernacle for it. This place or room was of an exact cubic form,³ as being thirty feet square, and thirty feet high. In the centre of it the ark was placed upon a stone (say the rabbins,⁴ rising there three fingers'-breadth above the floor, to be as it were a pedestal for it. On the two sides of it stood two cherubims fifteen feet high,⁵ one on one side, and the other on the other side, at equal distance between the centre of the ark and each side wall; where, having their wings expanded, with two of them they touched the said side walls, and with the other two they did meet and touch each other exactly over the middle of the ark; so that the ark stood exactly in the middle between these two cherubims. But it is not in respect of these, that God is so often said in scripture to dwell between the cherubims, but in respect of the cherubims only, which were on the mercy-seat, as hath been observed: for most of those places of scripture, wherein this phrase is found, were written before Solomon's temple was built; and till then there were no such cherubims in the most holy place; for they were put there in the temple only, and not in the tabernacle. These cherubims stood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly represented, but with their faces inward;⁶ and therefore were in the posture of figures worshipping, and not in the posture of figures to be worshipped, as some fautors of idolatry do assert. The ark, while it was ambulatory with the tabernacle, was carried by staves on the shoulders of the Levites.⁷ These staves were overlaid with gold, and put through golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the ark, as all hitherto have asserted, but on the two ends of it; which plainly appears from this, that when it was carried into the temple of Solomon, and fixed there in the most holy place, which was ordained and prepared on purpose for it, the scriptures tell us, that the staves being drawn out, reached downward toward the holy place, which was without the most holy place, or holy of holies: for, had they been on the sides of the ark

1 Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 17.

4 1 Kings vi. 20.

8 Exod. xxv. 13, 14, &c. and xxvii. 5.

9 1 Kings vii. 8.

5 Yoma, c. v. s. 2.

2 Exod. xxv. 10-22.

6 1 Kings vi. 23.

Numb. iv. 4-6.

1 Chron. xv. 15.

3 1 Kings viii. 16.

7 2 Chron. iii. 12.

lengthway, they would, on their being drawn, have reached toward the side wall, and not downward, unless you suppose the ark to have been there put sideway, with one of its ends downward, and the other upward; which no one will say. And it is a plain argument against it, that the high-priest, when he appeared before the ark on the great day of expiation, is said to have gone up to it between the staves;¹ but if these staves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two feet three inches between them, which would not have afforded the high-priest room enough, with all his vestments on, to have passed on between them toward the ark, for the performance of that duty. Neither could the bearers, in so near a position of the staves to each other, go with any convenience in the carrying of the ark from place to place on their shoulders; but they must necessarily have incommoded each other, both before and behind, in going so near together. What became of the old ark, on the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, is a dispute among the rabbins.² Had it been carried to Babylon with the other vessels of the temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity. But that it was not so is agreed on all hands, and therefore it must follow, that it was destroyed with the temple, as were also the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, and the golden candlestick; for all these in the second temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the Jews contend that it was hid and preserved by Jeremiah, say some, out of the second book of Maccabees.³ But most of them will have it that king Josiah,⁴ being foretold by Huldah the prophetess that the temple would speedily after his death be destroyed, caused the ark to be put in a vault under ground, which Solomon, foreseeing this destruction, had caused of purpose to be built, for the preserving of it. And, for the proof hereof, they produce the text where Josiah commands the Levites to put the holy ark in the house, "which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build;"⁵ interpreting it of his putting the ark into the said vault, where they say it hath lain hid ever since even to this day, and from thence shall be manifested and brought out again in the days of the Messiah; whereas the words import no more, than that Manasseh, or Ammon, having removed the ark from whence it ought to have stood, Josiah commanded it again to be restored into its proper place. Other dotages of the rabbins concerning this ark I forbear troubling the reader with.

II. The second thing wanting in the second temple which was in the first, was the Shechinah, or the divine presence, manifested by a visible cloud resting over the mercy-seat, as hath been already shown. This cloud did there first appear when Moses consecrated the tabernacle, and was afterward, on the consecrating of the temple by Solomon, translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible manner till that temple was destroyed; but, after that, it never appeared more. Its constant place was directly over the mercy-seat;⁶ but it rested there only when the ark was in its proper place, in the tabernacle first, and afterward in the temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the tabernacle.

III. The third thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Urim and Thummim*. Concerning this, many have written very much; but, by offering their various opinions, have helped rather to perplex than explain the matter. The points to be inquired into concerning it, are these two, 1st. What it was? and, 2dly, What was the use of it?

1st. As to what it was, the scripture hath no where explained it any farther, than to say, that it was something which Moses⁷ did put into the breast-plate of the high-priest. This breast-plate⁸ was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were, set in sockets of gold, twelve precious stones, bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraven on them; which, being fixed

¹ Mishna in Yoma. c. 5. Maimonides in Avothath. Yom Haccipurim.

² Vide Buxtorfium de Arca. c. 21. 22.

³ 2 Mac. ii.

⁴ Vide Buxtorfium, ibid.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

⁶ Levit. xvi. 2.

⁷ Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

⁸ Ibid. xxviii. 15—30. xxix. 8—21.

been the shew-bread table, especially from the two cups on the top of it; for two such cups filled with frankincense were always put upon the shew-bread table, but never upon the ark. Josephus, who was present at the triumph of Titus, and saw the whole of it, tells us of three things therein carried before him: first, The shew-bread table; secondly, The golden candlestick (which he mentions in the same order as they are on the arch;) and, thirdly, The law, which is not on the arch. Most likely it was omitted there only for want of room to engrave it: for as there is the figure of a table carried aloft before the shew-bread table, and another before the golden candlestick, to express by the writings on them what the things were which they were carried before; so, after the golden candlestick, there is on the said arch a third table without any thing after it, the arch there ending without affording room for any other sculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt was what Josephus saith was carried in the third place, that is, the law; which is not to be understood of any common volume (of which there were hundreds every where in common use, both in their synagogues and in private hands,) but of that which was found in the temple (as the other two particulars were,) and laid up there, as the authentic and most sacred copy of it. And it cannot be imagined it should be carried otherwise, than in that repository in which it was laid, that is, in the ark which was made for it under the second temple. But, to return to the ark under the first temple, which was that I was describing: it was made of wood,¹ excepting only the mercy-seat, but overlaid with gold both in the inside and the outside, and it had a ledge of gold surrounding it on the top, in form of a crown; into which, as into a socket, the cover was let in. The place where it stood was the innermost and most sacred part of the temple,² called the holy of holies, and sometimes the most holy place, which was ordained and made on purpose for its reception; the whole end and reason of that most sacred place being none other but to be a tabernacle for it. This place or room was of an exact cubic form,³ as being thirty feet square, and thirty feet high. In the centre of it the ark was placed upon a stone (say the rabbins,⁴ rising there three fingers'-breadth above the floor, to be as it were a pedestal for it. On the two sides of it stood two cherubims fifteen feet high,⁵ one on one side, and the other on the other side, at equal distance between the centre of the ark and each side wall; where, having their wings expanded, with two of them they touched the said side walls, and with the other two they did meet and touch each other exactly over the middle of the ark; so that the ark stood exactly in the middle between these two cherubims. But it is not in respect of these, that God is so often said in scripture to dwell between the cherubims, but in respect of the cherubims only, which were on the mercy-seat, as hath been observed: for most of those places of scripture, wherein this phrase is found, were written before Solomon's temple was built; and till then there were no such cherubims in the most holy place; for they were put there in the temple only, and not in the tabernacle. These cherubims stood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly represented, but with their faces inward;⁶ and therefore were in the posture of figures worshipping, and not in the posture of figures to be worshipped, as some fautors of idolatry do assert. The ark, while it was ambulatory with the tabernacle, was carried by staves on the shoulders of the Levites.⁷ These staves were overlaid with gold, and put through golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the ark, as all hitherto have asserted, but on the two ends of it; which plainly appears from this, that when it was carried into the temple of Solomon, and fixed there in the most holy place, which was ordained and prepared on purpose for it, the scriptures tell us, that the staves being drawn out,⁸ reached downward toward the holy place, which was without the most holy place, or holy of holies: for, had they been on the sides of the ark

1 Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 17.

4 1 Kings vi. 20.

5 Yoma, c. v. s. 2.

8 Exod. xxv. 13, 14. &c. and xxvii. 5.

9 1 Kings vii. 8. 2 Chron. v. 9.

2 Exod. xxv. 10-22.

6 1 Kings vi. 23. 2 Chron. iii. 10.

1 Chron. xv. 15.

3 1 Kings viii. 16.

7 2 Chron. iii. 13.

lengthway, they would, on their being drawn, have reached toward the side wall, and not downward, unless you suppose the ark to have been there put sideways, with one of its ends downward, and the other upward; which no one will say. And it is a plain argument against it, that the high-priest, when he appeared before the ark on the great day of expiation, is said to have gone up to it between the staves;¹ but if these staves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two feet three inches between them, which would not have afforded the high-priest room enough, with all his vestments on, to have passed on between them toward the ark, for the performance of that duty. Neither could the bearers, in so near a position of the staves to each other, go with any convenience in the carrying of the ark from place to place on their shoulders; but they must necessarily have incommoded each other, both before and behind, in going so near together. What became of the old ark, on the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, is a dispute among the rabbins.² Had it been carried to Babylon with the other vessels of the temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity. But that it was not so is agreed on all hands, and therefore it must follow, that it was destroyed with the temple, as were also the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, and the golden candlestick; for all these in the second temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the Jews contend that it was hid and preserved by Jeremiah, say some, out of the second book of Maccabees.³ But most of them will have it that king Josiah,⁴ being foretold by Huldah the prophetess that the temple would speedily after his death be destroyed, caused the ark to be put in a vault under ground, which Solomon, foreseeing this destruction, had caused of purpose to be built, for the preserving of it. And, for the proof hereof, they produce the text where Josiah commands the Levites to put the holy ark in the house, "which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build;"⁵ interpreting it of his putting the ark into the said vault, where they say it hath lain hid ever since even to this day, and from thence shall be manifested and brought out again in the days of the Messiah; whereas the words import no more, than that Manasseh, or Ammon, having removed the ark from whence it ought to have stood, Josiah commanded it again to be restored into its proper place. Other dotages of the rabbins concerning this ark I forbear troubling the reader with.

II. The second thing wanting in the second temple which was in the first, was the Shechinah, or the divine presence, manifested by a visible cloud resting over the mercy-seat, as hath been already shown. This cloud did there first appear when Moses consecrated the tabernacle, and was afterward, on the consecrating of the temple by Solomon, translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible manner till that temple was destroyed; but, after that, it never appeared more. Its constant place was directly over the mercy-seat;⁶ but it rested there only when the ark was in its proper place, in the tabernacle first, and afterward in the temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the tabernacle.

III. The third thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Urim and Thummim*. Concerning this, many have written very much; but, by offering their various opinions, have helped rather to perplex than explain the matter. The points to be inquired into concerning it, are these two, 1st. What it was? and, 2dly, What was the use of it?

1st. As to what it was, the scripture hath no where explained it any farther, than to say, that it was something which Moses⁷ did put into the breast-plate of the high-priest. This breast-plate⁸ was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were, set in sockets of gold, twelve precious stones, bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraven on them; which, being fixed

¹ Mishna in Yoma. c. 5. Maimonides in Avodhath. Yom Haccippurim.

² Vide Buxtorfium de Arca, c. 21, 22.

³ 2 Mac. ii.

⁴ Vide Buxtorfium, ibid.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

⁶ Levit. xvi. 2.

⁷ Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

⁸ Ibid. xxviii. 15—30. xxix. 8—21.

to the *ephod*, or upper vestment of the high-priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, say the scriptures,¹ were put. They who hold them to have been some corporeal things there placed beside the stones, will have them to be enclosed within the folding or doubling of the breast-plate, which, they say, was doubled for this very purpose, that it might be made fit, as in a purse, to contain them in it. Christophorus a Castro,² and from him Dr. Spencer,³ tells us, that they were two images, which being thus shut up in the doubling of the breast-plate; did from thence give the oracular answer, by a voice. But this is a conceit, which a late very learned man hath sufficiently shown to be both absurd and impious,⁴ as savouring more of heathenism and idolatry, than of the pure institution of a divine law. Some will have them to be the Tetragrammaton,⁵ or the ineffable name of God, which being written or engraven, say they, in a mysterious manner, and done in two parts, and in two different ways, were the things signified by the *Urim and Thummim*, which Moses is said to have put into the breast-plate; and that these did give the oracular power to it. And many of the rabbins go this way;⁶ for they have all of them a great opinion of the miraculous power of this name: and, therefore, not being able to gainsay the evidence which there is for the miracles of Jesus Christ, their usual answer is, that he stole his name out of the temple,⁷ from the stone of foundation on which it was there written (that is, the stone on which the ark formerly stood,) and keeping it hid always about him, by virtue of that did all his wondrous works. Others, who hold in general for the addition of some things corporeal, denoted by the means of *Urim and Thummim*,⁸ think not fit to inquire, what they were as to the particular, but are of opinion, that they were things of a mysterious nature, hid and closed up in the doubling of the breast-plate, which Moses only knew of, who did put them there, and no one else was to pry into; and that these were the things that gave the oracular power to the high-priest, when he had the breast-plate on. But this looking too much like a talesme, or a spell, which were of those abominations that God abhorred, it will be safest to hold, that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant no such things, but only the divine virtue and power; given to the breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oracular answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high-priest with it on, in such manner as his word did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only, to denote the clearness and perfection which these oracular answers always carried with them; for *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim*, *perfection*: for these answers were not, like the heathen oracles, enigmatical and ambiguous, but always clear and manifest; not such as did ever fall short of perfection, either of fulness in the answer, or certainty in the truth of it. And hence it is, that the Septuagint translate *Urim and Thummim* by the words *Δηλώσις καὶ Ἀληθείαν*, i. e. *manifestation and truth*, because all these oracular answers given by *Urim and Thummim* were always clear and manifest, and their truth ever certain and infallible.

2. As to the use which was made of the *Urim and Thummim*, it was to ask counsel of God in difficult and momentous cases relating to the whole state of Israel. In order whereto the high-priest did put on his robes, and over them his breast-plate, in which the *Urim and Thummim* were, and then presented himself before God to ask counsel of him. But he was not to do this for any private man,⁹ but only for the king, for the president of the Sanhedrin, for the general of the army, or for some other great prince or public governor in Israel,

1 Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

2 De Vaticinio.

3 In Dissertatione de Urim et Thummim.

4 Dr. Pocock in his Comment on Hosea, ch. iii. ver. 4.

5 Paraphrasis Jonathanis in Exod. xxviii. 30. Liber Zohar, fol. 105. Editionis Cremonensis.

6 R. Solomon, R. Moses Ben Nachman, R. Isaac, R. Levi Ben Gerson, aliique.

7 Tolerioth Jesu ex editione Wagenseilii, p. 6. 7. Raymundi Fugio Fidei, part 2. c. 8. Buxtorffii Lexicon Rab. p. 2541.

8 R. David Kimchi, R. Abraham Seva, Aben Ezra, aliique.

9 Mishnah in Yoma, c. 7. s. 5. The Talmudists prove this from Numb. xxvii. 21. See Maimonides in Celo Hammikdash, c. 10. v. 12.

and not for any private affairs,¹ but for such only as related to the public interest of the nation, either in church or state: for he appeared before God with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel upon his breast-plate; and, therefore, whatever counsel he asked was in the name and on the behalf of all the tribes, and consequently it must have been concerning matters which related publicly to them all. The place where he presented himself before God, was before the ark of the covenant,² not within the veil of the holy of holies (for thither he never entered but once a year, on the great day of expiation,) but without the veil in the holy place: and there standing with his robes and breast-plate on, and his face turned directly toward the ark and the mercy-seat over it, on which the divine presence rested, he proposed the matter concerning which counsel of God was asked, and directly behind him at some distance without the holy place, perchance at the door (for farther no layman could approach,) stood the person in whose behalf the counsel was asked, whether it were the king, or any other public officer of the nation, there, with all humility and devotion expecting the answer that should be given. But how this answer was given, is that which is made the great dispute. The most common received opinion among the Jews is,³ that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes grayen on the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high-priest, and that in them he did read the answer. They explain it by the example which we have in the first chapter of the book of Judges.⁴ There the children of Israel, either by the president of the Sanhedrin, or some other officer instructed with the public interest, did ask counsel of God: "Who should go up for us against the Canaanites first to fight against them?"⁵ The answer given by the high-priest, who did by *Urim and Thummin* then ask counsel of God for them, was, "Judah shall go up:"⁶ for having asked the counsel, he did immediately (say they) look into the breast-plate, and saw those letters shining above the rest, and protuberating beyond them, which being combined into words, made up the answer which was given. And this notion was very ancient among them; for both Josephus⁷ and Philo Judæus⁸ have it; and from them several of the ancient fathers of the Christian church give the same account of this matter.⁹ But there are unanswerable objections against it; for, 1st, All the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are not to be found in these twelve names; four of them, that is, *Cheth, Teth, Zaddi,* and *Koph*, being wholly wanting in them; and, therefore, an answer could not be given this way to every thing concerning which counsel might have been asked of God. To solve this, they have added the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to the breast-plate. But still the letter *Teth* will be wanting; and, therefore, farther to botch up the matter, they have added also these words, *Col elle shilte Israel*, i. e. *All these are the tribes of Israel*. But this is not only without any foundation in scripture, but rather contrary to it; for the description of the breast-plate in scripture being very particular, in the reckoning up of all its parts, seems plainly to exclude whatever is not there named. 2dly, The asserters of this opinion do not tell us where the words which they would have added were placed in the breast-plate. They could not be written or engraven on the breast-plate itself; for that was only a piece of cloth. They must therefore be engraven, either on some of the twelve stones, or else on others set there on purpose for it. They could not be on any of the twelve stones, because on them were only engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; and they could not be on other stones, because there were none other set there, but these twelve stones only. And in these two

1 Abaranel in Exod. xxviii. et in Deut. xxxiii. R. Levi Ben Gersom. Maimonid. ibid. alique.

2 Maimonides, ibid. Yalkut. fol. 248. col. 1.

3 Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. s. 11. Zohar in Exodum. Yalkut ex antiquo libro Siphre. R. Becai in Deut. xxxiii. 8. Ramban, R. Levi Ben Gersom. Abaranel. R. Azarias in meor Emiam, R. Abram Seba, alique.

4 Abaranel in Legem, Ramban in Legem.

5 Judges i. 1, 2.

6 Antiq. lib. 3. c. 9.

7 De Monarchia, lib. 2.

8 Chrysostom. Hom. 37. adversus Judeus August. lib. 2. Questionum super Leviticum.

particulars the scriptures are sufficiently positive, to exclude all such additions. 3dly, They that hold this opinion are forced to have recourse to the spirit of prophecy in the high-priest, for the right combining of those shining and protuberating letters that were to make up the words of which the answer did consist; which is a difficulty of itself alone sufficient to explode this conceit. 4thly, There were some answers given of that length (as particularly that in the 2d Samuel, ch. v. ver. 23, 24,) that all the letters in the breast-plate, taking in all those also which the assertors of this opinion have added, will not suffice for them.

It would be too tedious to add all else that might be said to show the absurdity of this opinion. Dr. Spencer deservedly saith of it, that it is a talmudical camel, which no one that is in his wits can ever swallow.

There are also other opinions offered by others concerning this matter. But to me it appears plain from scripture, that when the high-priest appeared before the veil to ask counsel of God, the answer was given him by an audible voice from the mercy-seat, which was within behind the veil. There it was that Moses went to ask counsel of God in all cases,¹ and from thence he was answered by an audible voice; for from thence God communed with him of all those things which he gave him in commandment unto the children of Israel. And in the same way did God afterward communicate his will to the governors of Israel, as often as he was consulted by them, only with this difference, that whereas Moses, through the extraordinary favour that was granted unto him, had immediate access to the divine presence, and God did there commune with him, and speak to him, as it were face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend,² none other was admitted thither to ask counsel of him, but through the mediation of the high priest,³ who in his stead asked counsel for him by *Urim and Thummim*, that is, by presenting himself with the breast-plate on, over all his other robes, before the veil, exactly over against the mercy-seat, where the divine presence rested. And when he thus presented himself in due manner, according to the prescription of the divine law, God gave him an answer in the same manner as he did unto Moses, that is, by an audible voice from the mercy-seat. For in many instances, which we have in scripture,⁴ of God's being consulted this way, the answer in every one of them, except two,⁵ is ushered in with, *The Lord said:* and when the Israelites made peace with the Gibeonites, they are blamed in that they asked not counsel *at the mouth of God*,⁶ both which phrases seem plainly to express a vocal answer; and, taking them both together, I think, they can scarce import any thing else. And for this reason it is, that the holy of holies, the place where the ark and the mercy-seat stood, from whence this answer was given, is so often in scripture called the oracle,⁷ because from thence the divine oracles of God were uttered forth to those that asked counsel of him.

This, I take to be plain, was the manner of consulting God by *Urim and Thummim* in the tabernacle; but how it was done in the camp raiseth another question: for it appeareth by scripture, that either the high-priest, or another deputed in his stead, always went with the armies of Israel to the wars, and carried with him the ephod and breast-plate, therewith to ask counsel of God by *Urim and Thummim* in all difficult emergencies that might happen. Thus Phinehas went to the wars against the "Midianites with the holy instruments,"⁸ that is, say the Jewish commentators, with the ephod and the breast-plate,⁹ which were, say they, put into an ark or coffer made on purpose for it and carried by Levites on their shoulders, as the other ark was. And of this ark they understand that place of scripture, where Saul saith to Ahiah the high-

1 Exod. xxv. 22. xxx. 6. Numb. vii. 89. 2 Exod. xxxiii. 11. 3 Numb. xxvii. 21. Judges xx. 28.
4 Judges i. 1, 2. xx. 18. 23. 28. 1 Sam. x. 22. xxxiii. 2. 4. 11, 12. 2 Sam. ii. 1. v. 19. 23.
5 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. 6 Josh. ix. 14.
7 Psal. xxviii. 2. 1 Kings vi. 5. 16. 19—23. 31. vii. 49. viii. 6. 8. 2 Chron. iii. 16. iv. 20. v. 7. 9.
8 Numb. xxxi. 6.
9 Paraphrasis Chaldaica, Jonathanis Ben Uzziel Textum interpretatur his verbis: Et misit eos Moses, et Phineasum, filium Eleazaris Sacerdotem, ad bellum, et Urim et Thummim Sanctitatis ad interrogandum per ea.

priest, "Bring hither the ark of God;" for this could not be the ark of the covenant; for that was then at Kirjath-Jearim, and never ought to have been removed from its place in the tabernacle to be carried to the wars, or any where else from its proper station, and never was so but once against the Philistines; and then God gave the armies of Israel, and also the ark itself, into the hands of the enemy, for the punishment hereof. It must therefore have been no other ark which Saul called to Ahiah for, than that ark or coffer in which the ephod and breast-plate were carried; and the end for which he called for it shows the thing; for it was to ask counsel of God, for which the ephod and breast-plate served. So that the saying of Saul to Ahiah, "Bring hither the ark," importeth no more than the saying of David afterward to Abiathar in the like case, "Bring hither the ephod."³ For this ark was the coffer in which the ephod was kept, and with which Abiathar fled to David when Saul destroyed his father's house. And of the same ark they understand the saying of Uriah the Hittite unto David, when he excused his not going to his house, and lying with his wife. "The ark," and Israel, and Judah, abide in tents, and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open fields; shall I then go into the house to eat, and to drink, and to lie with my wife?" For if this be understood of the ark of the covenant, and the tent or tabernacle in which it was kept, what he said would have been a reason for him never to have lain with his wife; for that was always kept in such a tent or tabernacle till the temple of Solomon was built. It is most likely, therefore, that the ark which he speaks of, was the ark or coffer in which the ephod and breast-plate were put, which the priest carried with him who was sent to the war.

The priest that was sent on this occasion, that he might be fully qualified to act in the high-priest's stead, whenever there should be occasion for him to ask counsel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, was consecrated to the office by the holy anointing oil,⁴ in the same manner as the high-priest was; and therefore he was called, *The anointed for the wars*. But how he had the answer is the difficulty: for there was no mercy-seat in the camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the oracle, as there was in the tabernacle. And yet that such oracles were given in the camp was certain, from several instances which we have of it in scripture: for David did, by the ephod and breast-plate only, ask counsel of God three several times,⁵ in the case of Keilah; and twice at Ziklag,⁶ once on the pursuit of those who had burned that city, and again on his going from thence for Hebron, there to take possession of the kingdom of Judah, on the death of Saul; and on every one of these times he had an answer given him, though it is certain the ark of the covenant was not then present with him. It is most likely, since God allowed that counsel should be thus asked of him in the camp without the ark, as well as in the tabernacle where the ark was, that the answer was given in the same manner by an audible voice. It seems most probable, that the priest anointed for the wars had a tent in the camp, on purpose there erected for this use, in which a part was separated by a veil, in the same manner as the holy of holies was in the tabernacle, and that, when he asked counsel of God in the camp, he appeared there before that veil in the same manner as the high-priest, on the like occasion, did before that in the tabernacle, and that the answer was given from behind it, though no ark or mercy-seat was there. And the words of Uriah above recited plainly refer us to such a tent. And it cannot be agreeable to a religion of so much ceremony and solemnity, to suppose them to be without it for so sacred an office.

Although this way of asking counsel of God was frequently used during the tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, yet we have no instance of it in scripture during the whole time of the first temple; and it is most certain that it was wholly wanting in

¹ 1 Sam. xiv. 18.² 1 Sam. xxiii. 9.³ 2 Sam. xi. 11.⁴ Maimonides in *Cele Hammikdash*, c. 1 s. 7. and in *Melachim*, c. 7.⁵ 1 Sam. xxiii.⁶ 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. ii. 1.

the second temple; for both Ezra and Nehemiah tell us as much. And hence is that saying among the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim and Thummim*, and under the first temple by the prophets, and under the second by Bath-kol.²

They who would have the *Urim and Thummim* absolutely to have ceased under the first temple, give two reasons for it: 1st, That it was an appendant of the theocracy:³ for as long as God was the immediate governor of Israel, it was necessary, say they, that a method should be established, whereby he might at all times be applied to and consulted with by his people: and, for this reason, they tell us, the oracle by *Urim and Thummim* was appointed. But when the theocracy ceased (which, they say, it did, when Solomon the first hereditary king sat upon the throne,) this oracle ceased with it. And 2dly, they say that the *Urim and Thummim* was established to ask counsel only about that which belonged to the common interest of all Israel; and therefore, whenever the high-priest asked counsel of God this way, it was with the names of all the tribes of Israel upon his breast, to denote that what was asked was for the common interest of all of them. But that common interest ceasing upon the division of the kingdom, this way of asking counsel of God must, in the nature of the thing, have then ceased also, as being no longer practicable. But how far these arguments may conclude, is left to every one to consider.

IV. The fourth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the holy fire, which came down from heaven upon the altar.⁴ It descended first upon the altar in the tabernacle, at the consecrating of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood; and afterward it descended anew upon the altar in the temple of Solomon,⁵ at the consecrating of that temple. And there it was constantly fed and maintained by the priests day and night, without suffering it ever to go out, in the same manner as it had been before in the tabernacle, and with this all the offerings were offered that were made by fire. And, for using other fire, were Nadab and Abihu consumed by fire from the Lord. This, say some of the Jewish writers, was extinguished in the days of Manasseh.⁶ But the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans. After that it was never more restored; but instead of it they had only common fire in the second temple. For what is said of its being hid in a pit by Jeremiah,⁷ and again brought thence, and revived upon the altar in the second temple, is a fable that deserves no regard.

V. The fifth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the spirit of prophecy. But this was not wholly wanting there: for the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, lived after the second temple was built, and prophesied under it. But, on their death, which (say the rabbins) happened all in one year, the prophetic spirit wholly ceased from among them.

Besides these five things, there was wanting also a sixth, that is, the holy anointing oil⁸ which was made by Moses for the anointing and consecrating of the king, the high-priest, and all the sacred vessels made use of in the house of God. And for this use it was commanded to be kept by the children of Israel throughout their generations. And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most holy place. And as the original copy of the law was placed there on the right side of the ark of the covenant; so perchance the vessel containing this oil was placed on the other side of it, and there kept, till the first temple being destroyed that also was destroyed with it. Every king was not anointed,⁹ but only the first of the family: for he being anointed for himself, and all the successors of his race, they needed no other anointing; only if there arose any difficulty or dispute about the succession, then he that obtained it, though of the same family, was anointed anew to put an end to the controversy, and

¹ Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65.

² By this the Jews mean a voice from the clouds, such as was heard from thence concerning our Saviour Matt. iii. 7. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17.

³ Spencerus De Urim et Thummim, c. 2. s. 2.

⁴ Levit. ix. 24.

⁵ 2 Chron. vii. 1.

⁶ Talmud in Zebachim, cap. 6.

⁷ 2 Mac. i. 18, 19.

⁸ Exod. xxx. 22-33.

⁹ Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1. s. 11.

after that no one was to question the title; and this was the case of Solomon, Joash, and Jehohaz. But every high-priest was anointed at his consecration, or first admission to the office, and so also was the priest that went in his stead to the wars.² The vessels and utensils that were anointed were the ark of the covenant,³ the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the golden candlestick, the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and all the other vessels and utensils belonging to them. And as by this anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the tabernacle by Moses,⁴ so in case any of them were afterward decayed, destroyed, or lost, they could, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again restored, by making and consecrating new ones in their place, of the same virtue and holiness with the former. But this being wanting in the second temple, the want hereof caused a want of sanctity in all things else belonging to it: for although, on the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and the rebuilding of their temple, they did anew make an ark, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, a golden candlestick, an altar of burnt-offerings, and a laver, with the other vessels and utensils belonging to them, and did put them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uses; yet, through want of the holy anointing oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that holiness under the second temple, which they had under the first; and their high-priest, who officiated in that temple, was no otherwise consecrated, than by the putting on of his vestments.⁵ So that the want of this one thing only in the second temple, caused a great want and defect in all things else that were therein; every thing in it falling short of its former holiness by reason hereof. And therefore this anointing oil might well, under the second temple, have been reckoned among the principal things that were wanting in it. But the Jews superstitiously confine themselves to the number of five particulars in this reckoning. For, in the eighth verse of the first chapter of Haggai, where God saith of the second temple, "I will take pleasure in it, and will be glorified," the Hebrew word *Aicabedha*, i. e. *I will be glorified*, being written without the letter *He* at the end of it, which it ought to have been written with, they make a mystery of it, as if this letter (which is the numerical letter for five,) were there left out for this purpose,⁶ that the want of it might denote the five things of the first temple that were wanting in the second; and therefore will not add a sixth. But, however, there are some among them, who, to make room for it, contract the Shechina and the spirit of prophecy under one and the same head, and, instead of them two (which are two of the particulars above mentioned,) put the Holy Spirit, as reckoning them no other than different manifestations of the same Holy Spirit of God, the one in a place, and the other in a person, and thereby, without altering the number of five in the reckoning up of these defects, have given the holy anointing oil a place among them; and therefore name them as followeth.⁷ 1. the ark of the covenant, with the mercy-seat; 2. The holy fire; 3. The *Urim and Thummim*; 4. The holy anointing oil; and, 5. The Holy Spirit. And these, as well as many other particulars of the glory of the first temple, being wanting in the second, there was reason enough for those to weep at the rebuilding of the second temple,⁸ who remembered the first. But all these wants and defects were abundantly repaired in the second temple when the desire of all nations, the Lord, whom they sought, came to this his temple, and Christ our Saviour, who was the truest Shechinah of the Divine Majesty honoured it with his presence; and, in this respect, the glory of the latter house did far exceed the glory of the former house. And herein the prophecies of the prophet Haggai,⁹ which foretold it should be so, had a very full and thorough completion.

An. 534. Cyrus 3.]—The Samaritans, hearing that the Jews had begun to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, came thither,⁹ and, expressing a great desire

1 Exod. xxx. 30.

4 Ibid. xi.

5 Maimonides in Cele Hamikdash, c. 1. s. 8.

7 Mat. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 7.

Vol. I.—21

2 Maimonides in Cele Hamikdash, c. 1. s. 7.

3 Exod. xxx. 26—29.

6 Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2.

8 Ibid. ii. 9.

9 Ezra iv.

of being admitted to worship God at the same temple in joint communion with them, offered to join with them in the building of it; telling them, that, ever since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, they had worshipped the same God that they did. But Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the elders of Israel, made answer to them, that they, not being of the seed of Israel, had nothing to do to build a temple to their God with them; that Cyrus's commission being only to those of the house of Israel, they would keep themselves exactly to that, and, according to the tenor of it, build the house to the Lord their God themselves, without admitting any other with them into the work. The reason of this answer was, they saw they intended not sincerely what they said, but came with an insidious design to get an opportunity, by being admitted among them, of doing them mischief. And, besides, they were not truly of their religion: for although, from the time that they had been infested with lions in the days of Esarhaddon, they had worshipped the God of Israel; yet it was only in conjunction with their other gods,¹ whom they had worshipped before, and therefore, notwithstanding their worship of the true God, since they worshipped false gods too at the same time, they were in this respect idolaters: and this was reason enough for the true worshippers of God to have no communion with them. At which the Samaritans being much incensed, they did all they could to hinder the work; and although they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed, by bribes and underhand dealings with his ministers, and other officers concerned herein, to put obstructions to the execution of it, so that for several years the building went but very slowly on,² which the Jews resenting, according as it deserved, this became the beginning of that bitter rancour which hath ever since been between them and the Samaritans; which, being improved by other causes, grew at length to that height, that nothing became more odious to a Jew than a Samaritan;³ of which we have several instances in the Gospels; and so it still continues. For, even to this day, a Cuthæan (that is, a Samaritan,) in their language, is the most odious name among them, and that which, in the height of their anger, by way of infamy and reproach, they bestow on those they most hate and abominate. And by this they commonly call us Christians, when they would express the bitterness of their hatred against us.

By these underhand and subdolous dealings, the work of the temple being much retarded, and Cyrus's decree in many particulars defeated of its effect, this seems to have been the cause, that, in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel did give himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together.⁴ After this, on the twenty-fourth day of that month, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans; of which the three last chapters of his prophecies contain an account. And, by what is written in the conclusion of the last of them, he seems to have died soon after; and his great age makes it not likely that he could have survived much longer. For the third of Cyrus being the seventy-third year of his captivity, if he were eighteen years old at his carrying to Babylon (as I have shown before, is the least that can be supposed,) he must have been in the ninety-first year of his age at this time; which was a length of years given to few in those days. He was a very extraordinary person both in wisdom and piety, and was favoured of God, and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah, and other great events of after-times, are the clearest and the fullest of all that we have in the holy scriptures, insomuch that Porphyry,⁴ in his objections against them, saith, they must have been written after the facts were done: for it seems they rather appeared to him to be a narration of matters before transacted, than a prediction of things to come; so great an agreement was there between the facts, when accomplished, and the

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 3.² Ezra iv. 5. Joseph. Antig. lib. 11. c. 2.³ Hieronymus in Proemio ad Comment. in Danielen.⁴ Dan. x.

prophecies which foretold them. But notwithstanding all this, the Jews do not reckon him to be a prophet;¹ and therefore place his prophecies only among the Hagiographa: and they serve the Psalms of David after the same rate. The reason which they give for it in respect of both is, that they lived not the prophetic manner of life, but the courtly;² David in his own palace, as king of Israel, and Daniel in the palace of the king of Babylon, as one of his chief counsellors and ministers in the government of that empire. And, in respect of Daniel, they farther add, that, although he had divine revelations delivered unto him, yet it was not in the prophetic way, but by dreams and visions of the night,³ which they reckon to be the most imperfect manner of revelation, and below the prophetic. But Josephus,⁴ who was one of the ancientest writers of that nation, reckons him among the greatest of the prophets; and says farther of him, that he had familiar converse with God, and did not only foretell future events, as other prophets did, but also determined the time when they should come to pass; and that, whereas other prophets only foretold evil things, and thereby drew on them the ill-will both of princes and people, Daniel was a prophet of good things to come, and, by the good report which his predictions carried with them on this account, reconciled to himself the good-will of all men. And the event of such of them as were accomplished, procured to the rest a thorough belief of their truth, and a general opinion that they came from God. But what makes most for this point with us, against all that contradict it, our Saviour Christ acknowledgeth Daniel to be a prophet; for he so styles him in the gospel:⁵ and this is a sufficient decision of this matter.

But Daniel's wisdom reached not only to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. And Josephus⁶ tells us of a famous edifice built by him at Susa in the manner of a castle (which he saith was remaining in his time,) and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been newly built. Within this edifice, he saith, was the place where the Persian and Parthian kings used to be buried; and that, for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. The copies of Josephus that are now extant, do indeed place this building in Ecbatana in Media; but St. Jerome,⁷ who gives us the same account of it word for word out of Josephus, and professeth so to do, placeth it in Susa in Persia; which makes it plain, that the copy of Josephus, which he made use of, had it so: and it is most likely to have been the true reading; for Susa being within the Babylonish empire, the scripture tells us, that Daniel had sometimes his residence there;⁸ and the common tradition of those parts hath been for many ages past, that Daniel died in that city, which is now called Tuster,⁹ and there they show his monument even to this day. And it is to be observed, that Josephus calls this building Baris, which is the same name by which Daniel himself calls the castle or palace at Shushan or Susa. For what we translate, at Shushan in the palace,¹⁰ is, in the original, Beshushan Habirah, where, no doubt, the Birah of Daniel is the same with the Baris of Josephus; and both signify this palace or castle there built by Daniel, while he was governor of that province: for there he did the king's business,¹¹ i. e. was governor for the king of Babylon.

Part of the book of Daniel is originally written in the Chaldee language, that is, from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the end of the seventh chapter: for there the holy prophet treating of Babylonish affairs, he wrote of them in the Chaldee or Babylonish language. All the rest is in Hebrew. The

1 Hieronymi Prefatio in Daniele. Maimonides in Moreh Nevochim, part 2. c. 45.

2 Vide Grotium in Prefatione ad Comment. in Esaiam, et Huetii demonstrationem Evangelicam, prop. 4. c. 14. s. de prophetia Danielis.

3 Maimonides, ibid. David Kimchi in Prefatione ad Comment. in Psalmos.

4 Matt. xiv. 15.

5 Antiq. lib. x. c. 12.

6 Comment. in Dan. viii. 2.

7 Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

8 Susa, or Shushan.

9 Benjaminis Itinerarium.

10 Dan. viii. 2.

11 Ibid. 27.

Greek translation of this book,¹ used by the Greek churches through all the eastern countries, was that which was translated by Theodotion. In the Vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, there is added in the third chapter, after the twenty-third verse, between that and the twenty-fourth verse, the Song of the Three Children; and, at the end of the book, the History of Susanna. and of Bel and the Dragon; and the former is made the thirteenth and the other the fourteenth chapter of the book in that edition. But these editions were never received into the Canon of holy writ by the Jewish church;² neither are they extant either in the Hebrew or the Chaldee language; nor is there any evidence that they ever were so. That there are Hebraisms in them can prove no more, than that they were written by a Hebrew in the Greek tongue, who transferred the idioms of his own tongue into that which he wrote in, as is usual in this case. And that they were thus originally written in the Greek tongue by some Hellenistical Jew, without having any higher fountain, from whence they are derived, appears from this, that in the History of Susanna, Daniel, in his replies to the elders, alludes to the Greek names of the trees,³ under which, they said, the adultery, which they charged Susanna with, was committed; which allusions cannot hold good in any other language. However, the church of Rome allows them to be of the same authority with the rest of the book of Daniel, and, by their decree at Trent,⁴ have given them an equal place with it among the canonical scriptures. But the ancients never did so. Africanus, Eusebius, and Apollinarius, have rejected those pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but also as fabulous; and Jerome⁵ gives the History of Bel and the Dragon no better title than that of the fables of Bel and the Dragon.⁶ And others who have been content to admit them for instruction of manners, have yet rejected them from being parts of the canonical scripture; whom the Protestant churches following herein, do give them a place in their Bibles among the apocryphal writings, but allow them not to be canonical.

In the death of Daniel, the Jews having lost a powerful advocate in the Persian court, this gave their enemies the greater advantage of succeeding in their designs against them. But although they prevailed by underhand dealings to divert those encouragements, which Cyrus had ordered for the carrying on of the work, yet they could not put an open stop to it. So that, as far as the Jews of themselves were able, they still carried on the work; in which they were much helped by the Tyrians and the Zidonians,⁷ not only in furnishing them with masons, and other workmen and artificers, but chiefly in bringing the cedars, which Cyrus had given them, out of the forest of Mount Libanus, from thence to Joppa by sea; from which place they were carried by land to Jerusalem. For the Tyrians and Zidonians, being wholly given to traffic and navigation, did very little addict themselves to the planting of oliveyards, or vineyards, or the tillage of the ground, neither had they indeed any territory for either: for their gain being very great by sea, they did not set themselves to make any enlargements by land, but were in a manner pent up within the narrow precincts of the cities in which they dwelt; and therefore, having very little of corn, wine, or oil of their own, they depended mostly on their neighbours for these provisions; from whom they had them either for their money, or by way of barter and exchange for other commodities, which they supplied them with, and they were mostly furnished this way out of the Jews' country,⁸ and therefore they readily assisted them with their labour and shipping, to be supplied with these necessa-

1 Hieronymus in Prefatione ad Daniele et in Proemio ad Comment. in eundem. 2 Ibid.

3 In the examination of the elders, when one of them said, *That he saw the adultery committed vno ἄνδρι, i. e. under a mastick tree*, Daniel answers in allusion to ἄνδρι, *The angel of God hath received sentence of God ἄνδρι: ὁ ἄνδρι, i. e. to cut thee in two*. And when the other elder said it was vno ἄνδρι, i. e. under an holm tree, Daniel answers in allusion to the word ἄνδρι, *The angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword ἄνδρι: ὁ ἄνδρι, i. e. to cut thee in two*. Vide Hieron. ibid.

4 Sessio. 4to.

5 Hieronymus, ibid.

6 Peter Comestor doth also so call them, as doth likewise Erasmus in Scol. super Pref. Hieronymi in Daniele.

7 Ezra iii. 7.

8 Acts xii. 20.

ries in exchange for it. So that as it was by their help that Solomon built the first temple; so also was it by their help that the Jews were enabled to build the second.

An. 530. Cyrus 7.]—In the seventh year after the restoration of the Jews died Cyrus,¹ their great benefactor, after he had reigned, from his first taking on him the command of the Persian and Median armies, thirty years;² from his taking of Babylon, nine years;³ and from his being sole monarch of the east, after the death of Cyaxares, or Darius the Median, his uncle, seven years,⁴ being at the time of his death seventy years old.⁴ There are different accounts of the manner of his death. Herodotus,⁵ Diodorus Siculus,⁶ and Justin,⁷ tells us, that, having invaded the Scythians, he was there cut off with all his army, consisting of two hundred thousand men. But Xenophon⁸ makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends, and in his own country: and this is by much the more probable account of the two; for it is by no means likely that so wise a man as Cyrus was, and so advanced in years as he then was, should engage in so rash an undertaking, as that Scythian expedition is described to be by those who tell us of it. Neither can it be conceived, how, after such a blow, his new-erected empire could have been upheld, especially in the hands of such a successor as Cambyses was, or how it could be possible, that he should so soon after be in a condition to wage such a war as he did with the Egyptians, and make such an absolute conquest of that country as he did. That such a wild-headed man could settle himself so easily in his father's new-erected empire, and hold it in such quiet at home, and, so soon after his coming to it, enlarge it with such conquests abroad, could certainly be owing to nothing else, but that it was founded in the highest wisdom, and left to him in the highest tranquillity. Besides, all authors agree, that Cyrus was buried at Pasargada in Persia;⁹ in which country, Xenophon saith, he died, and his monument there continued to the time of Alexander. But if he had been slain in Scythia, and his body there mangled by way of indignity to it, in such a manner as Herodotus and Justin do relate, how can we suppose it could ever have been brought thence out of the hands of those enraged barbarians to be buried at Pasargada?

An. 529. Cambyses 1.]—This Cambyses, who succeeded his father Cyrus, is in scripture called Ahasuerus.¹⁰ As soon as he was settled in the throne, the enemies of the Jews, knowing him to be of a temper fit to be worked upon for the doing of mischief, instead of opposing the Jews in their building the temple by secret machinations, and underhand dealings with the ministers of the court, and other subordinate officers, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addressed the king himself to put a stop to the work. But it seems he had so much respect for the memory of his father, that he could not be induced publicly to revoke his decree. However, he otherwise defeated in a great measure the design of it, by several discouragements which he put upon it, so that the work went but heavily on all his reign.

An. 528. 2. Cambyses.]—Cambyses had not long been king, ere he resolved upon a war with the Egyptians,¹¹ by reason of some offence taken against Amasis their king. Herodotus tells us, it was because Amasis, when he desired of him one of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of Apries instead of one of his own. But this could not be true, because Apries having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough at that time to be acceptable to Cambyses. They speak with more probability, who say, it was Cyrus and not Cambyses, to whom this daughter of Apries was sent.¹² Her name, they say, was Nitetis; and for some time she concealed her true parentage, and was content to go for the daughter of Amasis. But at length, having had several children by Cyrus, and fully secured herself in his favour

1 Cyropedia, lib. 8.

2 Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1.

3 Can. Ptolemei.

4 Cyropedia, lib. 8.

5 Lib. 1.

6 Lib. 2. p. 90.

7 Lib. 1. c. 8.

8 Cyropedia, lib. 8.

9 Strabo, lib. 15. p. 730. Plutarchus in Vita Alexandri, Q. Curtius, Arrianus, alique.

10 Ezra iv. 6.

11 Herodotus, lib. 2. Justin. lib. 1. c. 9. Athenæus, lib. 13. p. 560.

12 Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 8. et Ægyptii apud Herodotum, lib. 3. in initio. Athenæus. ibid.

and affection, she discovered to him the whole truth of the matter, and excited him all she could to revenge upon Amasis her father's wrong; which he intended to have done, as soon as his other affairs would have permitted; but dying before he could execute his intentions, Cambyses (who they say was her son) undertook the quarrel on her account, and made this war upon Egypt for no other reason than to revenge upon Amasis the case of Apries. But it is most likely, that whereas Amasis had subjected himself to Cyrus, and become his tributary, he did on his death withdraw his obedience from his successor, and that this was the true cause of the war; for the carrying on whereof Cambyses made great preparations both by sea and land.¹ For the sea-service, he engaged the Cypriots and the Phœnicians to help him with their fleets; and for the war by land, besides his other forces, he had a great number of Greeks, Ionians, and Æolians, in his army, who were the main strength of it. But the greatest help he had in this war was from Phanes, an Hallicarnassean, who being a commander of some of the Grecian auxiliaries that were in the service of Amasis, on some disgust given him, revolted to Cambyses, and made those discoveries to him, of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the then state of their affairs, as chiefly conducing to the making of that expedition successful. And it was by his advice, that Cambyses contracted with the Arabian king, that lay next the borders of Palestine and Egypt, to supply him with water, while he passed the deserts that lay between these two countries; where accordingly it was brought him on camels' backs; without which he could never have marched his army that way. Being therefore thus prepared, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. [*An. 526. Cambyses 4.*]—On his arrival on the borders, he found Amasis was newly dead, and that Psammenitus his son, being made king in his stead, was drawing together a great army to oppose him. To make his passage open into the country, it was necessary for him to take Pelusium, which was as the key of Egypt on that side. But that being a strong place, it was like to give him much trouble: for the preventing hereof by the counsel, it is supposed of Phanes, he had recourse to this stratagem.² Finding that the garrison were all Egyptians, in an assault which he made upon the city, he placed a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other of those animals, which the Egyptians reckoned sacred, in the front of the army; and therefore the soldiers, not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of killing some of those animals, Cambyses made himself master of the place, without any opposition: for these being the gods which the Egyptians then adored, it was reckoned the highest impiety to kill any of them,³ and when they died of themselves, they buried them with the greatest solemnity. By the time that Cambyses had taken this place, Psammenitus came up with his army to oppose his farther progress;⁴ whereon ensued a bloody battle between them. At the beginning of it, the Greeks that were in Psammenitus's army, to be revenged on Phanes for his revolt to the enemy, brought forth his children (whom he was forced to leave behind him on his flight,) and slew them in the front of the battle, in the sight of both armies, and drank their blood. But this served them not in any stead for the victory: for the Persians being exasperated by a spectacle of so horrid a nature, fell on with such fury and rage to revenge it, that they soon vanquished and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The remainder fled to Memphis, where Cambyses, pursuing them, on his arrival thither, sent into the city by the Nile, on which it stood, a ship of Mitylene, with a herald to summon them to a surrender; but the people rising on him, in their rage slew the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But Cambyses, after a short siege, having taken the place, sufficiently revenged their death, causing ten Egyptians of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those that were thus slain; and the eldest son of Psammenitus was one of the number. As to Psammenitus him-

¹ Herodotus lib. 3.
² Herodotus lib. 3.

³ Polyænus, lib. 7.

⁴ Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. p. 52.

self, Cambyses was inclined to have dealt kindly with him: for at first he gave him his life, and allowed him wherewith honourably to live, but he not being contented herewith, endeavoured to raise new troubles for the recovery of his crown; whereon he was forced to drink bull's blood, and so ended his life. His reign was only six months. For so much time only intervened from the death of his father to the taking of Memphis; when he fell into the hands of the enemy, and all his power ceased; for hereon all Egypt submitted to Cambyses. [*An. 523. Cambyses 5.*]—This happened in the fifth year of his reign; and he reigned three years after. The Lybians, Cyrenians, and Barceans, hearing of this success, sent ambassadors with presents to make their submission to him. From Memphis he went to Sais, where the Egyptian kings, for several descents past, had kept their usual residence; and there, entering into the palace, caused the body of Amasis to be dug up out of his grave, and after all manner of indignities had been offered thereto in his presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burned: which rage against the carcase, sheweth the anger which he had against the man; and whatsoever it was that provoked it, this seems to be the cause that brought him into Egypt.

[*An. 524. Cambyses 6.*]—The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he designed three expeditions; the first against the Carthaginians, the second against the Hammonians, and the third against the Ethiopians. But the Phœnicians refusing to assist him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them (they being a colony of the Tyrians,) and not being able to carry on that war without them, he was forced to drop this project. But his heart being intent upon the two, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that name, were to serve them as spies, to learn and bring him an account of the state and strength of the country. But the Ethiopians, being fully apprized of the end of their coming, treated them with great contempt. And the Ethiopian king, in return for the present they brought him from Cambyses, sent him back only his bow, advising him then to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the Persians could as easily draw that bow as they could; and, in the mean time, to thank the gods, that they never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own country. With which answer Cambyses, being exceedingly exasperated, immediately on the receipt of it, in a mad irrational humour, commanded his army forthwith to march (without considering that they were furnished neither with provisions nor any other necessaries for such an expedition,) leaving only the Grecian auxiliaries behind, to keep the country in awe during his absence. On his coming to Thebes, in the Upper Egypt, he detached from his army fifty thousand men to go against the Hammonians, with orders to destroy their country, and burn the temple of Jupiter Hammon, that stood in it. But, after several days' march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought them in such a torrent upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. In the interim Cambyses madly marched on with the rest of the army against the Ethiopians, though he wanted all manner of provisions for their subsistence, till at length, they having eaten up all their beasts of burden, they came to feed upon each other, setting out every tenth man by lot for this purpose. By this, Cambyses being convinced that it was time for him to return, marched back his army to Thebes, after having lost a great part of it in this wild expedition; and from thence returned to Memphis: when he came thither, he dismissed all the Greeks to their respective homes; but, on his entry into the city, finding it all in mirth and jollity, because their god Apis had then appeared among them, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this rejoicing to have been for the ill success of his affairs: and, when he called the magistrates, and they gave him a true account of the matter, he would not believe them; but caused them to be put to death, as imposing a lie upon him. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that their god, having manifested himself unto

them (which seldom happened,) it was always their custom to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy that they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him; and therefore commanded them forthwith to bring him unto him.

The chief god of the Egyptians was Osiris,¹ and him they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and that not only in imagery, but also in reality. For they kept a bull in the temple of Osiris, which they worshipped in his stead. At Heliopolis he was called Mnevis; at Memphis, Apis. The marks of Apis were these.² His body was to be all black, excepting a square spot of white on his forehead. He was also to have the figure of an eagle, say some, of a half-moon, say others, on his back, a double list of hair on his tail, and a scarabæus or knot under his tongue. When they had found such a one, they brought him with great rejoicing to the temple of Osiris, and there kept him, and worshipped him for that god, as long as he lived; and, when he was dead, they buried him with great solemnity, and then sought for another with the same marks, which sometimes it was for many years ere they could find; and such a one they having found, on Cambyzes' return to Memphis, from his Ethiopic expedition, this was the reason of their great rejoicing at that time. And, in imitation of this idolatry was it, that Aaron made the golden calf in the wilderness, and Jeroboam those in Dan and Bethel, and did set them up there to be worshipped by the children of Israel, as the gods that had brought them out of the land of Egypt.

This Apis being brought to Cambyzes, he fell into a rage, as well he might, at the sight of such a god, and drawing out his dagger, run it into the thigh of the beast; and then, reproaching the priests for their stupidity and wretchedness, in worshipping a brute for a god, ordered them severely to be whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis to be slain, that should be found any more rejoicing there on this occasion. The Apis being carried back to the temple, there languished of his wound, and died.

The Egyptians say, that, after this act (which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that was ever found among them,) Cambyzes was stricken with madness: but his actions showed him to have been mad long before; of which he continued to give divers instances. They tell us of these following:—

He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother; his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyzes in his Egyptian expedition; but being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which Cambyzes' ambassadors brought him back from the Ethiopian king, Cambyzes from hence contracted such an envy against him, that he could no longer bear him in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And, not long after, dreaming that one came, and told him, that Smerdis sat on the throne, he thereon suspecting of his brother what was afterward fulfilled by another of his name, sent after him, into Persia, Prexaspes, one of his chiefest confidants, with orders to put him to death; which he accordingly executed. And when one of his sisters, who was with him in the camp, on the hearing of it, lamented his death, he gave her such a blow with his foot in the belly, that she died of it. She was the youngest of his sisters, and, being a very beautiful woman, he fell violently in love with her, so that nothing could satisfy him, but that he must have her to wife: whereon he called together all the royal judges of the Persian nation, to whom the interpretation of their laws did belong, to know of them whether they had any law that would allow it. They being unwilling to authorize any incestuous marriage, and at the same time fearing his violent temper, should they contradict him therein, they gave him this crafty answer: They had no law indeed that permitted a brother to marry his sister; but they

¹ Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

² Herodotus, lib. 3. Plin. lib. 8. c. 46. Solinus, c. 35. Ammianus Marcellinus, c. 22.

had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. which, serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation of the thing, he solemnly married her; and hereby gave the first example to that incest which was afterward practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far, as to marry their own daughters. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions; and her name being Meroe, he from her gave that name to the island in the Nile,¹ between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it, which, in all our maps of the old geography, it still bears (for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians.) And she being with child by him when he struck her, the blow caused an abortion; and of this she died: and so vile a marriage deserved no better an end. He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, without any cause deserving of it, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. And when Cræsus advised him against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences which they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, did therefore defer the execution, he caused them all to be executed for it, because they had not obeyed his commands; although, at the same time, he expressed great joy that Cræsus was alive. And, out of a mere humour only, to show his skill in archery, he shot to death a son of Prexaspes, who was the chief of his favourites. And in such wild actions he wore out the seventh year of his reign.

An. 522. Cambyses 8.]—In the beginning of the eighth year, he left Egypt, and returned toward Persia. On his coming into Syria, he there met with a herald, who being sent from Shushan, came into the army, and there proclaimed Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, king, and commanded all men to obey him. The meaning of this was, Cambyses, when he departed from Shushan on the Egyptian expedition, placed there in the supreme government of his affairs, during his absence, Patizithes, one of the chiefs of the Magians. This Patizithes had a brother, who did very much resemble Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and was (for that reason perchance) called by the same name. As soon as he had been fully informed of the death of that prince (which had been concealed from most others,) and found that the extravagances of Cambyses were grown to a height no longer to be borne, he placed this brother of his on the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and forthwith sent out heralds into all parts of the empire to give notice hereof, and command obedience to be paid unto him. Cambyses having seized him that came with this message to the army, on the examining of him, and on the examining of Prexaspes, whom he had sent to kill his brother, found, that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and that this was none other than Smerdis the Magian, who had invaded the throne; whereon much lamenting that he had been led, by the identity of the name, to murder his brother; he gave orders for his army forthwith to set forward to suppress the usurper; but as he mounted his horse for the march, his sword falling out of the scabbard, gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died in a few days after. The Egyptians remarking, that it was in the same part of the body where he had before wounded the Apis, reckoned it an especial judgment from Heaven upon him for that act, and perchance they were not much out in it: for it seldom happened, in an affront given to any particular mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded hereby. There are many instances in history wherein God hath very signally punished the profanations of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry. While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana; which understanding of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither. But what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria: for the town, where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana;² of

¹ Strabo, lib. 17. p. 790. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 2. c. 10.

² There are many instances of such, who, on their over curious inquiry into their future fate, have been

which: when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must there die, he called for all the chief of the Persians together, and acquainting them with the true state of the case, that his brother was certainly dead, and that it was Smerdis the Magian that then reigned, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to the cheat, and thereby permit the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was; but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. But the Persians, thinking all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; but, on his death, quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis. And it being the usage of the eastern kings, in those times, to live retired in their palaces, and there transact all their affairs by the intercourse of their eunuchs, without admitting any else, unless those of their highest confidants, to have access to them, the Magian exactly observed this conduct; and therefore, being never seen in public, this made it the harder for them to discover the cheat.

Cambyzes reigned seven years and five months:¹ the remaining seven months of the eighth year was the reign of the Magian. Herodotus calls him Smerdis (as hath been already said,) Æschylus Mardus, Ctesias Spendadates, and Justin Orapastes, but in the scripture he is called Artaxerxes.² As soon as he was settled in the kingdom, after the death of Cambyzes, the Samaritans wrote a letter to him,³ setting forth, that the Jews were rebuilding their city and temple at Jerusalem; that they, having been always a rebellious people, there was reason to suspect, that, as soon as they should have finished that work, they would withdraw their obedience from the king, and pay no more toll nor tribute; which might give an occasion for all Syria and Palestine to revolt also, and the king be excluded from having any more portion on that side the River Euphrates. And, for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made, according to the purport of it, into the records of former times concerning the behaviour of the Jews under the Assyrian and Babylonish empires; and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any farther, and sent to the Samaritans to see it put into execution; who immediately, on the receipt hereof, went up to Jerusalem, and having exhibited their order to the Jews, made them desist by force and power from going on any farther with the work of the house; so it wholly ceased till the second year of Darius, king of Persia, for about the space of two years. The king that now reigned, having been a chief leader of the sect of the Magians, against whom the Jews were in the utmost opposition in point of religion, the aversion he had to them on this account, no doubt, farthered this decree against them.

That Cambyzes was the Ahasuerus, and Smerdis the Artaxerxes, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said in scripture to be the kings of Persia,⁴ that reigned between the time of Cyrus, and the time of that Darius, by whose decree the temple was finished; but that Darius being Darius Hystaspes (as will be unanswerably demonstrated in its proper place,) and none reigning between Cyrus and that Darius in Persia, but Cambyzes and Smerdis, it must follow from hence, that none but Cambyzes and Smerdis could be the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, who are said in Ezra to have put a stop to this work.

in the same manner described. Thus Henry IV. of England, being foretold that he should die at Jerusalem, was suddenly taken sick in the abbey of Westminster's house, and died there in Jerusalem Chamber. And so Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, being foretold, that he should die at Madrigal, carefully avoided going thither. But while he was thus, as he thought, avoiding his death, he found it at Madrigalejo, or Little Madrigal, a poor little village he had never before heard of; for, as he was accidentally passing through it, he was suddenly taken ill; and, being carried into a poor cottage, the best reception the place could afford him, he died there, in a hole scarce large enough to receive his bed.

1 Herodotus, lib. 3.

2 Ezra iv. 7.

3 Ibid. 7-24.

4 Ibid. 5-7.

But though Smerdis was thus unkind to the Jews, he studied to show grace and favour to all others,¹ that so, gaining their affections, he might the better secure himself in the possession of the throne which he had usurped. And therefore, as soon as he had taken on him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects a freedom from taxes, and an immunity from all military services for three years; and also did so many other things for their benefit, as made his death to be very much lamented by a great many of them on the change that after followed. And, farther to secure himself, he took to wife Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, aiming thereby to hold the empire by her title, if in case of a discovery he could not be allowed to have any of his own. She had before been the wife of Cambyses: for, after he had, upon the decision above mentioned, married one of his sisters, he took this other to wife also. And the Magian, while he pretended to be her brother, married her on the same foot.

But these steps which he took for his security, made it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis; for if he were, there would have been no need (it was said) of using all these arts and precautions for his establishment in the empire. And the care which he took never to be seen in public augmented the suspicion. To be fully satisfied in this matter, Otanes, a noble Persian, brother of Cassandana (who is said by Herodotus to have been mother to Cambyses, and the true Smerdis's brother,) having a daughter named Phedyma, that had been one of Cambyses' wives, and was now kept by the Magian in the same quality, sent to her to know, whether it were Smerdis the son of Cyrus that she lay with, or else some other man. The answer which she returned was, that she having never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then, by a second message, bid her inquire of Atossa (who could not but know her own brother,) whether this were he or no: whereon she having informed him, that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never conversed with each other, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa to ask this question of her; he sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, while he slept, to feel whether he had any ears or no: for Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime that deserved it, he told her, that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy herself, that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus; but that if she found it was otherwise, he was certainly Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to; and finding hereon, that the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to her father of it, and hereby the whole fraud became detected. Whereon Otanes, taking to him six other of the nobility of the Persians, entered into the palace, and there falling on the usurper, and his brother Patizithes, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, slew them both; and then bringing out their heads to the people, declared unto them the whole imposture. Which did set them into such a rage, that they fell on the whole sect which the impostor was of, and slew all of them that they met with that day. For which reason the said day, on which this was done, thenceforth became an annual festival among them; and, for a long while after, it was celebrated every year by the Persians, in commemoration of the discovery of this imposture, and their deliverance from it. And by reason of the great slaughter of the Magians then made, it was called *Magophonia*, or the slaughter day of the Magians. And it was from this time that they first had the name of the Magians; which signifying the *crop-eared*, it was then given unto them by way of nick-name and contempt, because of this impostor who was thus cropped. For *miqe-gush* signified, in the language of the country then in use, one that had his ears cropped; and, from a ringleader of that sect, who was thus cropped,² the author of the famous Arabic Lexicon called Camus, tells us, they had all this name given unto them. And what Herodotus, and Justin, and other authors, write of this Smer

¹ Herodotus, lib. 3.

² Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146.

dis, plainly shows that he was the man. After this the whole sect of the Magians grew into that contempt, that they would soon have sunk into an utter extinction, but that a few years after it was, under the name of a reformation, again revived by Zoroastres; of which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place.

In the interim, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that at this time all the idolatry of the world was divided between two sects, that is, the worshippers of images,¹ who were called the Sabians, and the worshippers of fire, who were called the Magians. The true religion, which Noah taught his posterity, was that which Abraham practised, the worshipping of one God, the Supreme Governor and Creator of all things, with hopes in his mercy through a Mediator: for the necessity of a Mediator between God and man was a general notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning: for being conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, they could not conceive how it was possible for them, of themselves alone, to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and supreme Governor of all things. They considered him as too high, and too pure, and themselves too low and polluted, for such a converse; and therefore concluded, that there must be a Mediator, by whose means only they could make any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the Mediator whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address unto him by mediators of their own choosing. And their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being, that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motion; and that these intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest beings to become the mediators between God and them. And therefore, the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made a choice of them in the first place for their gods-mediators, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for; and accordingly they directed divine worship unto them as such. And here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world. They first worshipped them *per sacella*, that is, by *their tabernacles*, and afterward by images also. By these *sacella*, or *tabernacles*, they meant the orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the *sacella*, or *sacred tabernacles*, in which the intelligences had their habitations. And therefore, when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship toward the planet in which they supposed he dwelt: but these orbs, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address to them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to the invention of images; in which, after their consecration, they thought these intelligences, or inferior deities, to be as much present by their influence, as in the planets themselves; and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this was the beginning of image-worship among them. To these images were given the names of the planets they represented, which were the same they are still called by. And hence it is, that we find Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, to be first ranked in the polytheism of the ancients; for they were their first gods. After this, a notion obtaining, that good men departed, had a power with God also to mediate and intercede for them, they deified many of those, whom they thought to be such; and hence the number of their gods increased in the idolatrous times of the world. This religion first began among the Chaldeans; which their knowledge in astronomy helped to lead them to. And from this it was, that Abraham separated himself when he came out of

¹ Vide ibid. p. 138. Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonidem in Moreh Nevochim. Hottingerl Historiam Orientalem, lib. 4. c. 8. Historiam Religionis veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde.

Chaldea From the Chaldeans it spread itself all over the east, where the professors of it had the name of Sabians. From them it passed into Egypt, and from thence to the Grecians, who propagated it to all the western nations of the world. And therefore, those who mislike the notion advanced by Maimonides,¹ that many of the Jewish laws were made in opposition to the idolatrous rites of the Sabians, are much mistaken, when they object against it, that the Sabians were an inconsiderable sect, and therefore not likely to have been so far regarded in that matter. They are now, indeed, since the growth of Christianity and Mahometism in the world, reduced to an inconsiderable sect; but anciently they were all the nations of the world that worshipped God by images. And that Maimonides understood the name in this latitude, is plain from hence, that he tells us, the Sabians, whom he spoke of, were a sect whose heresy had overspread almost all mankind.² The remainder of this sect still subsists in the east, under the same name of Sabians, which they pretend to have received from Sabius, a son of Seth. And among the books wherein the doctrines of their sect are contained, they have one, which they call the book of Seth, and say, that it was written by that patriarch. That which hath given them the greatest credit among the people of the east is, that the best of their astronomers have been of this sect, as Thebet Ebn Korrah, Albattani, and others; for the stars being the gods they worshipped, they made them the chief subject of their studies. These Sabians, in the consecrating of their images, used many incantations, to draw down into them from the stars those intelligencies for whom they erected them, whose power and influence they held, did afterward dwell in them. And from hence the whole foolery of telesms, which some make so much ado about, had its original.

Directly opposite to these were the Magians, another sect, who had their original in the same eastern countries; for they abominating all images worshipped God only by fire.³ They began first in Persia, and there, and in India, were the only places where this sect was propagated; and there they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles;⁴ one of which was the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil, that is to say, God and the devil; that the former is represented by light, and the other by darkness as their truest symbols; and that, of the composition of these two, all things in the world are made; the good god they name Yazdan, and also Ormuzd, and the evil god, Ahraman; the former is by the Greeks called Oramasdes, and the latter Arimanius. And therefore, when Xerxes prayed for that evil upon his enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their best and bravest men from them, as the Athenians had Themistocles,⁵ he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oramasdes, their good god. And concerning these two gods there was this difference of opinion among them, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, there were others that contended that the good god was eternal, and that the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his world to himself, that is, the good god his world with all good men with him, and the evil god his world with evil men with him; that darkness is the truest symbol of the evil god, and light the truest symbol of the good god. And therefore, they always worshipped him before fire, as being the cause of light, and especially before the sun, as being in their opinion the perfectest fire, and causing the perfectest light. And for this reason, in all their temples, they had fire continually burning on altars, erected in them for that purpose. And,

¹ In Moreh Nevochim.

² Ibid. part. 1. c. 63.

³ Vide Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 145, 147, &c. et Historiam Religionis Veterum Persarum per Thom. Hyde.

⁴ This opinion Manes the heretic received from them, and would have introduced it into the Christian religion, it being the principal point which those of his heresy, called from him Manichees, endeavoured to impose upon the world.

⁵ Plutarchus in Themistocle.

before these sacred fires they offered up all their public devotions, as likewise they did all their private devotions before their private fires in their own houses. Thus did they pay the highest honour to light, as being in their opinion the truest representative of the good god; but always hated darkness, as being, what they thought, the truest representative of the evil god, whom they ever had in the utmost detestation, as we now have the devil: and, for an instance hereof, whenever they had occasion in any of their writings to mention his name, they always wrote it backward, and inversed, as thus, *uuyey*. And these were the tenets of this sect, when, on the death of Cambyzes, Smerdis and Patizithes, the two chiefest ringleaders of it, made that attempt for the usurping of the sovereignty which I have mentioned.

An. 521. Darius 1.]—The seven princes,¹ who had slain these usurpers, entering into consultation among themselves about the settling of the government, on the sixth day after came to this agreement:—That the monarchy should be continued in the same manner as it had been established by Cyrus; and that, for the determining which of them should be the monarch, they should meet on horseback the next morning against the rising of the sun, at a place in the suburbs of the city, which they had appointed for it, and that he whose horse should first neigh, should be the king; for the sun being then the great deity of the Persians, and equally adored by them all, whether of the Sabian or Magian sect, by this method they seemed to refer the election to it. But the groom of Darius, one of the seven princes, being informed of what was agreed on, made use of a device which secured the crown to his master; for the night before having tied a mare to the place where they were the next morning to meet, he brought Darius's horse thither, and put him to cover the mare; and therefore, as soon as the princes came thither at the time appointed, Darius's horse, at the sight of the place, remembering the mare, ran thither and neighed; whereon he was forthwith saluted king by the rest; and accordingly placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a noble Persian of the royal family of Achæmenes, who had followed Cyrus in all his wars. He was at that time governor of the province of Persia, and so continued for many years after his son's advancement to the throne. This Darius, in the writings of the latter Persians, is called Gush-tasph, and his father Lorasph; and, under these names, they are much spoken of in that country even to this day.

The empire of Persia being thus restored, and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven princes, they were afterward admitted to extraordinary honours and privileges under the new king: for they were to have access to his presence at all times, whenever they should desire, unless only when he was accompanying with any of his wives; and their advice was to be first had in the management of all the public affairs of the empire. And whereas the king only wore his turban directly upright, and all others till then with its top reversed, or turned backward, these had it by way of special privilege granted unto them from thenceforth, to wear their turbans with the top turned forward. For they having, when they went in to fall upon the Magians, turned the back part of their turbans forward, that they might by that signal be the better known to each other in the scuffle, in memory of this, as an especial mark of honour, they were permitted to wear their turbans in that manner ever afterward. And from this time the Persian kings of this race had always seven chief counsellors in the same manner privileged, who were their prime assistants in the government, and by whose advice all the public affairs of the empire were transacted; and under this character we find them both in the book of Ezra,² and in the book of Esther,³ made mention of.

As soon as Darius was settled in the throne,⁴ to establish him the firmer in it, he took to wife Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and also another daughter of his called Artistona. The former had been before wife to Cambyzes, her brother, and afterward to Smerdis the Magian, while he usurped the throne. But Artis-

¹ Herodotus, lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10.

² Chap. vii. 14.

³ Chap. i. 14.

⁴ Herodotus, lib. 3.

tona was a virgin when he married her, and was the most beloved by him of all his wives. Besides these, he took also to wife Parmys, the daughter of the true Smerdis, brother of Cambyzes, and Phedyma, the daughter of Otanes, by whose means the imposture of the Magian was discovered, and by these had a great many children, both sons and daughters.

Although, by the death of the usurer, his edict, which prohibited the building of the temple, was now at an end, yet, the Jews neglecting to resume the work, God did for this reason smite the land with barrenness,¹ so that both the vintage and the harvest failed them. [*An. 520. Darius 2.*] But in the second year of Darius, they being by the prophet Haggai informed of the cause of this judgment upon them, and exhorted to the doing of their duty for the averting of it, they betook themselves again to prepare for the carrying on of the work. It was on the first day of the sixth month² (which answers to about the middle of our August) that the word of the Lord, by Haggai the prophet, came to Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, governor of Judea, and to Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, the high-priest, concerning this matter. And, on the twenty-fourth day of the same month,³ they being excited hereby, arose with all the remnant of the people, and obeyed the voice of the Lord, and again applied themselves with all diligence to provide stone and timber, and all other materials that were necessary for the again carrying on of the work. And, to encourage them to go on more vigorously herewith, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month (*i. e.* about the beginning of our October,) another message from God came to them by the same prophet,⁴ which not only assured them of his presence with them herein, to make it prosper in their hands; but also promised them, that the glory of the latter house, when built, should be greater than the glory of the former house;⁵ which was accordingly accomplished, when Christ our Lord came to this his temple, and honoured it with his presence. In all other respects this latter temple, the same prophet tells us,⁶ at its first building, was as nothing in comparison of the former.

In the⁷ eighth month of the same year (which answers to part of our October and part of November,) the word of the Lord came by Zechariah the prophet to the people of the Jews, exhorting them to repentance, and promising them mercy and favour on their obedience hereto.

On the⁸ twenty-fourth day of the ninth month (which fell about the beginning of our December,) the Jews, after they had been employed from the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month in preparing materials for the temple, went on again with the building of it;⁹ whereon the prophet Haggai promised them from God a deliverance from that barrenness of their land with which it had been smitten, and plentiful increase of all its fruits for the future; and also¹⁰ delivered unto Zerubbabel a message from God of mercy and favour unto him.

An. 519. Darius 3.—In the beginning of the next year (which was the third of Darius according to the¹¹ Babylonian and Persian account, but the second according to the Jewish,) the Samaritans understanding that the building of the temple went on again, notwithstanding the stop which they had procured to be put to it in the last reign, they¹² betook themselves again to their old malicious practices for the obstructing of the work; and, therefore, applied themselves to Tatnai, whom Darius had made chief governor, or prefect, of all the provinces of Syria and Palestine (which was¹³ one of the twenty prefectures into which he had lately divided his whole empire,) and made complaint to him against the Jews as to this matter, suggesting, that they proceeded herein without authority,

1 Haggai i. 6. 8.—11. ii. 17. 19. 2 Ibid. i. 1. 3 Ibid. 15. 4 Ibid. ii. 1. 5 Ibid. 9. 6 Ibid. ii. 3.

7 Zech. i. 1.

8 Haggai ii. 18.

9 Ibid. ii. 10—19.

10 Ibid. 30—32.

11 For the Babylonians and the Persians, at this time, began their year from the beginning of January, but the Jews from Nisan, about ten or eleven weeks after. And therefore, seeing the eighth month (which answers in part to our October) was according to Zechariah, (i. 1.) in the second year of Darius, whatsoever was acted from the beginning of January, within a year after, must be in the third year of Darius, according to the Babylonish account, and also according to the exact truth of the matter; for Darius began his reign with the beginning of the Babylonish year.

12 Ezra v. 13—17.

13 Herodotus, lib. 3.

and that it would tend to the prejudice of the king; whereon Tatnai, being accompanied by Setharboznai (who seems to have been then governor of Samaria,) came to Jerusalem to take an account of what was there doing. But Tatnai, being a man of temper and justice, after he had made a view of the building, did not proceed roughly and rashly to put a stop to it, but first inquired of the elders of the Jews, by what authority they had gone on with it. And they having produced to him Cyrus's decree, he would not take upon him to contradict the same, or order any thing contrary to it upon his own authority; but first wrote letters to the king, to know his pleasure concerning it; wherein he fairly stated the case, setting forth the matter of fact, and also the Jews' plea of Cyrus's decree, for the justifying of themselves herein; and thereon requested, that search might be made among the records of the kingdom, whether there were any such decree granted by Cyrus or no, and that thereon the king would be pleased to signify unto them what he would have done herein. Whereon search being made, and the decree being found among the rolls in the royal palace at Ecbatana in Media, where Cyrus was when he granted it, the king resolved to confirm the same: for having lately married two of the daughters of Cyrus, the better to fortify his title to the crown thereby, he thought it concerned him to do every thing that might tend to support the honour and veneration which were due to the memory of that great prince: and, therefore, would suffer nothing to be infringed of that which he had so solemnly granted, but ordered his royal decree to be drawn; wherein recitement being made of the decree of Cyrus, he commanded it in every particular to be observed, and sent it to Tatnai and Setharboznai, to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whosoever should alter the same, or put any obstruction to it, should have his nose pulled down, and that a gallows being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon.

On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month² (that is about the beginning of our February,) the prophet Zechariah had in a vision that revelation made unto him which is contained in the book of his prophecies, from the seventh verse of the first chapter to the ninth verse of the sixth chapter. The substance of which is, to express the mercy that God would show unto his people, in the restoration and redemption of Sion, and the vengeance which he would execute upon those that had oppressed them.

An. 518. Darius 4.—About the beginning of the fourth year of Darius, his decree, which confirmed that of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, was brought to Jerusalem. It was about the beginning of the former year that Tatnai sent to the king about it, and less than a year's time cannot be well allowed for the despatch of such an affair: for the king, then residing in Shushan, in Persia, was at such a distance from Judea, that the journey of the messenger thither to him, could not take up less than three months' time (for³ Ezra was four months in coming to Judea from Babylon, which was at least one quarter of the way nearer;) and, on his arrival, it cannot be supposed, that in a court, where the government of so large an empire was managed, he could immediately come at a despatch. The multiplicity of other affairs there agitated must necessarily detain him some time, before it could come to his turn to be heard for the delivery of his message; and when he had obtained an order to search among the records of the empire for the decree of Cyrus (which we cannot imagine to have been without a farther time of attendance,) he or some other messenger first went to Babylon to make the search there; and, on his failing of finding it in that place, he went from thence to Ecbatana,⁴ the capital of Media, where, having found the enrolment of it (for it seems Cyrus was there when he granted it,) he returned with it from thence to Shushan. In which three journeys and two searches, considering the distance of the said three places from each other, and the vast number of records which, in the registers of so large an empire, must be turned over for the finding of that which was searched for, less than five months could

1 Ezra vi.

2 Zechariah i. 7.

3 Ezra vii. 9.

4 This is the same that is now called Tauris.

not have been expended. And when the record of Cyrus's decree was brought from Ecbatana to Shushan, a month is the least time that can be supposed for the despatch of the new decree which Darius made in confirmation of it; and then three months more must be allowed for the carrying of it to Tatnai, and from him to Judea. All which put together, make a full year from the time of Tatnai's writing his letter, to the time of the arrival of Darius's decree in answer to it. When Tatnai and Setharboznai, on the perusal of it, found how strictly the king required obedience to be given thereto, they durst not but act in conformity to it;¹ and, therefore, they did immediately let the Jews know hereof, and forthwith took care to have it fully and effectually put in execution. And from that time the building of the house went on so successfully, that it was fully finished within three years after: for, by virtue of this decree, the Jews were not only fully authorized to go on with the building, but were also furnished with the expenses of it out of the taxes of the province. This had been granted by Cyrus in the former decree, but by the underhand dealings of the Samaritans and other enemies, in corrupting those through whose hands the administration of the public affairs and public revenues passed, this part of Cyrus's decree was rendered ineffectual during a great part of his reign, and through the whole reign of Cambyzes. And, therefore, during all that time, the Jews being left to carry on the work at their own charges only, and they being then very poor, as being newly returned from their captivity, it went very slowly on. But, being now helped again by the king's bounty, they followed it with that diligence, that they soon brought it to a conclusion.

The publishing of this decree at Jerusalem may be reckoned the thorough restoration of the Jewish state; and, from the thorough destruction of it, in the burning of the city and temple of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, to this time, is just seventy years. The time falling so exactly, and the prophet Zechariah confirming it, by expressing, under the fourth year of Darius,² that the mourning and fasting of the Jews for the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter driving of them out of the land on the death of Gedaliah, was then just seventy years;³ this hath given a plausible handle to some for the placing of the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, spoken of by Jeremiah, at the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of them, at the publication of this decree of Darius. But the scripture plainly tells us, that these seventy years, as prophesied of by the prophet Jeremiah,⁴ began from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and expired on the first of Cyrus,⁵ on his then granting his decree for the rebuilding of the temple, and the return of the Jews again into their own land. But this matter will admit of a very easy reconciliation, for both computations may very well stand together; for, though the Babylonish captivity did begin from the fourth of Jehoiakim, when Nebuchadnezzar first subjugated the land, and carried away to Babylon the first captives, yet it was not completed till he had absolutely destroyed it in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, which was just eighteen years after. And so, likewise, though the deliverance from this captivity, and the restoration of the Jewish state thereon, was begun by the decree of Cyrus in the first year of his reign; yet it was not completed till that decree was put in full vigour of execution by the decree which Darius granted in the fourth year of his reign for the confirmation of it; which was also just eighteen years after. And therefore, if we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, we must reckon from the fourth year of Jehoiakim to the first of Cyrus, which was just seventy years; and, if we reckon from the completion of the captivity to the completion of the restoration, we must reckon from the eleventh of Zedekiah to the fourth of Darius; which was also just seventy years. So that, whether we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, or from the completing of the captivity to the completing of the restoration, Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy

¹ Ezra vi. 13. And Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.
² Zech. vii. 20—23.

³ Zech. vii. 1.

⁴ Jer. xlv.

⁵ Jer. xlv.

years' captivity will be both ways equally accomplished; and therefore, I doubt not, but that both ways were equally intended therein, though the words of the prophecy seem chiefly to refer to the former.

On the publication of this decree of Darius, and the care that was taken to have it fully put in execution, without suffering any of those devices to obstruct it, which had rendered the former decree ineffectual, the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the Jews in Judea and Jerusalem seemed so thoroughly restored, that the Jews, who were in Babylon, on their having had an account hereof, thought it might not be any longer proper to keep those fasts, which hitherto they had observed for seventy years past, for the destruction which Judah and Jerusalem had suffered from the Chaldeans in the time of Zedekiah, as looking on them now to have obtained a thorough restoration from it; and therefore sent messengers to Jerusalem, Sherezer, and Regem-melech,¹ to ask advice of the priests and prophets that were there concerning this matter. For, from the time of the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, the Jews of the captivity had kept four fasts, in commemoration of the calamities which then happened to their nation; the first on the tenth day of the tenth month,² because then Nebuchadnezzar first laid siege to Jerusalem, in the ninth year of Zedekiah; the³ second on the ninth day of the fourth month, because on that day the city was taken; the third⁴ on the tenth day of the fifth month, because then the city and temple were burned by Nebuzaradan; and the fourth⁵ on the third day of the seventh month, because on that day Gedaliah was slain, and the remainder of the people were thereon dispersed and driven out of the land, which completed the desolation of it. Concerning all which fasts, and the question of the Babylonish Jews proposed concerning them, God gave them by the prophet Zechariah that answer which we have in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies. Therein⁶ the fasts, of the fifth and seventh months, are said to have been observed for seventy years past. And, from the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Jewish account (which was the seventeenth, according to the Babylonish account,⁷) when Jerusalem was destroyed, to the fourth year of Darius Hystaspes, when the Jewish state was again thoroughly restored, were just seventy years, according to the Canon of Ptolemy; so the sacred and profane chronology do both exactly agree in this matter. The Jews still observe these four fasts even to this day, though not exactly on the same days in their present⁸ calendar, as in the former.

An. 517. Darius 5.—In the beginning of the fifth year of Darius happened the revolt of the Babylonians,⁹ which cost him the trouble of a tedious siege again to reduce them, for it lasted twelve months. This city having, for many years during the Babylonish empire, been the mistress of the east, and domineered over all the countries round about them, could not bear the subjection which they were fallen under to the Persians, especially after they had removed the imperial seat of the empire from Babylon to Shushan; for that much diminished the grandeur, pride, and wealth, of the place, which they thought they could no other way again retrieve, but by setting up for themselves against the Persians, under a king of their own, in the same manner as they had formerly done, under Nabopollasar, against the Assyrians. And therefore, taking the advantage of the revolution which happened in the Persian empire, first on the death of Cambyses, and after on the slaying of the Magians, they began to lay in all manner of provisions for the war; and, after they had covertly done this for four years together, till they had fully stored the city for many years to come, in the fifth year they broke out into an open revolt, which drew Darius upon

¹ Zech. vii.

² 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. lii. 4. Zech. viii. 19.

³ Jer. xli. 1. Zech. vii. 5. viii. 19.

⁶ Zech. vii. 1.

⁴ Jer. lii. 12. Zech. vii. 3. 5. viii. 19.

⁷ 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12.

⁸ Their present calendar was made by R. Hillel, about the year of our Lord 360. Their former year was a lunar year, reconciled to a solar by intercalations, but in what form is uncertain, only it was always to have its beginning about the time of the vernal equinox, to which season the products of their flocks and their needs, which were required to be used at their feasts of the Passover and the Pentecost, necessarily fixed it.

⁹ Herodotus, lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10. Polybius, lib. 7.

them, with all his forces, to besiege the city. In the beginning of the third year of Darius, we learn from the prophet Zechariah, that¹ the whole empire was then in peace; and therefore the revolt could not then have happened: and the message of Sherezer and Regem-melech from Babylon,² in the fourth year of his reign, proves the same for that year also; and therefore it could not be till the fifth year that this war broke out. As soon as the Babylonians³ saw themselves begirt by such an army, as they could not cope with in the field, they turned their thoughts wholly to the supporting of themselves in the siege: in order whereto, they took a resolution the most desperate and barbarous that ever any nation practised. For, to make their provisions last the longer, they agreed to cut off all unnecessary mouths among them; and therefore, drawing together all the women and children, they strangled them all, whether wives, sisters, daughters, or young children, useless for the wars, excepting only, that every man was allowed to save one of his wives which he best loved, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house. And hereby was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which he foretold,⁴ that "two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widow-hood; and that these should come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their sorceries, and the great abundance of their enchantments." And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves, thus upon themselves, became the executioners of them? And in many other particulars did God execute his vengeance upon this wicked and abominable city, which was foretold by several of the prophets; and the Jews were as often warned to come out of the place,⁵ before the time of its approach, that they might not be involved in it. And especially the prophet Zechariah,⁶ about two years before, sent them a call from God, that is, "to Zion, that dwelt with the daughter of Babylon, to flee and come forth from that land," that they might be delivered from the plague which God was going to inflict upon it. And when Sherezer and Regem-melech returned to Babylon, no doubt they carried back with them, from this prophet, a repetition of the same call: and although it be no where said that they paid obedience to it, and so saved themselves, yet we may take it for certain that they did, and, by seasonably removing from Babylon before the siege began, avoided partaking of the calamities of it: for almost all the prophecies concerning this heavy judgment upon Babylon, speaking of it as the vengeance of God upon them for their cruel dealings with his people, when they were delivered into their hands; and they all at the same time promising peace, mercy, and favour, to all that were of his people, and particularly such a promise having been sent them but the year before by Sherezer and Regem-melech,⁷ it is utterly inconsistent with the whole tenor of these sacred predictions, that any of the Jewish nation should be sufferers with the Babylonians in this war; and therefore we may assuredly infer, that they were all gone out of this place before this war began.

An. 516. *Darius* 6.]—Darius having lain before Babylon a year and eight months,⁸ at length, toward the end of the sixth year of his reign, he took it by the stratagem of Zopyrus, one of his chief commanders: for, he, having cut off his nose and ears, and mangled his body all over with stripes, fled in this condition to the besieged; where feigning to have suffered all this by the cruel usage of Darius, he grew thereby so far into their confidence, as at length to be made the chief commander of their forces; which trust he made use of to deliver the city to his master, which could scarce have been any other way taken: for the walls, by reason of their height and strength, made the place impregnable against all storms, batteries, and assaults; and it being furnished with provisions for a great many years, and having also large quantities of void ground within the city,⁹

1 Zech. i. 11—15.

2 Zech. vii. 1—3.

3 Herodotus, lib. 3.

4 Isa. xlvii. 9.

5 Ibid. xlviii. 20. Jer. i. 8. li. 6. 9. 45.

6 Zech. ii. 6—9.

7 Zech. viii.

8 Herodotus, lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7.

9 Quintus Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Per 90 stadia habitatur, cætera seruat coluntque, ut si externa vis ingruat obsæsis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur.

from the cultivation of which it might annually be supplied with much more, it could never have been starved into a surrender; and therefore, at length, it must have wearied and worn out Darius and all his army, had it not been thus delivered into his hands by this stratagem of Zopyrus, for which he deservedly rewarded him with the highest honours he could heap on him all his life after. As soon as Darius was master of the place, he took away all their hundred gates,¹ and beat down their walls² from two hundred cubits (which was their former height) to fifty cubits; and of these walls only, Strabo,³ and other after-writers, are to be understood, when they describe the walls of Babylon to be no more than fifty cubits high. And as to the inhabitants, after having given them for a spoil to his Persians, who had been before their servants, according to the prophecy of Zechariah (chap. ii. 9,) and impaled three thousand of the most guilty and active of them in the revolt, he pardoned all the rest. But, by reason of the destruction they had made of their women in the beginning of the siege, he was forced to send for fifty thousand of that sex out of the other provinces of the empire to supply them with wives, without which the place must soon have become depopulated for want of propagation.

And here it is to be observed, that the punishment of Babylon kept pace with the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem, according to the prophecy of the prophet Jeremiah (chap. xxv. 12, 13,) whereby he foretold, that, "when the seventy years of Judah's captivity should be accomplished, God would punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and would make it a perpetual desolation, and would bring upon that land all the words which he had pronounced against it." For accordingly, when the restoration of Judah began, in the first of Cyrus, after the expiration of the first seventy years, that is, from the fourth of Jehoiakim to the first of Cyrus, then began Babylon's punishment, in being conquered and subjected to the Persians in the same manner as they had conquered and subjected the Jews to them in the beginning of the said seventy years. And after the expiration of the second seventy years, that is, from the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, when Judah and Jerusalem were thoroughly desolated, to the fourth of Darius, when the restoration of both was completed, then the desolation of Babylon was also in a great measure completed in the devastation which was then brought upon it by Darius. In the first part of their punishment, their king was slain, and their city taken; and thenceforth, from being the "lady of kingdoms,"⁴ and mistress of all the east, it became subject to the Persians. And whereas before it had been the metropolis of a great empire; this honour was now taken from it, and the imperial seat removed from thence to Shushan or Susa (for this seems to have been done in the first year of Cyrus's reign over the whole empire,) and Babylon thenceforth, instead of having a king, had only a deputy residing there, who governed it as a province of the Persian empire. And at the same time that the city was thus brought under, the country was desolated and destroyed, by the inundation that was caused, by turning of the river on the taking of the city, which hath been already spoken of, and thereon it became "a possession for the bittern, and pools of water," as the prophet Isaiah foretold (chap. xiv. 23;) "and the sea came up upon Babylon, and she was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof," according as Jeremiah prophesied hereof (chap. li. 42.) And, in the second part of their punishment, on Darius's taking the place, all that calamity and devastation was brought upon it, which hath been already spoken of; and from that it did never any more recover itself, but languished awhile, and at length ended, according to the words of Jeremiah, "in a perpetual desolation."

An. 515. Darius 7.—In the sixth year of Darius, according to the Jewish account, and on the third day of the twelfth month, called the month of Adar (which answered to part of the third and part of the fourth month of the Baby-

¹ Jer. li. 58. Herodot. *ibid.*

⁴ Isa. xlviii. 5.

² Jer. i. 15. li. 44. 58. Herodot. *ibid.*

³ Strabo, lib. 16

Ionish year, and consequently was in the seventh year of Darius, according to the Babylonish account,¹) the building of the temple at Jerusalem was finished, and the dedication of it was celebrated by the priests and Levites, and all the rest of the congregation of Israel, with great joy and solemnity. And, among other sacrifices then offered, there was a sin-offering for all Israel of twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel; which is a farther addition of proof to what hath been above said, that, on the return of Judah and Benjamin from the Babylonish captivity, some also of each of the other tribes of Israel returned with them out of Assyria, Babylon, and Media, whither they had been before carried, and joining with them in the rebuilding of the temple (to which they had originally an equal right,) partook also in the solemnity of this dedication; otherwise there is no reason why any such offering should have been then made in their behalf. But the most of them that returned being of the tribe of Judah, that swallowed up the names of all the rest; for from this time the whole people of Israel, of what tribe soever they were, began to be called Jews:² and by that name they have all of them been ever since known all the world over.

This work was twenty years in finishing: for so many years were elapsed, from the second of Cyrus, when it was first begun, to the seventh of Darius, when it was fully finished. During the latter part of the reign of Cyrus, and through the whole reign of Cambyses, it met with such discouragements through the fraudulent devices of the Samaritans, that it went but slowly on for all that time: and, during the usurpation of the Magians, and for almost two years after,³ it was wholly suppressed, that is, till toward the latter end of the second year of the reign of Darius. But then it being again resumed, on the preaching of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and afterward encouraged and helped forward by the decree of Darius, it was thenceforth carried on with that vigour, especially through the exhortations and prophecies of the two prophets I have mentioned, that, in the beginning of the seventh year of Darius, it was fully finished, and dedicated anew to the service of God, in the manner as hath been said. In this dedication, the hundred and forty-sixth, the hundred and forty-seventh, and the hundred and forty-eighth Psalms seem to have been sung; for, in the Septuagint version, they are styled the Psalms of Haggai and Zechariah, as if they had been composed by them for this occasion; and this, no doubt, was from some ancient tradition: but, in the original Hebrew, these Psalms have no such title prefixed to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

The decree whereby this temple was finished having been granted by Darius at his palace in Shushan (or Susa, as the Greeks call the place,) in remembrance hereof, the eastern gate,⁴ in the outer wall of the temple, was from this time called the gate of Shushan, and a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till the last destruction of that temple by the Romans.

In the next month after the dedication, which was the month Ninsan, the first of the Jewish year, the temple being now made fit for all parts of the divine service, the passover was observed in it on the fourteenth day of that month,⁵ according to the law of God, and solemnized by all the children of Israel that were then returned from the captivity, with great joy and gladness of heart, because, saith the book of Ezra, "The Lord hath made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel:"⁶ from whence Archbishop Usher infers,⁷ that Babylon must necessarily have been reduced by Darius before this time; for otherwise, he thinks, he could not have been here styled king of Assyria, Babylon being then the metropolis of that kingdom.

1 Ezra vi. 14—18.

2 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. lib. 8.

3 In the first of Esdras. v. 73, it is said, that the time of the stop which was put to the building was two years.

4 See Lightfoot on the Temple, c. 3.

5 Ezra vi. 19—22.

6 Ezra vi. 22.

7 Annales Veteris Testamenti sub A. M. 3489.

And if we will add one stage more to the above mentioned, of the captivity and restoration of Judah, and place the full completion of the captivity in the twenty-third of Nebuchadnezzar according to the Jewish account (which was the twenty-first according to the Babylonish,) when Nebuzaradan carried away the last remainder of the land;¹ and the full completion of the restoration at the finishing of the temple, and the restoration of the divine worship therein, this stage will have the like distance of seventy years: for the dedication of this temple, and the solemnizing of the first passover in it, being in the seventh year of Darius, it will fall in the seventieth year from the said twenty-third of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Ptolemy's Canon.² So that taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of Jeremiah will be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this matter. And here ending the rebuilding of the second temple, I shall herewith end this book.

BOOK IV.

An. 514. Darius 8.—THE Samaritans, still carrying on their former spite and rancour against the Jews, gave them new trouble on this occasion. The tribute of Samaria had been assigned first by Cyrus,³ and afterward by Darius,⁴ for the reparation of the temple at Jerusalem, and the furnishing of the Jews with sacrifices, that oblations and prayers might there daily be offered up for the king, and the royal family, and for the welfare and prosperity of the Persian empire.⁵ This was a matter of great regret and heart-burning to the Samaritans, and was in truth the source and the true original reason of all the oppositions which they made against them: for they thought it an indignity upon them to be forced to pay their tribute to the Jews; and therefore, they did by bribes and other underhand dealings,⁶ prevail with the ministers and other officers, to whose charge this matter belonged, during the latter part of the reign of Cyrus, and all the time of Cambyses, to put a stop to this assignment, and did all else that they could wholly to quash it. But the grant being again renewed by Darius,⁷ and the execution of it so strictly enjoined in the manner as hath been before related, the tribute was thenceforth annually paid, to the end for which it was assigned, without any more gainsaying, till this year. But now, on pretence that the temple was finished (though the out-buildings still remained unrepaired and were not finished till many years after,) they refused to let the Jews any longer have the tribute,⁸ alleging, that it being assigned them for the repairing of their temple, now the temple was repaired, the end of that assignment was ceased, and that consequently the payment of the said tribute was to cease with it, and for this reason would pay it no longer to them. Whereon the Jews, to right themselves in this matter, sent Zerubbabel the governor, with Mordecai and Ananias, two other principal men among them, with a complaint to Darius of the wrong that was done them, in the detaining of his royal bounty from them, contrary to the purport of the edict which he had in that behalf made. The king, on the hearing of the complaint, and the informing of himself about it, issued out his royal order to his officers at Samaria, strictly requiring and commanding them to take effectual care, that the Samaritans observe his edict in paying their tribute to the temple of Jerusalem, as formerly, and no more, on any pretence whatsoever, give the Jews any cause for the future to complain of their failure herein. And after this we hear no more of any opposition or contest concerning this matter till the time of Sanballat, which was many years after.

¹ Jer. lli. 30.

² That is, reckoning the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Jewish account, to be the twenty-first according to the Babylonish account, which Ptolemy went by.

³ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 1.

⁶ Ibid. iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

⁴ Ibid. lib. 11. c. 4.

⁷ Ezra vi.

⁵ Ezra vi. 8—10.

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

From the time of the reduction of Babylon, Darius,¹ had set himself to make great preparations for a war against the Scythians, that inhabited those countries which lie between the Danube and the Tanais; his pretence for it was to be revenged on them for their having invaded Asia, and held it in subjection to them twenty-eight years, as hath been before related. This was in the time of Cyaxares, the first of that name, king of Media, about a hundred and twenty years before But, for want of a better colour for that which his ambition and thirst for conquest only led him to, this was given out for the reason of the war. [*An.* 513. *Darius* 9.]—In order whereto, having drawn together an army of seven hundred thousand men, he marched with them to the Thracian Bosphorus, and having there passed over it on a bridge of boats, he brought all Thrace in subjection to him; and then marched to the Ister, or Danube, where he appointed his fleet to come to him (which consisted mostly of Ionians, and other Grecian nations, dwelling in the maritime parts of Asia, and on the Hellespont;) he there passed over another bridge of boats into the country of the Scythians, and having there, for three months' time, pursued them through several desert and uncultivated countries, where they drew him by their flight, on purpose to harass and destroy his army, he was glad at last to return with one half of them, having lost the other half in this unfortunate and ill-projected expedition. And had not the Ionians, by the persuasion of Hestæus, prince of Miletus (or tyrant, as the Grecians call him,) contrary to the opinion of others among them, stayed with the fleet to afford him a passage back, he and all the rest must have perished also. Miltiades, prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, which lies at the mouth of the Hellespont, being one of those who attended Darius with his ships, was earnest for their departure, and the first that moved it, telling them, that, by their going away, and leaving Darius and his army to perish on the other side of the Danube, they had a fair opportunity of breaking the power of the Persians, and delivering themselves from the yoke of that tyranny which would be to the advantage of every one of their respective countries. This was urged by him in a council of the chief commanders; and would certainly have taken place, but that Hestæus, in answer hereto, soon made them sensible what a dangerous risk they were going to run: for he convinced them, that if this were done, the people of each of their cities, being freed from the fear of the Persians, would immediately rise upon them to recover their liberties; and this would end in the ruin of every one of them, who now, with sovereign authority, under the protection of Darius, securely reigned over them. Which being the true state of their case, this argument prevailed with them; so that they all resolved to stay: and this gave Darius the means of again repassing the river into Thrace, where having left Megabyzus, one of his chief commanders, with part of his army, to finish his conquests in those parts, and thoroughly settle the country in his obedience, he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest, and retired to Sardis, where he stayed all the winter, and the most part of the ensuing year, to refresh his broken forces, and resettle his affairs in those parts of his empire, after the shock that had been given them by the baffle and loss which he had sustained in this ill-advised expedition.

An. 512. *Darius* 10.]—Megabyzus, having reduced most of the nations of Thrace under the Persian yoke, returned to Sardis to Darius, and from thence accompanied him to Susa,² whither he marched back about the end of the year, after having appointed Artaphernes, one of his brothers, governor of Sardis, and Otanes chief commander of Thrace, and the maritime parts adjoining, in the place of Megabyzus. This Otanes was the son of Sisamnes, one of the royal judges of Persia, who having been convicted of bribery and corruption by Cambyses, there is related this remarkable instance of that king's justice toward him; that he caused him to be flayed alive,³ and making with his skin a covering for the seat of the tribunal, made this his son, whom he appointed to suc-

¹ Herodotus, lib. 4. Justin. lib. 2. c. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

³ Ibid. Velarius Maximus, lib. 6. c. 3. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24.

² Herodotus, lib. 5.

ceed him in this office, to sit thereon, that being thus put in mind of his father's punishment, he might thereby be admonished to avoid his crime.

An. 510. Darius 12.]—The Scythians, to be revenged on Darius for his invading their country, passed over the Danube,¹ and ravaged all those parts of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont; whereon Miltiades, to avoid their rage, fled from the Chersonesus; but, on the retreat of the enemy, he returned, and was again reinstated in his former power by the inhabitants of the country.

An. 509. Darius 13.]—About this time Darius, being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them; for which purpose having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus,² a city on the River Indus, and as far up upon it as the borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a city in Caria, and one well skilled in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river, to make the best discoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side; ordering him, for this end, to sail down the current, till he should arrive at the mouth of the river, and that then, passing through it into the southern ocean, he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the Straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea, and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from Caspatyrus, landed in Egypt, at the same place from whence Necho king of Egypt formerly sent out his Phœnicians to sail round the coasts of Africa, which it is most likely was the port where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of the said Red Sea. And from thence he went to Susa, and there gave Darius an account of all the discoveries which he had made. After this Darius entered India with an army, and brought all that large country under him, and made it the twentieth prefecture of his empire;³ from whence he annually received a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the then Persian year, appointing a talent to be paid him for every day in it. This payment was made him according to the standard of the Euboic talent, which was near the same with the Attic; and therefore, according to the lowest computation, it amounted to the value of one million and ninety-five thousand pounds of our money.⁴

An. 504. Darius 18.]—A sedition happening in Naxos,⁵ the chief island of the Cyclades in the Egean Sea, now called the Archipelago, and the better sort being therein overpowered by the greater number, many of the wealthiest of the inhabitants were expelled the island, and driven into banishment; whereon retiring to Miletus, they there begged the assistance of Aristagoras. for the restoring of them again to their country. This Aristagoras then governed that city as deputy to Hestæus, whose nephew and son-in-law he was, Hestæus being then absent at Susa in Persia: for Darius on his return to Sardis, after his unfortunate expedition against the Scythians, being thoroughly informed, that he owed the safety of himself and all his army to Hestæus, in that he persuaded the Ionians not to desert him at the Danube, sent for him to come to him, and having acknowledged his service, bid him ask his reward. Whereon he desired of him the Edonian Myrcinus, a territory on the River Strymon in Thrace, in order to build a city there: and, having obtained his request, immediately on his return to Miletus, he equipped a fleet, and sailed for Thrace, and, having there taken possession of the territory granted him, did forthwith set himself on the enterprise of building his intended city in the place projected. Megabyzus, being then governor of Thrace for Darius, soon saw what danger this might create to the king's affairs, in those parts: for he considered that the new-built city stood upon a navigable river; that the country thereabout afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it

¹ Herodotus, lib. 6.

² Herodotus, lib. 4.

³ Ibid. lib. 3.

⁴ For, according to the lowest valuation, an Attic talent of gold amounts to three thousand pounds of our money.

⁵ Herodotus, lib. 5.

was inhabited by several nations, both of Greeks and Barbarians, which could furnish a great multitude of men fit for military service, both by sea and land; that, if these should get such a crafty and enterprising person as Hestæus at the head of them, they might soon grow to a power, both by sea and land, too hard for the king to master; and that especially since, from their silver and gold mines, of which there were many in that country, they might be furnished with means enough to carry on any enterprise they should undertake. All this, on his return to Sardis, he represented unto the king, who being thereby made fully sensible of the error he had committed, for the remedying of it sent a messenger to Myrcinus to call Hestæus to Sardis to him, under pretence. that having great matters in design, he wanted his counsel and advice concerning them; by which means, having gotten him into his power, he carried him with him to Susa, pretending, that he needed such an able counselor and so faithful a friend to be always about him, to advise with on all occasions that might happen; and that he would make him so far a partaker of his fortunes by his royal bounty to him in Persia, that he should have no reason any more to think either of Myrcinus or Miletus. Hestæus, hereon seeing himself under a necessity of obeying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and appointed Aristagoras to govern at Miletus in his absence, and to him the banished Naxians applied for relief. As soon as Aristagoras understood from them their case, he entertained a design of improving this opportunity to the making of himself master of Naxus, and therefore readily promised them all the relief and assistance which they desired; but, not being strong enough of himself to accomplish what he intended, he went to Sardis, and communicated the matter to Artaphernes, telling him, that this was an opportunity offered for the putting of a rich and fertile island into the king's hands; that, if he had that, all the rest of the Cyclades would of course fall under his power also; and that then Eubœa, an island as big as Cyprus, lying next, would be an easy conquest; from whence he would have an open passage into Greece, for the bringing of all that country under his obedience; and that one hundred ships would be sufficient to accomplish this enterprise. Artaphernes, on the hearing of the proposal, was so much pleased with it, that instead of the hundred ships, which Aristagoras demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king liked hereof: and, accordingly, on his writing to him [*An.* 503. *Darius* 19,] having received his answer of approbation, he sent him the next spring, to Miletus, the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of Megabates, a noble Persian of Achæmenian, or royal family. But his commission being to obey the orders of Aristagoras, and the haughty Persian not brooking to be under the command of an Ionian, this created a dissension between the two generals, which was carried on so far, that Megabates, to be revenged on Aristagoras, betrayed the design to the Naxians: whereon they provided so fully for their defence, that, after the Persians had, in the siege of the chief city of the island, spent four months and all their provisions, they were forced to retire, for want wherewith there any longer to subsist, and so the whole plot miscarried; the blame whereof being, by Megabates, all laid upon Aristagoras, and the false accusations of the one being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, Artaphernes charged on him all the expenses of the expedition: and, it was given him to understand, that they would be exacted of him to the utmost penny, which being more than he was able to pay, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but also in his utter ruin; and therefore, being driven into extremities by the desperateness of his case, he entertained thoughts of rebelling against the king, as the only way left him for the extricating of himself out of this difficulty; and while he had this under consideration, came a message to him from Hestæus, which advised the same thing: for Hestæus, after several years' continuance at the Persian court, being weary of their manners, and exceedingly desirous of being again in his own country, sent this advice unto

Aristagoras, as the likeliest means to accomplish his aim therein; for he concluded, that if there were any combustions raised in Ionia, he should easily prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them, as it accordingly came to pass. Aristagoras therefore, finding his own inclinations backed with the order of Hestæus, communicated the matter to the chief of the Ionians, and finding them all ready to join with him in what he proposed, he fixed his resolutions for a revolt, and immediately set himself to make all manner of preparations to put them in execution.

The Tyrians, after the taking of their city by Nebuchadnezzar, having been reduced to a state of servitude, continued under the pressure of it full seventy years: but, these being now expired, they were again,¹ according to the prophecy of Isaiah, restored to their former privileges, and were allowed to have a king again of their own; and accordingly had so till the time of Alexander. This favour seems to have been granted them by Darius, in consideration of their usefulness to him in his naval wars, and especially at this time, when he needed them and their shipping so much for the reducing of the Ionians again to their obedience to him. Hereon they soon recovered their former prosperity, and by the means of their traffic, whereby they had made their city the chief mart of all the east, they soon grew to that greatness, both of power and riches, as enabled them, on Alexander's invading the east, to make a greater stand against him than all the Persian empire besides; for they stopped the progress of his whole army full seven months before they could be reduced, as will be hereafter shown. This grant was made them by Darius in the nineteenth year of his reign.

An. 502. Darius 20.]—The next year after, Aristagoras, to engage the Ionians the more firmly to stick to him, restored to them all their liberties:² for, beginning first with himself at Miletus, he there abolished his own authority, and re-instated the people in the government; and then going round Ionia, forced all the other tyrants (as the Greeks then called them) in every city to do the same; by which, having united them into one common league, and gotten himself to be made the head of it, he openly declared his revolt from the king, and armed both by sea and land to make war against him. This was done in the twentieth year of the reign of Darius.

An. 501. Darius 21.]—Aristagoras, to strengthen himself the more against the Persians in this war, which he had begun against them, went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon,³ to engage that city in his interest, and gain their assistance. But being there rejected, he came to Athens, where he had a much more favourable reception: for he had the good fortune to come thither at a time when he found the Athenians in a thorough disposition to close with any proposal against the Persians that should be offered to them, they being then in the highest degree exasperated against them on this occasion: Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, having been expelled thence about ten years before, after he had in vain tried several other ways for his restoration, at length applied himself to Artaphernes at Sardis; and having there insinuated himself a great way into his favour, was well heard in all that he had to say against the Athenians, and he spared not to do all that he could to set Artaphernes against them; which the Athenians having advice of, sent an embassy to Sardis, to make friendship with Artaphernes, and to desire him not to give ear to their exiles against them. The answer which Artaphernes gave them was, that they must receive Hippias again, if they would be safe. Which haughty message being brought back to Athens, did set the whole city in a rage against the Persians; and in this juncture Aristagoras coming thither, easily obtained from them all that he desired; and accordingly they ordered a fleet of twenty ships for his assistance.

An. 500. Darius 22.]—In the third year of the war, the Ionians having gotten all their forces together,⁴ and being assisted with twenty ships from Athens,

¹ Isa. xlii. 15. 17.

² Herodot. lib. 5.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Herodot. lib. 5.

and five from Eretria, a city in the island of Eubœa, they sailed to Ephesus; and, having there laid up their ships, resolved on an attempt upon Sardis; and accordingly marched thither and took the place. But Sardis, being built most of cane, and their houses being therefore very combustible, one of them being accidentally set on fire, did spread the flame to all the rest, and the whole city was burnt down, excepting only the castle; where Artaphernes retired, and defended himself. But, after this accident, the Persians and Lydians gathering together for their defence, and other forces coming in to their assistance from the adjacent parts, the Ionians saw it was time for them to retreat; and therefore marched back to their ships at Ephesus with all the speed they were able; but before they could reach the place, they were overtaken, fought with, and overthrown with great slaughter. Whereon the Athenians, going on board their ships, hoisted their sails, and returned home, and would not after this be any farther concerned in this war, notwithstanding all the most earnest entreaties with which they were solicited to it by Aristagoras. However, their having engaged thus far, gave rise to that war between the Persians and the Greeks: which being carried on for several generations after between these two nations, caused infinite calamities to both, and at last ended in the utter destruction of the Persian empire; for Darius, on his hearing of the burning of Sardis, and the part which the Athenians had therein, from that time resolved on a war against Greece; and that he might be sure not to forget it, he caused one of his attendants every day, when he was set at dinner, to say aloud unto him three times, "Sir, remember the Athenians." In the burning of Sardis, it happened, that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of the country, took fire, and was consumed with the rest of the city; which afterwards served the Persians for a pretence to set on fire all the temples of the Grecians which came in their way, though in truth that proceeded from another cause, which shall be hereafter related.

On the departure of the Athenians,^a the rest of the confederate fleet sailed to the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced the Byzantines, and most of the other Grecian cities in those parts, under their power; and then, sailing back again, brought in the Carians to join with them in this war, and also the Cypriots, who all (excepting the Amathusians) entered into the same confederacy against Darius, and revolted from him; which drawing upon him all the forces that the Persians had in Cilicia, and the other neighbouring provinces, and also a great fleet from Phœnicia, the Ionians sailed thither to their assistance, and engaging the Phœnician fleet, gave them a great overthrow. But, at the same time, the Cypriots, being vanquished in a battle at land, and the head of that conspiracy slain in it, the Ionians lost the whole fruit of their victory at sea, and were forced to return, without having at all benefited either themselves or their allies by it: for, after this defeat at land, the whole island was again reduced; and, within three years after, the same persons whom they had now assisted came against them with their ships, in conjunction with the rest of the Persian fleet, to complete their utter destruction.

An. 499. Darius 23.]—The next year after, being the twenty-third of Darius,^a Daurises, Hymeas, and Otanes, three Persian generals, and all sons-in-law of Darius by the marriage of his daughters, having divided the Persian forces between them, marched three several ways to attack the revoltors. Daurises with his army directed his course to the Hellespont; but, after having there reduced several of the revolted cities, on his hearing that the Carians had also joined the confederates, he left those parts, and marched with all his forces against them. Whereon Hymeas, who was first sent to the Propontis, after having taken the city of Cyrus in Mysia, marched thence to supply his place on the Hellespont, where there was much more need of him, and there reduced all the Ilian coast; but, falling sick at Troas, he there died the next year after. Artaphernes and Otanes, with the third army, resolving to strike at the very heart of the confederacy, fell into Ionia and Æolia, where the chief of their

strength lay, and took Clazomenæ in Ionia, and Cyma in Æolia; which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that Aristagoras hereon, despairing of his cause, resolved to leave Miletus, and shift elsewhere for his safety; and, therefore, getting together all that were willing to accompany him, he went on ship-board, and set sail for the River Strymon in Thrace, and there seized on the territory of Myrcinus, which Darius had formerly given to Hestæus; but the next year after, while he besieged the city, he was there slain by the Thracians, and all his army cut in pieces.

An. 498. Darius 24.]—In the twenty-fourth year of Darius,¹ Daurises having fallen into the country of the Carians, overthrew them in the two battles with a very great slaughter; but, in a third battle, being drawn into an ambush, he was slain, with several other eminent Persians, and his whole army cut off and destroyed.

An. 497. Darius 25.]—Artaphernes, with Otanes, and the rest of the Persian generals, seeing that Miletus was the head and chief strength of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to bend all their force against it,² reckoning that, if they could make themselves masters of this city, all the rest would fall of course. The Ionians, being informed of this, agreed, in their general council, to bring no army into the field, but provide and strengthen Miletus as well as they could for a siege, and to draw all their forces to fight the Persians by sea; in which sort of fighting they thought themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to prevail: in order whereto, they appointed Lada, a small island before Miletus, for their rendezvous; and thither they came, to the number of three hundred and fifty-three ships: at the sight of which, the Persians, though their fleet was double the number, fearing the event, came not to a battle with them, till they had, by their emissaries sent among them, corrupted the major part to desert the cause; so that, when they came to engage, the Samians, Lesbians, and several others, hoisting their sails, and departing home, there were not above an hundred ships left to bear the whole brunt of the day; who, being soon overborne by the number of the enemy, were almost all lost and destroyed. After this Miletus, being besieged both by sea and land, soon fell a prey into the hands of the victors, who absolutely destroyed the place; which happened in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. From Miletus the Persians marched into Caria, and having there taken some cities by force, and received others by voluntary submission, in a short time reduced all that country again under their former yoke. The Milesians who were saved from the sword in the taking of the city, being sent captives to Darius to Susa, he did them no farther harm, but sent them to inhabit the city of Amphipolis, which was situated at the mouth of the Tigris, where, in conjunction with the Euphrates, it falls into the Persian Gulf, not far from the place where now the city Balsora stands; and there they continued a Grecian colony for many ages after.

An. 496. Darius 26.]—After the taking of Miletus, the Persian fleet, which mostly consisted of Phœnicians, Cypriots, and Egyptians, having wintered on their coasts thereabouts,³ the next year took in Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and the rest of the islands; and, while they were thus employed at sea, the armies at land fell on the cities of the continent; and having brought them all again under their power, they treated them as they had afore threatened, that is, they made all the beautifullest of their youths eunuchs, sent all their virgins into Persia, and burned all their cities, with their temples: into so grievous a calamity were they brought by this revolt, which the self-designs of one enterprising busy-headed man, Hestæus the Milesian, led them into; and he himself had a share in it: for this very year, being taken prisoner by the Persians, he was carried to Sardis, and there crucified, by the order of Artaphernes. He hastened his execution, without consulting Darius about it, lest his kindness for him might extend to the granting him his pardon, and thereby a dangerous enemy to the

¹ Herodot. lib. 5.

² Herodotus, lib. 6.

³ Ibid.

Persians be again let loose to embarrass their affairs. And that it would have so happened as he conjectured, did afterward appear: for when his head was brought to Darius, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably buried, as the remains of a man that had much merited from him. How he was the cause of the Ionian war, and what was his aim herein, hath been above related. On the breaking out of that revolt, and the burning of Sardis,¹ Darius understanding that Aristagoras the deputy of Hestæus was at the head of it, doubted not but that Hestæus himself was at the bottom of the whole contrivance, and therefore sent for him, and charged him with it; but he managed the matter so craftily with Darius, as to make him believe, not only that he was innocent, but that the whole cause of this revolt was, that he was not there to have hindered it: for he told him, that the matter appeared plainly to have been long a brewing; that they had waited only for his absence to put it into execution; that if he had continued at Miletus, it could never have happened; and, that the only way to restore his affairs in those parts was to send him thither to appease these combustions; which he promised not only to do, but to deliver Aristagoras into his hands, and make the great island of Sardinia to become tributary to him; swearing that, if he were sent on this voyage, he would not change his garments till all were effected that he had said. By which fair speech Darius being deceived, gave him permission to return into Ionia.² On his arrival at Sardis, his busy head set him at work to contrive a plot against the government there, and he had drawn several of the Persians into it: but, in some discourse which he had with Artaphernes, finding that he was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the Ionian revolt, he thought it not safe for him any longer to tarry at Sardis; and therefore, the next night after getting privately away, he fled to the sea-coast, and got over to the island of Chius. But the Chians, mistrusting that his coming thither was to act some part for the interest of Darius among them, seized on his person and put him in prison; but afterward being satisfied how he was engaged to the contrary, they set him again at liberty. Hereon he sent one whom he had confidence in with letters to Sardis, to those Persians whom he had corrupted while he was there; but the person whom he trusted deceiving him, delivered the letters to Artaphernes; whereby the plot being discovered, and all the persons concerned in it put to death, he failed of this design. But thinking still he could do great matters were he at the head of the Ionian league, in order to the gaining of this point, he got the Chians to convey him to Miletus. But the Milesians having had their liberty restored to them by Aristagoras, would by no means run the hazard of losing it again; by receiving him into the city: whereon endeavouring in the night to enter by force, he was repulsed, and wounded, and thereby forced to return again to Chius. While he was there, being asked the reason why he so earnestly pressed Aristagoras to revolt, and thereby brought so great a calamity upon Ionia, he told them, it was because the king had resolved to remove the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to bring the Phœnicians into Ionia, and give them that country; which was wholly a fiction of his own devising; for Darius had never any such intention: but it very well served his purpose; first to excuse himself, and next to excite the Ionians with the greater firmness and vigour to prosecute the war; which accordingly had its effect: for the Ionians hearing that their country was to be taken from them, and given to the Phœnicians, were exceedingly alarmed at it; and therefore resolved with the utmost of their power to stand to their defence. However, Hestæus finding the Chians not any way inclined to trust him with any of their naval forces, as he desired of them, he passed over to the isle of Lesbos; and having there gained eight ships, he sailed with them to Byzantium, where making prize of all the ships that passed the Bosphorus, either to or from the Euxine Sea, excepting only such as belonged to those who were confederated with him, he did there in a short time grow to a great power. But, on his hearing of the taking of Mi-

¹ Herodotus, lib. 5.

² Ibid. lib. 5.

letus, he left the conduct of his affairs in those parts to a deputy, and sailed to Chius; and after some little opposition at his first landing, made himself master of the island, the Chians, by reason of the loss they had lately sustained in the sea-fight against the Persians at Lada, being too weak at that time to resist him. From thence he sailed with a great army of Ionians and Æolians to Thasus, an island on the Thracian coast, and laid siege to the chief city of that island. but hearing that the Phœnician fleet, in the service of the Persians, was sailed to take in the islands on the Asian coast, he raised the siege, and sailed back to Lesbus with all his forces, to defend that place; from whence passing over into the continent which was opposite to it, to plunder the country, Harpagus, one of the Persian generals, who happened then to be there with a great army, fell upon him; and having routed his forces, and taken him prisoner, sent him to Sardis, where he met with the fate which I have mentioned. He was a man of the best head, and the most enterprising genius of any of his age; but he having wholly employed those abilities to lay plots and designs, which produced great mischiefs in the world, for the obtaining of little aims of his own, it happened to him as most, at the end, it doth to such refined politicians, who, while they are spinning fine webs of politics for the bringing about of their self-designs, often find them to become snares to their own destruction; for the providence of the wisest of men being too short to overreach the providence of God, he often permits such Ahitophels, for the punishment of their presumption, as well as their malice, to perish by their own devices. And so it happened to Machiavel, the famous master of our modern politicians, who, after all his politics, died in jail for want of bread. And thus may it happen to all else, who make any other maxims than those of truth and justice to be the rules of their politics.

An. 495. Darius 27.—After the Phœnician fleet had subdued all the islands on the Asian coast, Artaphernes sent them to reduce the Hellespont,¹ that is, all its coast on the European side, for those on the Asian had been already brought under by the armies at land; which Miltiades, prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, having advice of, and that the fleet was come as far as Tenedos to put these orders in execution, he thought not fit to tarry their arrival, as being too weak to resist so great a power; but immediately carried all that he had on board five ships, and set sail with them for Athens. But, in his passage, one of them, commanded by Metiochus his eldest son, was taken by the Phœnicians, and Metiochus was carried to Darius to Susa; but, instead of doing him any hurt, he generously gave him a house, and lands also for his maintenance, and married him to a Persian lady, with whom he there lived in an honourable state all his life after, and never more returned into Greece. In the interim, Miltiades with his other four ships got safe to Athens, and there again settled himself; for he was a citizen of that city, and one of the most honourable families in it. Miltiades, his father, Cimon's elder brother by the same mother, (for they had different fathers,) was the first of the Athenians that settled in the Thracian Chersonesus, being called thither by the Dolonces, the inhabitants of the country, to be their prince; who, dying without issue, left his principality to Stesagoras, his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Cimon; he dying also without children, the sons of Pisistratus, who then governed at Athens, sent this Miltiades' brother thither to succeed him; where he arrived, and settled himself in that year in which Darius entered on his war against the Scythians, in which expedition he accompanied him with his ships to the Danube, as hath been above said. Three years after he was driven out by the Scythians; but being afterward brought back, and restored again by the Dolonces, he continued there till this time, and then was finally dispossessed by the Phœnicians. While he lived in the Chersonesus, he married, for his second wife, Hegesipyla, the daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon,² the famous general of the Athenians.

¹ Herodot. lib. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

² Plutarchus in Cimone.

After the death of Miltiades, she had, by a second husband, a son, called also Olorus, by the name of his grandfather, who was the father of Thucydides, the historian. She could not have had them both by the same husband: for Cimon and Thucydides, and consequently Olorus, were of two different tribes, and therefore they could not be both descended from Miltiades.

An. 491. Darius 28.]—Darius, recalling all his other generals,¹ sent Mardonius, the son of Gobrias, a young Persian nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be the chief commander in all the maritime parts of Asia, with orders to invade Greece, and revenge him on the Athenians and Eretrians for the burning of Sardis. On his arrival at the Hellespont, all his forces being there rendezvoused for the execution of these orders, he marched with his land forces through Thrace into Macedonia, ordering his fleet first to take in Thasus, and then follow after him, and coast it by sea, as he marched by land, that each might be at hand to act in concert with each other, for the prosecuting of the end proposed by this war. On his arrival in Macedonia, all that country, dreading so great a power, submitted to him. But the fleet after they had subdued Thasus, as they were passing farther on toward the coast of Macedonia, on their doubling of the cape of Mount Athos, now called Capo Santo, met there with a terrible storm, which destroyed three hundred of their ships, and above twenty thousand of their men. And at the same time Mardonius fell into no less a misfortune by land: for lying with his army in an encampment not sufficiently secured, the Thracians took the advantage of it, and, falling on him in the night, broke into his camp, and slew a great number of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself; by which losses being disabled for any farther action either by sea or land, he was forced to march back again into Asia, without gaining any honour or advantage, either to himself or the king's affairs, by this expedition.

An. 493. Darius 29.]—Darius, before he would make any farther attempt upon the Grecians,² to make trial which of them would submit to him and which would not, sent heralds to all their cities, to demand earth and water; which was the form whereby the Persians used to require the submission of those whom they would have yield to them. On the arrival of these heralds, several of the Grecian cities dreading the power of the Persians, did as was required of them. But when those who were sent to Athens and Lacedemon came thither with this commission, they flung them, the one into a well, and the other into a deep pit, and bid them fetch earth and water thence. But this being done in the heat of their rage, they repented of it, when come to a cooler temper: for thus to put heralds to death, was a violation of the law of nations, for which they were afterward condemned even by themselves, as well as all their neighbours, and would gladly have made any satisfaction for the wrong that would have been accepted of; and the Lacedemonians sent a person of purpose to Susa to make an offer hereof.

An. 492. Darius 30.]—Darius, on the hearing of the ill success of Mardonius, suspecting the sufficiency of his conduct,³ recalled him from his command, and sent two other generals in his stead, to prosecute the war against the Grecians, Datis a Median, and Artaphernes a Persian, the son of that Artaphernes's brother, who was lately governor of Sardis, and gave them particularly in charge not to fail of executing his revenge on the Athenians and the Eretrians, whom he could never forgive for the part which they had in the burning of Sardis. On their arrival on the coast of Ionia, they there drew together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of six hundred ships, and made the best preparations they could for this expedition against the Grecians.

An. 491. Darius 31.]—In the beginning of the next spring,⁴ the two Per-

¹ Herodotus, lib. 6.

² Ibid. lib. 7.

³ Herodotus lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

⁴ Herodotus, lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide et Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

sian generals having shipped their army, rendezvoused their whole fleet at Samos, and from thence sailed to Naxos; and having there burned the chief city of the island, and all their temples, and taken in all the other islands in those seas, they shaped their course directly for Eretria; and, after a siege of seven days, took the city by the treachery of some of its chief inhabitants, and burned it to the ground, making all that they found in it captives. And then, passing over into Attica, they were led by the guidance of Hippias, the late tyrant of Athens, into the plain of Marathon; where being met and fought with by ten thousand Athenians, and one thousand Plateans, under the leading of Miltiades, who was lately prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, they were there overthrown by this small number with a great slaughter, and forced to retreat to their ships, and sail back again into Asia with baffle and disgrace, having lost in this expedition,¹ saith Trogus, by the sword, shipwreck, and other ways, two hundred thousand men. But Herodotus tells us,² they were no more than six thousand four hundred that were slain in the field of battle; of which Hippias was one, who was the chief exciter and conductor of this war.

Datis and Artaphernes, on their return into Asia,³ that they might show some fruit of this expedition, sent the Eretrians they had taken to Darius to Susa, who, without doing them any farther harm, sent them to dwell in a village of the region of Cissia, which was at the distance of about a day's journey from Susa,⁴ where Apollonius Tyaneus found their descendants still remaining a great many ages after.

An. 490. Darius 32.—Darius,⁵ on his hearing of the unsuccessful return of his forces from Attica, instead of being discouraged by that or the other disasters that had happened unto him in his attempts upon the Grecians, added the defeat of Marathon to the burning of Sardis, as a new cause to excite him with the greater vigour to carry on the war against them. And, therefore, resolving in person to make an invasion upon them with all his power, he sent orders through all the provinces to arm the whole empire for it. [*An. 487. Darius 35.*]—But after three years had been spent in making these preparations, a new war broke out in the fourth, by the revolt of the Egyptians. But Darius's heart was so earnestly set against the Grecians, that resolving his new rebels should not divert him from executing his wrath upon his old enemies, he determined to make war against them both at the same time; and that, while part of his forces were sent to reduce Egypt, he would in person with the rest fall upon Greece. But he being now an old man, and there being a controversy between two of his sons, to which of them two the succession did belong, it was thought convenient that the matter should be determined before he did set out on this expedition, lest otherwise, on his death, it might cause a civil war in the empire; for the preventing of which it was an ancient usage among the Persians, that, before their king went out to any dangerous war, his successor should be declared. The matter in dispute stood thus:⁶—Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobrias, all born before his advancement to the throne, and four others by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after it. Of the first Artabasan (who is by some called Artimenes, and by others Ariamenes) was the eldest, and of the latter Xerxes. Artabasan urged that he was the eldest son; and therefore, according to the usage and custom of all nations, he ought to be preferred in the succession before the younger. To this Xerxes replied, that he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who was the first founder of the Persian empire; and therefore claimed in her right to succeed his father in it; and that it was much more agreeable to justice, that the crown of Cyrus should come to a descendant of Cyrus, than to one who was not. And he farther added, that it was true, Artabasan was the eldest son of Darius; but that he was the eldest son of the king: for Artabasan

¹ Justin. lib. 2. c. 9.

⁴ Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 17.

⁶ Herodotus, lib. 7. Justin. lib. 2. c. 10.

² Herodot. lib. 6.

⁵ Herodot. lib. 7.

³ Herodot. lib. 6.

⁶ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe et in Apophthegm. pers. c. 17. c. 18.

was born while his father was only a private person, and therefore by that primogeniture could claim no more than to be heir to his private fortunes: but as to him, he was the first-born after his father was king, and therefore had the best right to succeed him in the kingdom. And for this he had an instance from the Lacedemonians, with whom it was the usage, that the sons of their kings, who were born after their advancement to the throne, should succeed before those who were born before it. And this last argument he was helped to by Damaratus, formerly king of Lacedemon, who having been unjustly deposed by his subjects was then an exile in the Persian court. Hereupon Xerxes was declared the successor, though not so much by the strength of his plea, as by the influence which his mother Atossa had over the inclinations of Darius, who was absolutely governed in this matter by the authority she had with him. That which was most remarkable in this contest was, the friendly and amicable manner with which it was managed: for, during the whole time that it lasted, all the marks of a most entire fraternal affection passed between the two brothers: and, when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so neither did the other repine, or express any anger or discontent on the judgment given; and although the elder brother lost the cause, yet he cheerfully submitted to the determination, wished his brother joy, and without diminishing his friendship or affection to him, ever after adhered to his interest, and at last died in his service, being slain fighting for him in the Grecian war; which is an example very rarely to be met with, where so great a prize is at stake as that of a crown; the ambitious desire of which is usually of that force with the most of mankind, as to make them break through all other considerations whatsoever, where there is any the least pretence to it, to reach the attainment.

An. 486. Darius 36.]—After the succession was thus settled, and all were ready to set out both for the Egyptian as well as the Grecian war,¹ Darius fell sick and died, in the second year after the Egyptian revolt, having then reigned² thirty-six years; and Xerxes, according to the late determination, quietly succeeded in the throne. There are writers³ who place this determination after the death of Darius, and say, that it was settled by the judgment of Artabanus, uncle to the two contending princes, who was made the arbitrator between them in this contest. But Herodotus, who lived the nearest those times of all that have written of it, positively tells us, that it was decided by Darius himself a little before his death. And his decision being that which was most likely to have the greatest authority in this matter, Herodotus's account of it seemeth the much more probable of the two.

Darius was a prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice, and hath the honour⁴ to have his name recorded in holy writ, for a favourer of God's people, a restorer of his temple at Jerusalem, and a promoter of his worship therein; for all which, God was pleased to make him his instrument: and in respect hereof, I doubt not, it was, that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity; for although he were not altogether so fortunate in his wars against the Scythians and the Grecians, yet every where else he had full success in all his undertakings, and not only restored and thoroughly settled the empire of Cyrus, after it had been much shaken by Cambyzes and the Magian, but also added many large and rich provinces to it, especially those of India, Thrace, Macedon, and the isles of the Ionian Sea.

The Jews⁵ have a tradition, that in the last year of Darius died the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; and that thereon ceased the spirit of prophecy from among the children of Israel; and that this was the obsignation or sealing up of vision and prophecy⁶ spoken of by the prophet Daniel. And from the same tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of the Persians ceased also the

¹ Herodot. lib. 7.

² Ptoim. in Canone, Africanus, Euseb. &c.

³ Justin. lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus *περί ξερξιδεσποίας*.

⁴ Ezra v. and in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah.

⁵ Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz in Zemach David. Seder Olam Zuta, &c.

⁶ Dan. ix. 24.

same year; for they will have it, that this was the Darius whom Alexander conquered, and that the whole continuance of the Persian empire was only fifty-two years; which they reckon thus:—Darius the Median reigned one year Cyrus three years, Cambyses (who they say was the Ahasuerus who married Esther) sixteen years, and Darius (whom they will have to be the son of Esther) thirty-two years. And this last Darius, according to them, was the Artaxerxes who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem to restore the state of the Jews; for they tell us, that Artaxerxes, among the Persians, was the common name of their kings, as that of Pharaoh was among the Egyptians. This shows how ill they have been acquainted with the affairs of the Persian empire. And their countryman Josephus, in the account which he gives of those times, seems to have been but very little better informed concerning them.

In the time of his reign first appeared in Persia the famous prophet of the Magians, whom the Persians call Zerdusht, or Zaratush, and the Greeks, Zoroastres. The Greek and Latin writers much differ about him: some of them¹ will have it, that he lived many ages before, and was king of Bactria; and others that there were² two of that name, who lived in different ages, one long before the other, both famous in the same kind. But the oriental writers, who should best know,³ all unanimously agree, that there was but one Zerdusht or Zoroastres; and that the time in which he flourished, was while Darius Hystaspes was king of Persia. It is certain he was no king, but one born of mean and obscure parentage, who did raise himself wholly by his craft in carrying on that imposture with which he deceived the world. They who place him so high as the time of Ninus, by whom they say he was slain in battle, follow the authority of Justin for it. But Diodorus Siculus,⁴ out of Ctesias, tells us, that the king of Bactria, with whom Ninus had war, was called Oxyartes and there are some ancient manuscripts of Justin⁵ in which it is read Oxyatres, and perchance that was the genuine reading, and Zoroastres came into the text instead of it, by the error of the copier, led thereto perchance by a note in the margin placed there by some critic, who, from the character of the person, took upon him to alter the name; for he is there said, *Artes Magicas primo invenisse*, i. e. *That he was the first inventor of Magianism*; which Zoroastres only was generally taken to be, though in truth he was not the founder of that sect, but only the restorer and reformer of it, as shall be hereafter shown.

He was the greatest impostor, except Mahomet, that ever appeared in the world, and had all the craft and enterprising boldness of that Arab, but much more knowledge; for he was excellently skilled in all the learning of the east that was in his time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly versed in the Jewish religion, and in all the sacred writings of the Old Testament that were then extant, which makes it most likely that he was as to his origin a Jew. And it is generally said of him, that he had been a servant to one of the prophets of Israel, and that it was by this means that he came to be so well skilled in the holy scriptures, and all other Jewish knowledge; which is a farther proof that he was of that people; it not being likely that a prophet of Israel should entertain him as a servant, or instruct him as a disciple, if he were not of the same seed of Israel, as well as of the same religion with him; and that especially since it was the usage of that people, by principle of religion, as well as by long received custom among them, to separate themselves from all other nations, as far as they were able. And it is farther to be taken notice of, that most of those who speak of his original,⁶ say, that he was of Palestine, within which country the land of Judea was. And all this put together, amounts with me to a convincing proof, that

¹ Justin. lib. 1. c. 1. Diog. Laertius in Procmio, Plin. lib. 30. c. 1.

² Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. See Stanley on the Chaldaic Philosophy, c. 2.

³ Abularagius, Ishmael Abulfeda, Sharestani, &c. Vide etiam Agathiam, lib. 2. et Thomam Hyde de Re Egipone Veterum Persarum, c. 24.

⁴ Lib. 2. p. 34.

⁵ So saith Ligerius.

⁶ Religio Veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde, c. 24.

he was first a Jew, and that, by birth, as well as religion, before he took upon him to be prophet of the Magian sect.

The prophet of Israel to whom he was a servant, some¹ say, was Elias, and others Ezra:² but as the former was too early, so the other was too late for the time in which he lived. With this best agreeth what is said by a third sort of writers,³ that it was one of the disciples of Jeremiah with whom he served; and if so, it must have been either Ezekiel or Daniel; for besides these two there was no other prophet of Israel in those times who could have been of the disciples of Jeremiah. And as Daniel was of age sufficient at his carrying away to Babylon (he having been then about eighteen years old) to have been some time before under the discipline and tutorage of the prophet, so, having continued till about the end of the reign of Cyrus, he lived long enough to have been contemporary with this impostor; which cannot be said of Ezekiel: for we hear nothing more of him after the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, which was the year next after the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar; and therefore it is most likely that he lived not much beyond that time. It must therefore be Daniel under whom this impostor served; and besides him there was not any other master in those times, under whom he could acquire all that knowledge, both in things sacred and profane, which he was so well furnished with. And, no doubt, his seeing that great, good, and wise man arrive at such a height and dignity in the empire, by being a true prophet of God, was that which did set this crafty wretch upon the design of being a false one; hoping that, by acting this part well, he might obtain the same advancement, and by pretending to that which the other really was, arrive to the like honour and greatness; and it must be said that, by his craft and dexterity in managing this pretence, he wonderfully succeeded in what he aimed at. It is said, that, while he served the prophet under whom he was bred, he did by some evil action⁴ draw on him his curse, and that thereon he was smitten with leprosy. But they who tell us this, seem to be such who finding Eliah said to be his master, mistook Elisha for Eliah, and therefore thought Gehazi to have been the person.

He did not found a new religion, as his successor in imposture Mahomet did, but⁵ only took upon him to revive and reform an old one, that of the Magians, which had been for many ages past the national religion of the Medes, as well as of the Persians; for it having fallen under disgrace on the death of those ringleaders of that sect, who had usurped the sovereignty after the death of Cambyses, and the slaughter which was then made of all the chief men among them, it sunk so low, that it became almost extinct, and Sabianism every where prevailed against it, Darius and most of his followers on that occasion going over to it. But the affection which the people had for the religion of their forefathers, and which they had been all brought up in, not being easily to be rooted out, Zoroastres saw that the revival of this was the best game of imposture that he could then play; and, having so good an old stock to graft upon, he did with the greater ease make all his new scions to grow which he inserted into it.

He first made his appearance in Media,⁶ now called Aderbijan, in the city of Xiz, say some; in that of Ecbatana, now Tauris, say others; for Smerdis having been of that province, it is most likely that the sect which he was of had still there its best rooting; and therefore the impostor thought he might in those parts, with the best success, attempt the revival of it. And his first appearing here is that which I suppose hath given some the handle to assert, that this was the country in which he was born.

¹ Abulfaragius, p. 54.

² Abu Mohammed Mustapha, *Historicus Arab.* Religio Veterum Persarum, c. 24 p. 313.

³ Bundari ex Abu Japhar Tabarita *Historico Arabe.* Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 314.

⁴ Migidi Persa. Bundari. Abu Mohammed Mustapha. Religio Vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 113—115.

⁵ Vide Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 147—149. et Thomam Hyde de Religione Veterum Persarum.

⁶ Bundari. Abu Japhar Tabarita. Religio Vet. Pers. c. 24. Gollii Note in Alfiragabum p. 207 et 208.

The chief reformation which he made in the Magican religion¹ was in the first principle of it: for whereas before they had held the being of two first causes, the first light, or the good god, who was the author of all good; and the other darkness, or the evil god, who was the author of all evil: and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created light and darkness, and out of these two, according to the alone pleasure of his own will, made all things else that are, according to what is said in Isaiah xlv. 5—7. "I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God besides me; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil, I the Lord do all these things." For these words being directed to Cyrus, king of Persia, must be understood as spoken in reference to the Persian sect of the Magians, who then held light and darkness, or good and evil, to be the supreme beings, without acknowledging the great God who is superior to both. And I doubt not it was from hence that Zoroastres had the hint of mending this great absurdity in their theology. But to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was² that God originally and directly created only light or good, and that darkness or evil followed it by consequence, as the shadow doth the person; that light or good had only a real production from God, and the other afterward resulted from it, as the defect thereof. In sum, his doctrine as to this particular was,³ that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity. That under him there were two angels, one the angel of light, who is the author and director of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author and director of all evil; and that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there the most is good, and where the angel of darkness prevails, there the most is evil; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that⁴ then there shall be a general resurrection, and⁵ a day of judgment, wherein just retribution shall be rendered to all according to their works; after which⁷ the angel of darkness, and his disciples, shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishments of their evil deeds; and the angel of light, and his disciples, shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; and that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all⁶ this the remainder of that sect, which is now in Persia and India, do, without any variation, after so many ages, still hold even to this day. And how consonant this is to truth, is plain enough to be understood without a comment. And whereas he taught, that God originally created the good angel only, and that the other followed only by the defect of good; this plainly shows that he was not unacquainted with the revolt of the fallen angels, and the entrance of evil into the world that way, but had been thoroughly instructed how that God at first created his angels good, as he also did man, and that they that are now evil became such wholly through their own fault, in falling from that state which God first placed them in: All which plainly shows the author of this doctrine to have been well versed in the sacred writings of the Jewish religion, out of which it manifestly appears to have been all taken; only the crafty impostor took care to dress it up in such a style and

1 Abulfeda. Ebn Shahnah. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arab. p. 147, 148. Religio Vet. Pers. c. 9. p. 163.
 et c. 22. p. 299.
 2 Shahrastani. Religio Vet. Persarum, c. 22. p. 299.
 3 Abulfeda. Shahrastani. Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 22.
 4 Religio. Vet. Pers. c. 9. p. 163. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148.
 5 Diogenes Laertius in Proemio. Plutarchus in Iside et Osiride. Shahrastani. Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 296.
 6 Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 33.
 7 Shahrastani. Plutarchus de Iside et Osiride. Religio Vet. Pers. p. 299, 395, &c.
 8 Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 292, 293. Ovington's Travels.

form, as would make it best agree with that old religion of the Medes and Persians which he grafted it upon.

Another reformation which he made in the Magian religion, was,¹ that he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came: for whereas hitherto they had erected their altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the tops of hills and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worship, where, often by rain, tempests, and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted and disturbed; for the preventing of this he directed, that wherever any of those altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the public offices of their religion the better performed before them: for all the parts of their public worship were performed before these public sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire (for this they always disowned,) but God in the fire. For Zoroastres,² among his other impostures, having feigned that he was taken up into heaven, there to be instructed in those doctrines, which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as Mahomet after did) there to have seen God, but only to have heard him speaking to him out of the midst of a great and most bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers, that fire was the truest Shechinah of the divine presence; that the sun, being the perfectest fire, God had there the throne of his glory,³ and the residence of his divine presence, in a more excellent manner than any where else, and next that in the elementary fire with us; and for this reason he ordered them still to direct all their worship to God, first toward the sun (which they call Mithra,) and next toward their sacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt; and their ordinary way of worship was to do so toward both: for when they came before these fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that, having their faces toward them, and also toward the rising sun at the same time, they might direct their worship toward both; and in this posture they always performed every act of their worship. But this was not a new institution of his: for thus to worship before fire and the sun, was, as hath been said, the ancient usage of that sect; and according hereto is it, that we are to understand what we find in Ezekiel viii. 16, where it is related, that the prophet being carried in a vision to Jerusalem, to see the abominations of that place, among other impieties, had there shown him "about five-and-twenty men standing between the porch and the altar, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east, and they worshipped the sun." The meaning of which is, that they had turned their backs upon the true worship of God, and had gone over to that of the Magians. For the holy of holies (in which was the Shechinah of the divine presence resting over the mercy-seat,) being on the western end of the temple at Jerusalem, all that entered thither to worship God did it with their faces turned that way: for that was their kebla,⁴ or the point toward which they always directed their worship. But the kebla of the Magians being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces turned that way, that is, toward the east. And, therefore, these twenty-five men, by altering their kebla, are shown to have altered their religion, and instead of worshipping God, according to the Jewish religion, to have gone over to the religion and worship of the Magians.

Zoroastres having thus retained, in his reformation of Magianism, the ancient usage of that sect in worshipping God before fire, to give the sacred fires in the temples which he had erected the greater veneration, he pretended, that when he was in heaven, and there heard God speaking to him out of the midst

¹ Religio Vet. Pers. c. 1. p. 8. et 29.

² Ibid. c. 8. p. 160.

³ Sanson in the present State of Persia, p. 185. Religio Vet. Pers. c. 4.

⁴ Kebla, among the eastern nations, signifieth the point of the heavens toward which they directed their worship. The Jews did it toward the temple at Jerusalem, the Mahometans toward Mecca, the Sabines toward the meridian, and the Magians toward the rising sun.

of fire, he brought thence some of that fire with him on his return, and placed it on the altar of the first fire-temple that he erected (which was that at Xiz² in Media,) from whence they say it was propagated to all the rest. And this is the reason which is given for their so careful keeping of it: for their priests watch it day and night,³ and never suffer it to go out, or be extinguished.⁴ And for the same reason also they did treat it with that superstition, that they fed it only with wood stripped of its bark,⁵ and of that sort which they thought most clean; and they never did blow it,⁶ either with bellows or with their breath, for fear of polluting it; and to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the law of the land, as long as those of that sect reigned in it, which, from the time of Zoroastres to the death of Yazdejerd, the last Persian king of the Magian religion, was about one thousand one hundred and fifty years; yea, it went so far, that the priests themselves never approached this fire but with a cloth over their mouths,⁶ that they might not breathe thereon; and this they did, not only when they tended the fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached it to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it: so that they mumbled over their prayers rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the popish priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said; and if they should hear them, they would now as badly understand them; for all their public prayers are, even to this day, in the old Persian language, in which Zoroastres first composed them, above two thousand two hundred years since, of which the common people do not now understand one word: and in this absurdity also have they the Romanists partakers with them. When Zoroastres composed his liturgy, the old Persic was then indeed the vulgar language of all those countries where this liturgy was used: and so was the Latin throughout all the western empire, when the Latin service was first used therein. But when the language changed, they would not consider, that the change which was made thereby, in the reason of the thing, did require that a change should be made in their liturgy also, but retained it the same, after it ceased to be understood, as it was before. So it was the superstitious folly of adhering to old establishments against reason that produced this absurdity in both of them: though, it must be acknowledged, that the Magians have more to say for themselves in this matter than the Romanists; for they are taught, that their liturgy was brought them from heaven, which the others do not believe of theirs, though they stick to it as if it were. And if that stiffness of humour, which is now among too many of us, against altering any thing in our liturgy, should continue, it must at last bring us to the same pass: for all languages being *in fluxu*, they do in every age alter from what they were in the former; and therefore, as we do not now understand the English which was here spoken by our ancestors three or four hundred years ago, so in all likelihood will not our posterity three or four hundred years hence understand that which is now spoken by us. And therefore, should our liturgy be still continued, without any change or alteration, it will then be as much in an unknown language as now the Roman service is to the vulgar of that communion.

But, to return to the reformations of Zoroastres. How much he followed the Jewish platform in the framing of them, doth manifestly appear from the particulars I have mentioned; for most of them were taken, either from the sacred writings, or the sacred usages of that people. Moses heard God speaking to him out of a flame of fire from the bush, and all Israel heard him speaking to them in the same manner out of the midst of fire from Mount Sinai; hence Zoroastres pretended to have heard God speaking to him also out of the midst

1 Religio Vet. Pers. c. 8. p. 160.

3 Strabo, lib. 15. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

4 Religio Vet. Pers. c. 23. p. 351. et c. 29. p. 355.

5 Strabo, lib. 15. Religio Vet. Pers. c. 23. p. 351. etc. 29. p. 355.

6 Strab., p. 732. Religio Vet. Pers. c. 30.

2 Golii Notae ad Alfraganum, p. 237.

Agathias, lib. 2.

of a flame of fire. The Jews had a visible Shechinah of the divine presence among them resting over the mercy-seat in the holy of holies, both in their tabernacle and temple, toward which they offered up all their prayers; and therefore Zoroastres taught his Magians to pretend to the like, and to hold the sun, and the sacred fires in their fire-temples, to be this Shechinah in which God especially dwelt; and for this reason they offered up all their prayers to him with their faces turned toward both. The Jews had a sacred fire which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt-offerings, which they did there ever after, till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, inextinguishably maintain; and with this fire only were all their sacrifices and oblations made, and Nadab and Abihu were punished with death for offering incense to God with other fire. And in like manner Zoroastres pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven; and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any new-erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any such altar, where it had been by any unavoidable accident extinguished, from any other fire, than from one of the sacred fires in some other temple, or else from the sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken among the Jews,¹ that no wood should be used on their altar in the temple, but that which they reputed clean, and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and that when it was laid on, the fire should never be blown up, either with bellows, or the breath of man for the kindling of it: hence Zoroastres² ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred fire among his Magians, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of oil and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many things write after the Jewish religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated and brought up in it.

Zoroastres, having thus taken upon him to be a prophet of God, sent to reform the old religion of the Persians, to gain the better reputation to his pretensions, he retired into a cave,³ and there lived a long time as a recluse, pretending to be abstracted from all worldly considerations, and to be given wholly to prayer and divine meditations; and, the more to amuse the people who there resorted to him, he dressed up his cave with several mystical figures, representing Mithra, and other mysteries of their religion: from whence it became for a long while after a usage among them, to choose such caves for their devotions, which being dressed up in the same manner were called Mithratic caves. While he was in this retirement, he composed the book wherein all his pretended revelations are contained, which shall be hereafter spoken of. And Mahomet exactly followed his example herein; for he also retired to a cave some time before he broached his imposture, and, by the help of his accomplices, there formed the Alcoran, wherein it is contained. And Pythagoras,⁴ on his return from Babylon to Samos, in imitation of his master Zoroastres (whom Clemens Alexandrinus tells us he emulously followed⁵) had there in like manner his cave, to which he retired, and wherein he mostly abided both day and night, and for the same end as Zoroastres did in his; that is, to get himself the greater veneration from the people: for Pythagoras acted a part of imposture as well as Zoroastres, and this perchance he also learned from him.

After he had thus acted the part of a prophet in Media, and there settled all things according to his intentions, he removed from thence into Bactria,⁶ the most eastern province of Persia, and there settled in the city of Balch, which lies on the river Oxus, in the confines of Persia, India, and Cowaresmia; where, under the protection of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, he soon spread his imposture through all that province with great success; for although Da-

1 See Lightfoot's Temple Service.

3 Porphyrius in Libro de Nympharum Antro, p. 254. Edit. Cant.

4 Porphyrius in Vita Pythagore, p. 184. Edit. Cantab. Jamblicus in Vita Pythagore, c. 5.

5 Strom. 1. p. 223.

6 Abu Japhar Tabarita. Bandari. Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 24.

2 Religio Veterum Persarum, c. 20 et 30.

rius, after the slaughter of the Magians, had, with most of his followers, gone over to the sect of the Sabians, yet Hystaspes still adhered to the religion of his ancestors, and having fixed his residence at Balch (where it may be supposed he governed those parts of the empire under his son,) did there support and promote it to the utmost of his power. And, in order to give it the greater reputation, he went in person into India among the Brachmans,¹ and, having there learned from them all their knowledge in mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, he brought it back among his Magians, and thoroughly instructed them in it. And they continued for many ages after, above all others of those times, skilful in these sciences, especially after they had been farther instructed in them by Zoroastres, who was the greatest mathematician and the greatest philosopher of the age in which he lived; and therefore took care to improve his sect, not only in their religion, but also in all natural knowledge; which so much advanced their credit in the world, that thenceforth a learned man and a Magian became equivalent terms. And this proceeded so far, that the vulgar, looking on their knowledge to be more than natural, entertained an opinion of them, as if they had been actuated and inspired by supernatural powers, in the same manner as, too frequently among us, ignorant people are apt to give great scholars, and such as are learned beyond their comprehensions (as were Friar Bacon, Dr. Faustus,² and Cornelius Agrippa,³) the name of conjurers. And from hence those who really practised wicked and diabolical arts, or would be thought to do so, taking the name of Magians, drew on it that ill signification, which now the word magician bears among us: whereas the true and ancient Magians were the great mathematicians,⁴ philosophers, and divines, of the ages in which they lived, and had no other knowledge but what by their own study, and the instructions of the ancients of their sect, they had improved themselves in.

But it is not to be understood, that all Magians, that is, all of the sect, were thus learned, but only those who had this name by way of eminence above the rest, that is, their priests: for they being all of the same tribe,⁵ as among the Jews (none but the son of a priest being capable of being a priest among them,) they mostly appropriated their learning to their own families, transmitting it in them from father to son, and seldom communicating it to any other, unless it were to those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct,⁶ the better to fit them for the government; and therefore there were some of them as tutors, as well as chaplains, always residing in the palaces of their kings. And whether it were that these Magians thought it would bring the greater credit to them, or the kings, that it would add a greater sacredness to their persons, or whether it were from both these causes, the royal family among the Persians, as long as this sect prevailed among them, was always reckoned of the sacerdotal tribe. They were divided into three orders.⁷ The lowest were the inferior clergy, who served in all the common offices of their divine worship: next above them were the superintendents, who in their several districts governed the inferior clergy, as the bishops do with us: and above all was the archimagus, or arch-priest, who, in the same manner as the high-priest among the Jews, or the pope now among the Romanists, was the head of the whole religion. And, according to the number of their orders, the churches or temples in which they officiated were also of three sorts. The lowest sort were the parochial churches,

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

² John Faustus was the first inventor of printing at Mentz, and from thence being taken for a conjurer, that story is here in England made of him, which goes under the name of Dr. Faustus.

³ That which contributes most to the opinion, that Cornelius Agrippa was a magician, is an impertinent piece published under his name, entitled, *De Occulta Philosophia*, which that learned man was never the author of; for it is not to be found in the folio edition of his works, in which only those that are genuine and truly his are contained.

⁴ Dion Chrysostomus tells us (*in Oratione Berysthenica*), that the Persians call them Magians who are skilled in the worship of the gods, and not as the Greeks, who being ignorant of the meaning of the word call them so who were skilful in goetic magic, i. e. that which jugglers and conjurers pretend to make use of.

⁵ Religio Vet. Pers. c. 30. p. 367. Theodoret Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 38.

⁶ Plato in Alcibiade 1. Stobaeus, p. 496. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pedagogo 1. p. 81.

⁷ Religio Vet. Pers. c. 28 et 30.

or oratories, which were served by the inferior clergy, as the parochial churches are now with us; and the duties which they there performed were, to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and, at stated and solemn times, to read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these churches there were no fire-altars; but the sacred fire, before which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a lamp. Next above these were their fire-temple, in which fire was continually kept burning on a sacred altar. And these were, in the same manner as cathedrals with us, the churches or temples where the superintendents resided. In every one of these were also several of the inferior clergy entertained, who, in the same manner as the choral vicars among us, performed all the divine offices under the superintendent, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might be always kept burning, and never go out. 3dly. The highest church above all was the fire-temple, where the archimagus resided, which was had in the same veneration with them as the temple of Mecca among the Mahometans, to which every one of that sect thought themselves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. Zoroastres first settled it at Balch, and there he, as their archimagus, usually had his residence. But after the Mahometans had overrun Persia, in the seventh century after Christ, the archimagus was forced to remove from thence into Kerman, which is a province in Persia, lying upon the southern ocean, toward India, and there it hath continued even to this day. And to the fire-temple there erected, at the place of his residence, do they now pay the same veneration as formerly they did to that of Balch. This temple of the archimagus, as also the other fire-temple, were endowed with large revenues in lands; but the parochial clergy depended solely on the tithes and offerings of the people: for this usage also had Zoroastres taken from the Jewish church, and made it one of his establishments among his Magians.

The impostor having thus settled his new scheme of Magianism throughout the province of Bactria, with the same success as he had before in Media, he went next to the royal court at Susa,¹ where he managed his pretensions with that craft, address, and insinuation, that he soon got within Darius himself, and made him a proselyte to his new reformed religion; whose example, in a short time, drew after it into the same profession the courtiers, nobility, and all the great men of the kingdom. This happened in the thirtieth year of Darius; and, although it succeeded not without great opposition from the ringleaders of the Sabians, who were the opposite sect, yet the craft, address, and dexterity of the impostor surmounted them all, and so settled his new device, that thenceforth it became the national religion of all that country, and so continued for many ages after, till this imposture was at last supplanted by that of Mahomet, which was raised almost by the same arts. They who professed this religion in Lucian's time,² as reckoned up by him, were the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Cowaresmians, the Arians, the Sacans, the Medes, and many other barbarous nations; but since that, the new imposture hath grown up to the suppressing of the old in all these countries. However, there is a remnant of these Magians still remaining in Persia and India, who even to this day observe the same religion which Zoroastres first taught them; for they still have his book, wherein their religion is contained, which they keep and reverence in the same manner as the Christians do the Bible, and the Mahometans the Alcoran, making it the sole rule both of their faith and manners.

This book the impostor composed while he lived in his retirement in the cave,³ and therein are contained all his pretended revelations. When he presented it to Darius, it was bound up in twelve volumes, whereof each consisted of an hundred skins of vellum; for it was the usage of the Persians in those times to write all on skins.⁴ This book is called Zendavesta, and, by contrac-

¹ Religio Vet. Pers. c. 24.
⁴ Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. p. 118.

² Lucian de Longevis.

³ Religio. Vet. Pers. c. 25. 26.

tion, Zend, the vulgar pronounce it Zundavestow, and Zund. The word originally signifieth a fire-kindler, such as is a tinder-box with us; which fantastical name the impostor gave it, because, as he pretended, all that would read this book and meditate thereon, might from thence, as from a fire-kindler, kindle in their hearts the fire of all true love for God and his holy religion. For the better understanding of which, it is to be observed, that, in those eastern countries, their way of kindling fire is not by a tinder-box, as with us, but by rubbing two pieces of cane one against another, till one of them takes fire; and such a fire-kindler of his religion in the hearts of men the impostor would have his book to be; and therefore called it by that name. The first part of it contains their liturgy, which is still used among them in all their oratories and fire-temples even to this day. The rest treats of all other parts of their religion. And according as their actions do agree or disagree with this book, do they reckon them to be either good or evil. Thence, in their language, they call a righteous action *Zend-aver*, i. e. *what the book Zend allows*, and an evil action *Nā-Zend-aver*, i. e. *which the book Zend disallows*. This book Zoroastres feigned to have received from heaven, as Mahomet afterward (perchance following his pattern) pretended of his Alcoran. It is still preserved among them in the old Persian language and character; and in every oratory and fire-temple, even to this day, there is a copy of it kept, in the same manner as there is with us of the Bible in every parish church, out of which, on certain stated times, the priests read a portion of it to the people. Dr. Hyde,¹ late professor of the Hebrew and Arabic tongues at Oxford, being well skilled in the old Persic, as well as the modern,² offered to have published the whole of it with a Latin translation, could he have been supported in the expenses of the edition. But for want of this help and encouragement, the design died with him, to the great damage of the learned world; for a book of that antiquity, so doubt, would be of great use, could it be made public among us, and would unfold and give us light into many things of the times wherein it was written, which we are now ignorant of.

In this book are found a great many things taken out of the scriptures of the Old Testament,³ besides those I have already mentioned; which farther proves the author's original to have been what I have said: for therein he inserts a great part of the Psalms of David; he makes Adam and Eve to have been the first parents of all mankind, and gives in a manner the same history of the creation and the deluge that Moses doth; only, as to the former, whereas Moses tells us, that all things were created in six days, Zoroastres converts those six days into six times, allowing to each of those times several days: so that, putting them altogether, the time of the creation, according to his account, amounted to three hundred and sixty-five days, that is, a whole year. He speaks therein also of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, in the same manner as the scriptures do. And, out of a particular veneration for Abraham, he called his book, the book of Abraham, and his religion, the religion of Abraham: for he pretended, that the reformation which he introduced, was no more than to bring back the religion of the Persians to that original purity in which Abraham practised it, by purging it of all those defects, abuses, and innovations, which the corruptions of after-times had introduced into it. And to all this Mahomet also (no doubt from this pattern) afterward pretended for his religion: for the name of Abraham hath for a great many ages past been had in great veneration all over the east, and among all sects; so that every one of them have thought it would give reputation to them, could they entitle themselves from him: for not only the Jews, the Magians, and the Mahometans, but the Sabians, and also the Indians (if the Brahama of the latter be Abraham, as it is with good reason supposed,) all challenge him to themselves, as the great patriarch and founder of

¹ Vide eundem De Religione Veterum Persarum, c. 1. p. 25.

² Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 148. Religio Vet. Pers.

their several sects; every one of them pretending, that their religion is the same which Abraham professed, and by his reformation established among them: and to restore this reformation was all that Zoroastres, Mahomet, and the author of the Sabian sect, whoever he was, pretended to. This veneration for Abraham, in those parts, proceeded from the great fame of his piety, which was (it is supposed) there spread among them by the Israelites in their dispersion all over the east; first on the Assyrian, and after on the Babylonish captivity. And this fame being once fixed, made all parties fond of having him thought their own, and therefore all laid claim to him. And, in this book, Zoroastres commands also the same observances about beasts, clean and unclean, as Moses doth; gives the same law of paying tithes to the sacerdotal order; enjoins the same care of avoiding all external as well as all internal pollutions; the same way of cleansing and purifying themselves, by frequent washings; the same keeping of the priesthood always within the same tribe, and the same ordaining of one high-priest over all; and several other institutions are also therein contained of the same Jewish extraction. The rest of its contents are an historical account of the life, actions, and prophecies of its author, the several branches and particulars of his new-reformed superstition, and rules and exhortations to moral living; in which he is very pressing, and sufficiently exact, saving only in one particular, that is, about incest: for therein he wholly takes this away, and, as if nothing of this nature were unlawful,¹ allows a man to marry, not only his sister or his daughter, but also his mother; and it went so far with that sect in the practice; that, in the sacerdotal tribe, he that was born of this last and worst sort of incest, was looked on as the best qualified for the sacerdotal function; none being esteemed among them more proper for the highest stations in it, than those that were born of mothers who conceived them of their own sons; which was such an abomination, that though all things else had been right therein, this alone is enough to pollute the whole book. The Persian kings being exceedingly given to such incestuous marriages, this seems to have been contrived out of a vile piece of flattery to them, the better to engage and fix them to their sect. But Alexander,² when he conquered Persia, did put an end to this abomination; for he did by a law forbid all such incestuous copulations among them.

Zoroastres having obtained this wonderful success, in making his imposture to be thus received by the king, the great men, and the generality of the whole kingdom, he returned back again to Balch;³ where, according to his own institution, he was obliged to have his residence, as archimagus, or head of the sect; and there he reigned in spirituals, with the same authority over the whole empire, as the king did in temporals; and from hence perchance might proceed the mistake of making him king of Bactria, Balch being in that province. And his being said to have been there slain in battle by Ninus, might also have its original from his suffering this fate in that country, although from another hand: for, after his return to Balch, having enterprised upon Argasp, king of the oriental Scythians (who was a zealous Sabian,) to draw him over to his religion, and backed this attempt with the authority of Darius, the more prevalently to induce him to it, the Scythian prince resented it with such indignation to be thus imperiously addressed to concerning this matter, that he invaded Bactria with an army; and, having there defeated the forces of Darius that opposed him, slew Zoroastres, and all the priests of his patriarchal church, which amounted to the number of eighty persons, and demolished all the fire-temples in that province. This happened in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Darius. The Persians tell us, that Loraspe, or Hystaspes, the father of Darius, was slain also in the same war. But, if he lived so long, he must then have been exceeding old; for, allowing him to have been no more than twenty on his first coming with Cyrus out of Persia, he must now have been ninety-three years

¹ Diogenes Laertius in Proemio. Strabo, lib. 15. Philo-Judæus de Specialibus Legibus, p. 778. Tertulian in Apologetico. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædago 1. p. 81. et Strom. 3. p. 314.

² Plutarchus de Fortuna Alexandri.

³ Religio Vet. Pers. c. 24.

old. But this is no strange thing in those parts: for the air being thoroughly pure and healthy, the perspiration free and regular, and all the fruits of the earth fully concocted, they who can there avoid the excesses of lust and luxury, usually live to a great age: of which we have lately had two instances, in Aurang-Zeb, king of India, and Rajah-Singah, king of Candia, in the island of Ceylon; the former dying in the year 1708, of the age of near an hundred, and the other about twenty years before much older.

But Darius soon revenged the injury upon the Scythian king: for, falling on him before he could make his retreat, he overthrew him with a great slaughter, and drove him out of the province; after which he rebuilt again all the fire-temples that had been demolished by the enemy, and especially that at Balch; which he erected with a grandeur suitable to its dignity, it being the patriarchal temple of the sect; and, therefore, from the name of its restorer, it was thenceforth called Auzur Gustasp,¹ i. e. the fire-temple of Darius Hystaspes. And the care which he took in this matter, shows the zeal which he had for his new religion, which he still continued to propagate after the death of its author with the same ardour as before. And, the better to preserve its credit and reputation after this accident, he thenceforth took it on himself to be their archimagus: for Porphyry tells us,² he ordered before his death, that, among other his titles, it should be engraven on his monument, that he was master of the Magians; which plainly implies, that he bore his office among them (for none but the archimagus was master of the whole sect.) But it was not long that he was in it; for he died the next year after. However, from hence it seems to have proceeded that the kings of Persia were ever after looked on to be of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always initiated into the sacred order of the Magians,³ before they took on them the crown, or were inaugurated into the kingdom.

The Greeks had the name of Zoroastres in great esteem,⁴ speaking of him as the great master of all human and divine knowledge. Plato,⁵ Aristotle,⁶ Plutarch,⁷ and Porphyry,⁸ mention him with honour, acknowledging his great learning; and so do others. Plynus saith much of him;⁹ and particularly remarks, that he was the only person that laughed on the day in which he was born; and that the pulsation of his head did then beat so strong, that it heaved up the hand laid upon it: which last, he saith, was a presage of his future learning. Solinus tells us the same story of his laughing on the day of his birth; and saith, that he was *optimarum artium peritissimus*, i. e. most skilful in the knowledge of the best arts.¹⁰ And Apuleius's character of him is, that he was *omnis divini arcani antistes*, i. e. the chief doctor in all divine mysteries.¹¹ Cedrenus names him as a famous astronomer among the Persians, and Suidas saith of him,¹² that he excelled all others in that science. And this reputation he still hath over all the east, even among those who are most averse to his sect to this very day: for they all there, as well Mahometans as Sabians, give him the title of Hakim,¹³ that is, of a wise and learned philosopher, and reckon him as the most skilful and eminent of their ancient astronomers. And particularly Ulugh Beigh, that famous and learned Tartarian prince, writing a book of astronomy and astrology, doth therein prefer Zoroastres before all others for his skill and knowledge in these sciences.¹⁴ It is to be observed also, that they who write of Pythagoras, do almost all of them tell us that he was the scholar of Zoroastres at Babylon, and learned of him, and of his disciples the Magians, most of that knowledge which afterward rendered him so famous in the west. So saith Apuleius,¹⁵ and so say Jamblichus,¹⁶ Porphyry,¹⁷ and Clemens Alexandrinus¹⁸ (for the Zabratius, or Zaratus, of Porphyry, and the Na-Zaratus of Clemens, were none other than

1 Religio Veterum Persarum, c. 23.

2 Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1. Philo Judeus de Specialibus Legibus. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

3 Diogenes Laertius in Proemio.

4 In libro de Magna citante Laertio in Proemio.

5 Lib. 30. c. 1. lib. 7. c. 18.

6 In vocibus Μαγος et Αστρονομος et Ζωροαστρον.

7 Religio Vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 312.

8 Ibid. p. 185. edit. Cant.

9 Porphyrius de Abstinencia, lib. 4. p. 165. edit. Cant.

10 In Alcibiade 1.

11 De Iside et Osiride.

12 Cap. 1.

13 In Vita Pythagorae.

14 Floridorum secundo.

15 Religio Vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 312.

16 In Vita Pythagorae, c. 4.

18 Strom. 1. p. 223.

this Zoroastres;) and they relate the matter thus:—That when Cambysus conquered Egypt, he found Pythagoras there on his travels,¹ for the improvement of himself in the learning of that country; and that, after having taken him prisoner, he sent him with other captives to Babylon, where Zoroastres (or Zabratas, as Porphyry calls him) then lived; and that there he became his disciple, and learned many things of him of the eastern learning. The words of Porphyry are, “That by Zabratas he was cleansed from the pollutions of his life past, and instructed from what things virtuous persons ought to be free, and also learned from him the discourse concerning nature, and what are the principles of the universe.”² This doth not disagree with the age of Zoroastres, nor with the time in which Pythagoras is said to have lived. For Zoroastres being a very old man at the time of his death,³ past eighty at least, if we reckon thirty-eight years back from the time of his death, it will prove him to be forty-two at least when Cambyeses conquered Egypt. And that Pythagoras flourished at the same time is sufficiently evidenced, in that he had for his contemporaries, Polycrates tyrant of Samos, Amasis king of Egypt, and Milo the Crotonian. For when Pythagoras went into Egypt,⁴ he carried with him from Polycrates letters of recommendation to Amasis, which Amasis⁵ died in the same year in which Cambyeses invaded that country; and Milo, who was Pythagoras’s scholar,⁶ was victor in the wrestling games at the sixty-second Olympiad,⁷ seven years before Cambyeses invaded Egypt, and about the seventh year of Darius Hystaspes married his daughter to Democides the physician,⁸ and about twenty years after Pythagoras was in Milo’s house,⁹ when he was assaulted by Cylon, one of his scholars, and slain. Hereby it appears, that Zoroastres and Pythagoras both flourished together, between the beginning of the reign of Cyrus and the latter end of that of Darius Hystaspes. But if what is said of Pythagoras’s being taken prisoner by Cambyeses’ soldiers in Egypt doth not exactly accord with what others write of the different stages of his life, this is owing to the uncertainty of the ancient Greek chronology. For Sir John Marsham observes right,¹⁰ that till after the time of Alexander the Greeks were far from being accurate in this matter. But however this be, that Pythagoras was in Egypt, and from thence went to Babylon, and learnt there a great part of that knowledge which he was afterward so famous for, is agreed by all.¹¹ His stay there, Jamblichus tells us, was twelve years;¹² and that, in his converse with the Magians, he learned from them (over and above what hath been before mentioned out of Porphyry) arithmetic, music, and the knowledge of divine things, and the sacred mysteries pertaining thereto. But the most important doctrine which he brought home from thence was, that of the immortality of the soul: for it is generally agreed among the ancients, that he was the first of all the Greeks that taught it.¹³ And this, I take it for certain, he had from Zoroastres; for, as I have before shown, it was his doctrine, and he is the ancientest of any whom we have upon record of all the heathen nations that taught it. But Pythagoras did not bring this doctrine into Greece with that purity in which he received it from his master; for having corrupted it with a mixture of the Indian philosophy (for this also he had learned in the east,) he made this immortality to consist in an eternal transmigration of the soul from one body to another;¹⁴ whereas Zoroastres’ doctrine was, that there is to be a resurrection of the dead,¹⁵ and an immortal state after to follow, in the same manner as Daniel taught,¹⁶ and the people of God then held, and we now; and there is no doubt but that he had it from them.

1 Jamblichus de Vita Pythagoræ, c. 4. Apuleius Floridorum secundo.

2 In Vita Pythagoræ, p. 185. edit. Cant.

4 Diogenes Laertius et Porphyrius in Vita Pythagoræ.

3 Religio Veterum Persarum, c. 24. p. 326.

5 Herodot. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

6 Strabo, lib. 6. p. 263. Jamblichus in Vita Pythagoræ, c. 36.

7 Africanus Ἀναγνώστης Ὀλυμπιακῶν in Eusebii Chronico Græco, p. 39.

8 Herodotus, lib. 3.

9 Porphyrius et Jamblichus in Vita Pythagoræ, Excerpta Diodori Siculi.

10 In Canone Chronico, sect. 9. p. 144. edit. Lips.

11 Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius et Jamblichus in Vita Pythagoræ.

12 Jamblichus in Vita Pythagoræ, lib. 4.

13 Porphyrius in Vita Pythagoræ, p. 188 et 201. edit. Cant. Jamblichus in Vita Pythagoræ, c. 30.

14 Porphyrius in Vita Pythagoræ, p. 17. edit. Cant. et Jamblichus et Diogenes Laertius in vita ejusdem.

15 Diag. Laertius in Proemio.

16 Chap. xi. 2, 3.

Some of the ancient both Greek and Latin writers give unto Zoroastres a very fabulous antiquity. Justin,¹ according to our present printed copies, makes him contemporary with Ninus, who is said to have reigned in Assyria one thousand three hundred years before the death of Sardanapalus, from which this our history begins. Eudoxus² placeth him six thousand years before the death of Plato, and so did Aristotle. Hermodorus,³ Hermippus,⁴ and Plutarch,⁵ make him to have flourished five thousand years before the war of Troy. But Xanthus Lydius,⁶ and another anonymous author followed by Suidas,⁷ reckoning it by hundreds instead of thousands, the latter of them brings down his time to five hundred years before the war of Troy, and the other six hundred years before the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, which was much later; but the best evidence is for the age where I have placed it, that is, between the beginning of the reign of Cyrus over the east, and the latter end of that of Darius Hystaspes. This is indeed the latest that is said; but in all such pretences to antiquity, they that say the latest are almost always nearest the truth. And that this latest is the truth in the present case, is confirmed not only by the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the east that make mention of this matter, but many of the western writers also assert the same thing. What hath been said to this purpose by Apuleius, Jamblichus, Porphyry, Clemens, Alexandrinus, and Agathias, hath been already alleged. Plato⁸ in the tenth book of his Politics hath said, that Zoroastres had the name of Er of Pamphylia, the son of Armenius,⁹ which same is the Armenius of Pamphylia whom Arnobius¹⁰ asserts to have been a familiar acquaintance of Cyrus's. Suidas, who had the use of many ancient books not now extant, from them¹¹ tells us, that Zoroastres was Persomedus; but there was no such person or name as Persomedus, until Cyrus had joined the Medes and Persians together, and incorporated them under him into one nation. Pliny, speaking of Ostanès, who came into Greece with Xerxes, saith of him,¹² that Zoroastres lived *paulo ante hunc*, that is, a little before him. And Diogenes Laertius makes mention of this Ostanès as the next successor of Zoroastres,¹³ and Suidas doth the same,¹⁴ which plainly prove this Zoroastres to have lived but a little time before the time of Xerxes. And Pliny tells us,¹⁵ that they were the *diligentiores*, that is, the more diligent and accurate, that did so assert. The greatest objection against this is the testimony of Xanthus Lydius in Diogenes Laertius. For if he lived at that time, when the Athenians burnt Sardis, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, as Suidas tells us,¹⁶ he must then have lived in the same age in which we say Zoroastres flourished; and how then could he say of him, that he lived six hundred years before? One answer to be given hereto is, that Athenæus tells us from Antemon Cassandreus¹⁷ (who wrote a tract on purpose to show who were the genuine authors of the books then extant, and who were not,) that the books which went under the name of Xanthus Lydius, in the time of Diogenes Laertius, were not written by him, but by Dionysius Scytobrachion (who lived a little before the time of Julius Cæsar,¹⁸) and that the name of Xanthus Lydius (whose true works had all perished long before) was falsely ascribed to them. But supposing it otherwise, the objection may be fully solved by what Pliny tells us of two Zoroastres's;¹⁹ the former of which might live six hundred years before the latter, and this latter might be that *alias* Zoroastres, that is, that other Zoroastres, who according to the same Pliny lived a little before Ostanès,²⁰ and was the

1 Lib. 1. cap. 1, 2. Africanus apud Syncellum.

3 Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio.

4 Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio.

5 Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. 5. p. 436.

6 Gr. του Αρμενίου, which is truly to be interpreted, not the son, but the worshipper of Armenius, who is

otherwise called Arimanius, that is, Ahraman, who was the evil god of the Magians. In the same manner he is elsewhere called του Ορομαζδου, and του Ορομασδου, that is, not the son, but the worshipper of Oromazes or Oromasdes, who was the other god, that is, the good god of the Magians. See Agathias, lib. 2. et Stobæus, p. 496.

10 Arnobius, lib. 1. p. 31.

13 In Proœmio.

17 Athenæus, lib. 12.

19 Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 1.

11 Suidas sub voce Ζωροαστρης.

14 Suidas sub vocibus Μαγος et Αστρανομια.

18 Suetonius in Antonio Gniphone Vossius de Historicis Græcis, lib. 4. c. 5.

20 Plin. ibid.

2 Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 1.

5 In libro de Iside et Osiride.

7 Sub voce Ζωροαστρης.

8 Edit. Heins.

12 Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 1.

15 Plin. ibid.

16 In voce Ζανδης.

same of which we now treat. But however that matter was, thus much is certain, that the Zoroastres that was the Zerdusht of the Persians, who was the great patriarch of the Magians, who wrote the book *Zendavesta* (which is the Bible of that sect,) and whose name is still in the same veneration among them, as that of Moses is among the Jews, and that of Mahomet among the Mahometans, lived in no other times than those where I have placed him. Possibly there might be another before him of the same name, and he the same of which the book ascribed to Xanthus Lydius did speak. If any one shall say, that the former was the founder of the Magian sect, and the latter the reformer of it, and for that reason called by the same name, I shall not contradict the conjecture, for I am apt to think that may be the truth of the matter.

Some of the ancient heretics,¹ especially the followers of Prodicus, pretended to have the secret books of Zoroastres containing his revelations, and other mysteries of religion, and offered to make use of them in defence of their heresies. Against these Plotinus² and Porphyry did both write, and fully showed to have been the forgeries of the Gnostic Christians. And others have gathered together out of Proclus, Simplicius, Damascius, Synesius, Olympiodorus, and other writers, what they call the oracles of Zoroastres; and several editions have been published of them in Greek with the scholia or comments of Pletho and Psellus. But all these are mere figments coined by the Platonic philosophers, who lived after the time of Christ, and are condemned as such by St. Chrysostom,³ who plainly tells us, that they were all figments. If any are desirous to see what unintelligible and nonsensical stuff these oracles do contain, they may consult Mr. Stanley's book of the Chaldaic Philosophy, which is published at the end of his *History of Philosophy*, where they will find them translated into English from the collection of Francis Patricius.

Abul-Pharagius tells us, that Zerdusht⁴ (or Zoroastres) foretold to his Magians the coming of Christ, and that, at the time of his birth, there should appear a wonderful star, which should shine by day as well as by night; and therefore left it in command with them, that when that star should appear, they should follow the directions of it, and go to the place where he should be born, and there offer gifts, and pay their adoration unto him; and that it was by this command, that the three wise men came from the east, that is, out of Persia, to worship Christ at Bethlehem. And so far Sharistani,⁵ though a Mahometan writer, doth agree with him, as that he tells us, that Zerdusht (or Zoroastres) foretold the coming of a wonderful person in the latter times, who should reform the world both in religion and righteousness; and that kings and princes should become obedient to him, and give him their assistance in promoting the true religion, and all the works thereof. But what these attribute to the prophecy of Zoroastres,⁶ others refer to the prophecy of Balaam; and say, that it was by his prediction that the wise men were led by the star to seek Christ in Judea, and there pay their adoration unto him. But all this seems to be taken out of the legendary writings of the eastern Christians. And Abul-Pharagius, though an Arab writer, being by religion a Christian, it is most likely that what he tells us of this matter was taken from them.

Those who are still remaining of this sect in Persia⁷ have there the name of Gaurus, which in the Arabic signifieth infidels, and is the usual appellation which the Mahometans bestow on all that are not of their religion. But those people have this name in Persia by way of eminency, as if there were none other such like them; and therefore they are called by it, as if it were their national name, and are known by none other in that country; and whosoever speaks of a Gaur there, understands none other by it, than one of this sect. They have a suburb at Hispahan, the metropolis of Persia, which is called

¹ Clemens Alexandrinus. Strom. l. p. 223.

² Vide Lucam Holstenium de Vita et Scriptis Porphyrii, c. 9. p. 57. edit. Cant.

³ In Vita Babylonis Martyris.

⁴ Historia Dynastiarum, p. 54.

⁵ Religio Vet. Pers. c. 31. p. 382, 383.

⁶ Theodorus Tarsensis.

⁷ Thevenot's Travels. Samson's Present State of Persia. Tavernier Religio Vet. Pers. c. 20.

Gaurabad, or the town of the Gaurs, where they are employed only in the meanest and vilest drudgeries of the town. And some of them are scattered abroad in other places of that country, where they are made use of in the like services. But the bulk of them is in Kerman, which being the most barren and worst province of all Persia, and where others care not to dwell, the Mahometans have been content to permit them to live there with some freedom and the full exercise of their religion. But every where else they use them as dogs, esteeming them as to their religion the worst of all those that differ from them; and it is with a wonderful constancy that they bear this oppression. Some ages since, for the avoiding of it, several of them fled into India, and settled there in the country about Surat; where their posterity are still remaining even to this day. And a colony of them is settled in Bombay,¹ an island in those parts belonging to the English, where they are allowed, without any molestation, the full freedom and exercise of their religion. They are a poor, harmless sort of people, zealous in their superstition, rigorous in their morals, and exact in their dealings, professing the worship of one God only, and the belief of a resurrection and a future judgment, and utterly detesting all idolatry, although reckoned by the Mahometans the most guilty of it: for although they perform their worship before fire, and toward the rising sun, yet they utterly deny that they worship either of them. They hold, that more of God is in these his creatures than in any other, and that therefore they worship God toward them, as being, in their opinion, the truest Shechinah of the divine presence among us, as darkness is that of the devil's; and as to Zoroastres, they still have him in the same veneration as the Jews have Moses, looking on him as the great prophet of God, by whom he sent his law, and communicated his will unto them.

An. 485. Xerxes 1.]—Xerxes, having ascended the throne,² employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father,³ especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing of them with sacrifices, for the carrying on of divine worship in the temple of God in that place.

An. 484. Xerxes 2.]—In the second year of his reign, he marched against the Egyptians, and having thoroughly vanquished and subdued these revolters, he⁴ reduced them under a heavier yoke of servitude than they were before; and then toward the end of the year, after having made Achemenes, one of his brothers, governor of the province, returned again to Susa.

This year Herodotus, the famous historian,⁵ was born at Halicarnassus in Caria; for he was fifty-three years old when the Peloponnesian war first began.

An. 483. Xerxes 3.]—Xerxes being puffed up with his success against the Egyptians, upon the advice and instigation of Mardonius, the son of Gobrias, who had married one of his sisters,⁶ resolved upon a war with Greece; and, in order thereto, made great preparations for three years together throughout all the provinces of the Persian empire.

Joshua the high-priest of the Jews at Jerusalem,⁷ died in the fifty-third year of his high-priesthood, and⁸ Joiakim his son succeeded him in that office.

An. 482. Xerxes 4.]—Xerxes being resolved on the Grecian war,⁹ entered into a league with the Carthaginians: whereby it was agreed, that while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall on all those who were of the Grecian name in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from one helping the other. And the Carthaginians made choice of Hamilcar to be their general in this war, who not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but also with the money sent him by Xerxes hired a great number of mercenaries out of Spain, Gallia, and Italy: so that he got together an army of three

¹ Ovington's Travels.

² Herodotus, lib. 7.

³ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

⁴ Herodot. lib. 7.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23.

⁶ Herodot. lib. 7.

⁷ Chronicon Alexandrinum.

⁸ Neh xlii. 10 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 5.

⁹ Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

hundred thousand men, and a fleet porportionable hereto, for the prosecuting the intent of this league.

An. 481. Xerxes 5.]—And thus Xerxes, according as was foretold by the prophet Daniel,¹ having, “by his strength, and through his great riches, stirred up all the then known habitable world against the realm of Grecia,” that is, all the west under the command of Hamilcar, and all the east under his own, he did² in the fifth year of his reign, which was³ the tenth after the battle of Marathon, set out from Susa to begin the war, and having marched as far as Sardis, wintered there.

An. 480. Xerxes 6.]—Early the next spring,⁴ Xerxes did set out for the Hellespont; over which two bridges of boats having been laid, the one for his army, and the other for his carriages and beasts of burden, he passed all over in seven days; during all which time they were continually passing, day and night, before all could get over; so great was the number of them that attended him in this expedition. From thence marching through the Thracian Chersonesus, he arrived at Doriscus, a city at the mouth of the River Hebrus, in Thracia; at which place having encamped his army, and ordered his fleet also to attend him on the adjacent shore, he there took an account of both. His land army, upon the muster, was found to be one million seven hundred thousand foot and eighty thousand horse, besides his chariots and his camels; for which allowing twenty thousand more, the whole will amount to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of one thousand two hundred and seven ships of the line of battle, besides galleys, transports, victuallers, and other sorts of vessels that attended, which were three thousand more; on board all which were reckoned to be five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of forces, by sea and land, which Xerxes brought with him out of Asia to invade Greece, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. After his passing the Hellespont, the nations on this side that submitted to him, added to his land army three hundred thousand men more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four thousand men. So that, putting all together, his forces, by sea and land, by that time he came to the straits of Thermopylæ, made up the number of two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten men: and the servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and all such other people as followed the camp, were computed to be no less than as many more. So that the whole number of persons of all sorts that followed Xerxes in this expedition, were at least five millions. This is Herodotus's account of them,⁵ and Plutarch⁶ and Isocrates⁷ agree with him herein. But Diodorus Siculus,⁸ Pliny,⁹ Ælian,¹⁰ and others, do, in their computations, fall much short of this number, making the army of Xerxes, with which he passed the Hellespont against Greece, to be very little more than that with which Darius's father passed the Bosphorus to make war upon the Scythians. It is probable they might have mistaken the one for the other. The verses engraved on the monument of those Grecians who were slain at Thermopylæ, best agree with the account of Herodotus; for in them it is said¹¹ that they there fought against two millions of men. And he being the ancientest author that hath written of this war, and having lived in the age in which it happened, and treated of it more particularly, and with a greater appearance of exactness than any other, his computation seemeth the most likely to be the truest; and that especially since we find it to be the general opinion of the ancients, both Greeks and Latins, that this was the greatest army that was ever brought into the field.

Josephus tells us,¹² that a band of Jews was also in this army, and brings for

¹ Dan. xi. 2.

² Herodot. lib. 7.

³ Thucydides, lib. 1.

⁴ Herodot. lib. 7. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themistocle et Aristide. Justin. lib. 2. c. 10.

⁵ Herodot. lib. 7.

⁶ In Themistocle.

⁷ In Panathenæico.

⁸ Lib. 11.

⁹ Lib. 37. c. 10.

¹⁰ Var. Histor. lib. 12. c. 3.

¹¹ Herodot. lib. 7. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. p. 26. This inscription, according to the reading as in Herodotus, saith they were three millions, but as in Diodorus only two millions.

¹² Contra Apionem, lib. 1.

proof of it a passage out of the poet Chœrilus, who, in describing the army of Xerxes, as they passed on by their several nations in their march, hath these verses—

Then next did march, in habit and in mien,
A people wonderful for to be seen;
Their language is in dialect the same,
Which men do speak of the Phœnician name.
They dwell in the high Solymœan land,
On hills, near which there doth a great lake stand.

Jerusalem, having also had the name of Solyma,¹ and all the country there about being mountainous, and lying near the great lake Asphaltites, commonly called the Lake of Sodom, this description seems plainly to suit the Jews, especially since it is also mentioned that they spake the Phœnician language, the Syriac being then the vulgar language of the Jews. But Scaliger,² Cunoæus,³ and Bochartus,⁴ understand it of the Solymi in Pisidia. However, Salmasius maintains the contrary opinion,⁵ and justifies Josephus in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely, that when Xerxes called all the other nations of the Persian empire to follow him to this war, the Jews alone should be excused from it. And therefore, whether these, whom Chœrilus speaks of, were Jews or not, it must be taken for certain, that they also did bear a part in this expedition.

After Xerxes had taken this account of his fleet and army at Doriscus,⁶ he marched from thence with his army through Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly toward Attica, and ordered his fleet to attend him on the coasts all the way, making the same stations by sea that he did by land. All yielded to him in his march without any opposition, till he came to the Straits of Thermopylæ; where Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, with three hundred Spartans, and as many other Greeks as made up a body of four thousand men, defended the pass against him. For two days he made it good against all the numerous army of the Persians, repulsing them in every assault with a great slaughter of their men. But on the third day, being ready to be surrounded by the Persians, through the treachery of a certain Greek, who led them by a secret way over the mountains, to fall on them in their rear, all retired, saving Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans, and some few others that would not desert them, who, resolutely abiding by the post they had undertaken to defend, were at length all slain upon the spot. But the Persians paid very dear for this victory, having lost in the gaining of it twenty thousand of their men, and among them two of the brothers of Xerxes.

After this, Xerxes' entered through Bœotia into Attica, the country of the Athenians; having spent in his march thither, since his passing the Hellespont, four months. The Athenians, not being able to defend themselves against so great a force, deserted their city, putting all their men aboard their fleet, and securing their wives and children in Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, neighbouring cities, which, by the intervention of the sea, were out of the reach of his army; so that, on his coming thither, he became master of the place, without any opposition.

In the interim, the Persian and Grecian⁸ fleets lying near each other, the former at Ephatæ, and the other at Artimisium, above Eubœa, had several encounters with each other, in every one of which the Grecians had the advantage; and, though it was not great, yet it served them to show, that the enemy, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible; which gave them the heart afterward, with the greater courage and resolution, to fight against them. However, their ships being much shattered by these several encounters, they

1 By abbreviation for Hierosolyma. 2 In Notis ad Fragmenta. 3 De Republica Hebræorum, lib. 2. c. 18.

4 Geographia Sacra, Spart. 2. lib. 1. c. 2.

6 Herodot. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themistocle.

7 Herodot. lib. 8. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide et Themistocle.

8 Herodot. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11.

5 In Ossilegio Lingue Hellenisticæ.

found it necessary to retire to some safer place to refit; and, for this purpose, came into the Straits of Salamis, where they not only refitted, but were also reinforced and augmented by a great many other ships, which, from several parts of Greece, came thither to them, and there joined them against the common enemy, till at length they there made up a fleet of upwards of three hundred sail. It was while they lay there that Xerxes entered Athens; and thereon the Persian fleet came thither also, and anchored at Phalerus, a port on that shore. The Straits of Salamis, where the Greek fleet lay, was the most advantageous place for them to fight the numerous fleet of the enemy in that they could choose: for the Persians, by reason of the narrowness of that sea, not being able to extend their front in it beyond that of the Greeks, could there have no advantage from their numbers; but, although their fleet was four times as great, must, in that place, fight upon equal terms; which Themistocles, the general of the Athenians, having wisely observed, did, by his prudence and dexterity, bring it to pass, that there it came to a battle between them; wherein the Grecians, by the advantage of the place, gained the victory, and gave the enemy such an overthrow, as wholly dashed all the aims and designs of this prodigious expedition, which was one of the greatest, both for expense and number of men, that was ever undertaken; for they having destroyed two hundred of their ships, besides those which they took, the rest got away to the Asian coast; and having set in at Cyma, a city in Æolia, they there laid up for the winter, and never came again into Greece: and Xerxes being frightened with an apprehension lest the conquerors should sail to the Hellespont, and there obstruct his return, fled thither with all the haste and precipitation he could; and having left Mardonius, with three hundred thousand men, to carry on the war in Greece, marched back with the rest to Sardis, and there took up his quarters for the ensuing year. It is remarkable, that, at his coming to the Hellespont, finding the bridge of boats which he had left there broken by storms, he, who had passed over that sea but a few months before with such pomp and pride, was forced to repossess it in a poor fisher-boat.

About the same time, his confederates, the Carthaginians, met with as great, or rather a much greater defeat in Sicily: for Hamilcar, their general, having drawn together his numerous army, of which I have already spoken, and shipped them on board the vast fleet which he had prepared for their transportation, sailed with them for Sicily, and having there landed them at Panormus, a port in that island, laid siege to Himera, a maritime city in the neighbourhood. While he lay there, for his better security, he caused two large camps to be fortified; in the one of which he lodged his land army, and into the other he drew up his ships, placing there all his marines for their defence. At that time Gelo was king of Sicily, a prince of great wisdom, conduct, and valour. As soon as he had an account of this invasion, he drew together an army of fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and marched immediately against the enemy for the defence of the country. On his arrival at Himera, he intercepted a courier, carrying letters from the Salinuntines, confederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilcar; whereby he understood, that the next morning Hamilcar was to celebrate a great sacrifice to Neptune at the camp of the marines, and that he had appointed the Salinuntine horse then to come thither to him. Gelo, taking the advantage of this intelligence, the next morning, at the time appointed, sent thither a party of horse of his own, who being received into the camp for the Salinuntines, first slew Hamilcar, and then set the fleet on fire. As soon as this was done, Gelo having notice of it by a signal given him from the top of an adjacent hill, where he had placed watchmen for this purpose, drew out his army before the other camp of the enemy, and gave them battle. But the flame ascending from the camp of the marines, soon telling the Carthaginians the fate of their fleet, and a messenger at the same time bringing them an account of the death of their general, this so disheartened and confounded them, that having

no longer any courage to stand their ground, they were soon put to the rout, and Gelo slew of them one hundred and fifty thousand on the field of battle, and took all the rest prisoners, which were as many more, and sold them all for slaves; so that all Sicily was filled with them. This defeat was so entire, that, of all this prodigious fleet and army, the greatest that was ever set forth in those western parts for any expedition, it is remarked, none returned, save only a few, who escaped in a cock-boat, to bring this dismal news to Carthage. Herodotus tells us,¹ that this battle was fought on the same day with that of Salamis; but Diodorus Siculus says,² that it was at the same time when Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ; which seems to be the truer account of the two: for, after this success of Gelo,³ the Grecians sent to him for his assistance against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamis. For from thence forth they thought themselves alone more than sufficient for the enemy, without needing any other force than that of their own to finish the war.

An. 479. Xerxes 7.]—On Xerxes' departure out of Greece,⁴ Mardonius wintered his army in Thessaly and Macedonia, and early the next spring marched with it into Bœotia. From hence he sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, to Athens, with proposals of accommodation from the king. Thereby he offered them to rebuild, at the king's charges, whatsoever had been burned or demolished in Attica the former year, to permit them to live according to their own laws, to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatsoever lands they should desire. But the Athenians, not being to be induced to desert the interest of Greece for any advantage whatsoever, would hearken to none of these offers: whereon Mardonius,⁵ being enraged by the refusal, marched with all his army into Attica, destroying every thing wherever he came, and entering Athens, burned and demolished whatsoever he there found standing after the former year's devastation; for the Athenians, not being strong enough to resist such a torrent, had the second time withdrawn to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, and left the city empty. In the interim, the joint forces of all Greece being drawn together at the isthmus of Corinth, Mardonius thought fit to march back again into Bœotia: for that being an open and level country, was much better for him to fight in than Attica, which being rough, craggy, and full of hills and defiles, could scarce any where afford him room enough for to draw up his numerous army in, or a ground proper for his cavalry to do any service in. On his return, he encamped on the River Æsopus: thither the Greeks marched after him, under the command of Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, and Aristides, general of the Athenians. They consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and the Persians of three hundred and fifty thousand, saith Herodotus;⁶ of five hundred thousand, saith Diodorus Siculus;⁷ and with these forces, near the city of Platæa, it came to a decisive battle between them, in which Mardonius was slain, and all the Persian army cut in pieces. Only Artabazus, who was aware of the event, from the ill conduct which he had observed in Mardonius, made an early escape with forty thousand men, which he commanded, and by his speed outmarching the fame of the defeat, got safe to Byzantium, and there passed over into Asia. Besides these, not four thousand of all the rest escaped the carnage of that day, but were all slain and cut in pieces by the Greeks; and this quite delivered them from all farther invasions of that people; for from that time a Persian army was never more seen on this side the Hellespont.

On the same day that the Greeks fought this battle at Platæa,⁸ their naval forces got as memorable a victory over the remainder of the Persian fleet in Asia: for at the same time that their land forces rendezvoused at the isthmus of Corinth, their fleets having met together at Ægina, under the command of Leotychides, the other king of the Lacedæmonians, and Xantippus the Athenian,

¹ Herodot. lib. 7.

⁴ Herodot. lib. 8.

⁵ Herodot. lib. 9.

² Lib. 7.

Dior. Sic. lib. 11.

⁶ Ibid.

³ Lib. 11.

Plutarchus in Aristide et Themistocle. Justin. lib. 2. c. 14.

⁷ Lib. 11.

⁸ Herodot. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

there came thither to them ambassadors from the Ionians to invite them into Asia, to deliver the Greek cities there from the slavery of the Barbarians: whereon they sailed for Delos in their way thither; and while they lay there, other ambassadors came to them from Samos, who having acquainted them that the Persian fleet which wintered at Cyma, having sailed thence, were then at Samos, and might there be easily vanquished and destroyed by them, earnestly solicited them to come thither and fall upon them; whereon they accordingly set sail forthwith for Samos. But the Persians, hearing of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory on the continent of Asia, where their land army lay, consisting of one hundred thousand men, which were the remainder of those which Xerxes had brought back out of Greece the former year, and there drew up their ships upon the land, and fortified them with a strong rampart drawn round them. But the Greeks following them thither, by the assistance of the Ionians, who revolted to them, vanquished their army at land, took their rampart, and burned all their ships. And here ended all the great designs of Xerxes in a most miserable disappointment, there being after these two battles scarce any of all that prodigious army, with which, the year before, he marched so proudly over the Hellespont, now left, whom either the famine, the pestilence, or the sword, had not absolutely destroyed, excepting those whom Artabazus brought back out of Greece; and of these a great number died on their return into Asia, by their over-glutting themselves with the plenty of that country, after the hardships they had suffered on the other side of the Hellespont. A greater fleet and army was scarce ever set forth in the west for any expedition, than that of Hamilcar's against Sicily, or ever was there a greater army brought together any where, than that wherewith Xerxes invaded Greece; yet all these numerous forces were baffled, defeated, and destroyed, by those who, in number or power, reckoning all the armies on both sides against each other, could scarce bear the name of an handful of men in comparison of them: and hereby a signal instance was given, that whatsoever the pride of man may design, or the power of man think to effect, it is still the providence of God that governs the world, and turneth all the affairs thereof which way soever he pleaseth.

The battle of Plataea was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon of the same day; and yet it is commonly said by the Greek writers,¹ that they had an account of the victory of Plataea at Mycale before they begun the battle there, though the whole Ægean Sea, which was several days sailing, lay between. But Diodorus Siculus clears this matter: for he tells us,² that Leotychides, finding the forces that followed him to be in great pain for the Greeks at Plataea, lest they should be overpowered and vanquished by the numerous army of Marodonius, the better to encourage and hearten his men for the battle, just before he made the first onset, caused it to be given out through all the army, that the Persians were defeated, though he then knew nothing of the matter. But what he then feigned happening to be true, and also done the same day, this gave occasion for what is said of that quick intelligence, which was utterly impossible to have come in so short a time from so far distant a place by any human means; and there is no reason to suppose a miracle in this case. And that which is said of the victory of Paulus Æmilius³ over the Macedonians being known at Rome on the same day on which it was got, at a greater distance than Plataea was from Mycale, no doubt was from the same cause. That happened to be true, which was only feigned when first reported; and afterward, when it was found to be true, and done on the same day on which the Romans first had the report, it was made a miracle of, as if there had been some supernatural power that brought the intelligence.

Xerxes, on his having received these two great defeats at Plataea and Mycale, left Sardis almost with the same precipitation as he did Athens, after the battle of Salamis, making all the haste he could toward Persia, that thereby he might

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Herodot. lib. 9. Justin. lib. 2. c. 14.
³ Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio. Livius, lib. 41.

² Lib. 11.
⁴ Herodot. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

get as far as he could out of the reach of the conquering enemies. However, he omitted not, before he left those parts, to give order for the burning and demolishing of all the temples in the Grecian cities in Asia;¹ which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting only that of Diana at Ephesus, which alone escaped this general devastation. And this he did, not out of any particular displeasure to the Asiatic Greeks; for he did the same wherever else he came, destroying all idolatrous temples that came in his way, throughout this whole expedition. The true cause of this was his zeal for the Magian religion, in which he had been thoroughly instructed, and made a zealous proselyte to it by Zoroastres: for that sect expressing a great detestation against worshipping of God by images,² were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep Xerxes firm to their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the Magians, but also Ostanès himself,³ who was then the archimagus,⁴ or great patriarch of the whole sect, accompanied him as his chaplains through this whole expedition; and by their instigation, Tully tells us,⁵ it was, that all these temples were destroyed. This Ostanès is said to have been grandfather to Zoroastres;⁶ but it is most likely that he was his grandson, and that it was by mistake that it hath been said otherwise; for Zoroastres, it is certain, was a very old man at his death.⁷ The name of Ostanès was very famous among the Greeks; for from him,⁸ they say, they first had the Magian philosophy: he having communicated it unto them, while he followed Xerxes in this war; and therefore from him they sometimes call the whole sect Ostanèans,⁹ instead of Magians, as if he had been the chief founder of it.

One of the temples, which by Xerxes' order were thus destroyed, was that of Apollo Didumæan,¹⁰ near Miletus, from whence he took an immense treasure. This was discovered to the Persians by the Branchidæ, a family of the Milesians, that had the keeping of the temple; who thereon finding themselves, by reason of this treachery and sacrilege, to become very odious to their countrymen, durst not, on Xerxes' going away, stay behind, for fear of their wrath, but followed after him into Persia, and were there planted by him in a small territory, which he gave them on the River Oxus, in the province of Bactria, where Alexander, on his making himself master of that country, finding their posterity still remaining,¹¹ caused them all to be put to the sword, thereby cruelly and unreasonably revenging, on the innocent descendants, the crime committed by their ancestors many ages before.

Xerxes, on his return toward Susa, passing through Babylon,¹² made there the same devastation of their temples, as he had in Greece and the Lesser Asia, and, as it may be supposed, on the same principle, that is, his zeal for the Magian religion, and his aversion to that of the Sabians, who worshipped God by images,¹³ of which the Magians had the utmost detestation: for the Babylonians were all Sabians, and indeed were the first founders of the sect; for they first brought in the worship of the planets, and afterward that of images, and from thence propagated it to all the other nations where it obtained; as hath been already shown. And, for this reason, the Magians, having them in abhorrence, above all other Sabians, prevailed with Xerxes, out of an especial hatred to them, to take Babylon in his way to Susa, on purpose to destroy all the temples they had there; although perchance to recruit himself with the spoils of these temples, after the vast expenses which he had been at in his Grecian war, might be the most forcible motive that wrought him into this resolution; for the wealth of their temples was vast and excessive, as having been the collection of a great number of ages. I have already computed how many millions of our money

1 Strabo, lib. 14. p. 634. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. Hieronymus in Esaiæ, c. 37. Æschylus in Persis. Herodot. lib. 8.

2 Clemens Alexand. in Protreptico, Laertius in Proemio. Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 148, 149.

3 Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2. 4 Laertius in Proemio. Suidas in voce Μαγιστῶν. 5 De Degibus, lib. 2.

6 Religio Vet. Pers. c. 24. 7 Ibid. 8 Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2. 9 Suidas in Ὀστάνων.

10 Strabo, lib. 14. 11 Strabo, lib. 11. p. 518. Q. Curtius, lib. 7. c. 5.

12 Arrianus Expeditionis Alexandri, lib. 7. Strabo, lib. 16. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus lib. 2.

13 Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148, 149.

the treasures of the temple of Belus only amounted to, according to the account given us of them by Diodorus Siculus; and if those which he found in the other idol-temples in that city were as great, as no doubt they were, they must more than repay him all that he spent in the Grecian war. And without some such recruit, it is scarce possible to imagine, how he could have supported himself at home, after so great a miscarriage and loss. And yet we find, that after his return, he was supported through all his empire, in the same manner as before, without suffering any great damage either in his authority or power therein, after this so great and so extraordinary a disaster; whereas it usually happens, that princes are ruined at home, as well as abroad, by such misfortunes.

By the pillaging and destroying of all these heathen temples at Babylon, was fully completed what the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied hereof many years before; "All the graven images of her gods hath he broken unto the ground."¹ "I will punish Bel in Babylon. I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed."² "And I will do judgment upon all the graven images of Babylon."³ "Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces."⁴ "For when Xerxes destroyed all these temples in Babylon, he took from them all their treasures, which they had been for many ages a swallowing; and pulling down all the images that were in them, broke them all to pieces, and converted the gold and silver, of which they were made, to all those common uses for which he had occasion of them.

After the battle of Mycale,⁵ the Grecian fleet sailed to the Hellespont to seize the bridges which Xerxes had laid over those straits, supposing that they had been still whole. But, on their coming thither, finding that they had been broken by storms, Leotychides, with the Peloponnesians, sailed home; but Xantippus, with the Athenians and the allies of Ionia, still staying there, made themselves masters of Sestus, and the Thracian Chersonesus; where they took much spoil, and a great number of prisoners, and then, on the approach of winter, returned to their respective cities. Xantippus, finding all the materials of Xerxes' bridge at Cardia, where the Persians had caused them to be brought before his arrival in those parts, he carried them with him to Athens, and there laid them to be a memorial of that total overthrow which they gave their enemy in this war, by the many victories which they had obtained over them. From this time all the Ionian cities in Asia revolted from the Persians, and entering into a confederacy with the Grecians, by their help, maintained their liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire.

An. 477. Xerxes 9.]—The Greeks having re-settled their affairs at home, after the great ruffle that was made in them by the late invasion of the Persians,⁶ resolved farther to prosecute the war against them, for the driving of them out of all the cities abroad that were of the Grecian original. For which purpose, they equipped a strong fleet, of which Pausanias, king of the Lacedæmonians, and Aristides, the Athenian, having the command, they sailed with it to Cyprus; and there having freed a great many Grecian cities from their Persian garrisons, restored them again to their own liberty.

About this time Xerxes, at Susa,⁷ was acting a very cruel and barbarous tragedy in the house of Masistes his brother, which had its rise from an incestuous love first begun at Sardis: for Xerxes, after his return thither from his flight out of Greece, fell in love with Masistes' wife, who was then in that city; but she being a very virtuous woman, and very loving and faithful to her husband, could on no solicitations be prevailed with to defile his bed. But Xerxes, thinking to win her at last, heaped all manner of favours and obligations upon her, to engage her to yield to him; and particularly, he married a daughter which she had, named Artaynta, to Darius, his eldest son, whom he intended for his successor in the throne, and on his return to Susa, caused the

¹ Isa. xxi. 9.

² Jer. ii. 44.

³ Ibid. li. 47. 52.

⁴ Ibid. l. 2.

⁵ Herodot. lib. 9.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.

⁷ Herodot. lib. 9.

marriage to be consummated: which being the greatest favour he could bestow upon the mother, he expected it would engage her to a compliance with his desires. But finding the lady's virtue to be still impregnable against all his attempts, he at length turned the amour from the mother to the daughter, and fell in love with Artaynta; where he soon found a ready compliance to all he desired. While this was doing, Hamestris, Xerxes' queen, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king; who, being very much pleased with it, wore it when he made his next visit to his mistress, and on his having enjoyed his lust on her, to express the satisfaction he had therein, he bade her ask what she would of him for her reward, promising her with an oath, that whatsoever it should be, he would give it unto her. Hereupon she asked of him the mantle which he then had on him. Xerxes, being aware of the mischief which might follow from his giving it unto her, did all that he could to divert her from this request, offering her whatever else was in his power to redeem it from her. But nothing else being able to content the lady, and his promise, and the oath being urged for the grant, he was forced to give it unto her, and she, out of the vanity and pride of her mind, as soon as she had it, put it on, and, as by way of trophy, wore it publicly; whereby Hamestris, being thoroughly confirmed in what she was before only jealous of, became enraged to the utmost degree: but, instead of turning her wrath against the daughter, who only was faulty in this matter, resolved to be revenged on the mother, as if all this intrigue had been of her contrivance, who was wholly innocent of it. And therefore, waiting the great festival that used annually to be celebrated on the king's birth-day, which was then approaching, whereon it was the custom for the king to grant her whatsoever she should then desire, she asked of him the wife of Masistes to be given unto her. The king, perceiving the malice of the woman, and what she intended, abhorred it to the utmost, both for the sake of his brother, and also for what he knew of the innocency of the lady, as to that for which Hamestris was exasperated against her; and therefore at first withstood her in this request all that he could. But her importunity not being to be diverted, nor what was said for the custom to be gainsayed, he was forced to yield to her. Whereon the lady being seized by the king's guards, and delivered to her, she caused her breasts, her tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off, and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home again thus mangled to her husband's house. In the interim, Xerxes, to mollify the matter as much as he could, sent for Masistes, and told him that it was his desire that he must part with his wife, and that, instead of her, he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. But Masistes, having an entire affection for his wife, could not be induced to consent hereto: whereon Xerxes told him, in an angry manner, that, since he refused to accept of his daughter, when offered to him, he should neither have her nor his wife neither; and so dismissed him in displeasure. Whereon Masistes, suspecting some mischief was done him, made haste home to see how matters there stood; where finding his wife in that mangled condition as hath been mentioned, and being thereby exasperated to the utmost, as the case deserved, he immediately got together all his family servants, and dependants, and made all the haste he could toward Bactria, the province of which he was governor; purposing, as soon as he should arrive thither, to raise an army, and make war upon the king, to be revenged of him for this barbarous usage. But Xerxes hearing of his sudden retreat, and suspecting from thence what he intended, sent a party of horse after him, who, overtaking him on the road, cut him off, with his wife and children, and all that belonged to him. This Masistes was brother of Xerxes by Atossa the same mother, as well as by the same father, and was a person of great worth and honour as well as of great fidelity to the king; and he had done him great services in his Grecian war, having been one of his chief generals, who had the leading of his army in that expedition; and he was personally engaged for him in the battle of Mycale and was in truth the chief honour of his house, and never

gave him any just cause to be offended with him. However, all this could not protect him from Xerxes' cruelty; which sufficiently shows, that where there is a vicious prince, with an arbitrary power in the government, there is nothing that can be sufficient to secure any man's safety under him.

And there is another fact related of Hamestris,¹ equally cruel and impious; that is, that she caused fourteen boys of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods. And, in the relating of this, as well as her other cruelties above mentioned, I have been the more particular, because several having been of opinion,² by reason of the similitude that is between the names of Hamestris and Esther, that Xerxes was the Ahasuerus, and Hamestris the Esther, mentioned in scripture; it may from hence appear, how impossible it is, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character, as Hamestris was could have ever been that queen of Persia, who, by the name of Esther, is so renowned in holy writ, and is there recorded as the instrument by whom God was pleased, in so signal a manner, to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them.

After the death of Masistes, Xerxes appointed Hastaspes,³ his second son, to be governor of Bactria in his stead; which obliging him to be absent from court, gave Artaxerxes his younger brother the opportunity of mounting the throne before him, on the death of Xerxes, as will be hereafter related.

An. 476. Xerxes 10.—The Grecian fleet, having effected at Cyprus what they went thither for, sailed from thence to the Hellespont,⁴ and took in Byzantium; where several Persians of eminent note, and some of them of the kindred of Xerxes, being taken prisoners, Pausanias treacherously released them all, pretending they had made their escape, and by some of them entered into a treaty with Xerxes to betray Greece unto him, upon condition that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage; which being readily agreed to by Xerxes, Pausanias thenceforth took upon him to live after another rate than formerly, affecting the pomp and grandeur of the Persians, and carrying himself haughtily and tyrannically toward the allies: whereon, they being disgusted with his conduct, and not being able any longer to bear it, did put themselves under the Athenians, who thenceforth, by this means, obtained the chief command at sea in all the Grecian affairs, and held it for many years after. The Lacedemonians, having received an account of these miscarriages of Pausanias, deposed him from his command on the Hellespont, and, recalling him home, put him under public censure for them.

An. 475. Xerxes 11.—However, the next year he went again to the Hellespont,⁵ although without the consent of the state, or any commission from them, sailing thither in a private ship; which he hired on pretence of fighting against the Persians as a volunteer in that war, but in reality to carry on his treasonable designs with them, Artabazus being appointed governor on the Propontis on purpose to be there at hand to treat with him. But while he was at Byzantium, his behaviour was such, that the Athenians drove him thence; whereon he went to the country of Troas, and there tarried some time, the better to carry on his correspondence with Artabazus; of which there being some suspicions, the Lacedemonians summoned him home by a public officer, and, on his return, put him in prison; but no evidence appearing of this thing in his trial, he was again discharged. But some time after, the whole of it being brought to light, and discovered by one whom he had made use of to carry on the correspondence, they put him to death for it.

An. 472. Xerxes 14.—Themistocles,⁶ by his wisdom and great application, having much advanced the power and interest of the Athenians, hereby drew on him the bitter enmity of the Lacedemonians: for they, seeing their honour eclipsed, and that authority, whereby they had hitherto borne the chief sway

¹ Herodot. lib. 7.

² Scaliger and his followers.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

⁴ Thucydides, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.

⁵ Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Aristide et Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Pausania.

⁶ Herodotus, lib. 7, &c. Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

among the Greeks, now rivalled and diminished by the growing up of this flourishing state, could not with patience bear it; and therefore, to gratify their revenge, resolved on the ruin of him that had been the author of it. In order whereto, they caused him first to be accused at Athens of being a confederate with Pausanias in his treason against Greece; but nothing being proved of what was laid to his charge, he was there acquitted.

An. 471. Xerxes 15.—But the next year after¹ Themistocles being banished Athens, they renewed their design against him. He was not banished for any crime, but by ostracism: which was a way among them² whereby, for the better securing of their liberty, they used to suppress those that were grown to too great a power and authority among them, by banishing them the city for a certain term of years. Themistocles being thus necessitated for a time to leave his country, settled at Argos; of which the Lacedemonians taking the advantage, prosecuted anew their charge against him before the general council of all Greece, then met at Sparta, and summoned him to appear before them to answer to it, accusing him there of treason against the whole community of Greece. Themistocles seeing how bitterly the Lacedemonians were set against him, and knowing that they could carry every thing as they pleased in that assembly, durst not trust his cause with them, but fled first to Corcyra, and from thence to Admetus, king of the Molossians, by whose assistance being conveyed to the coasts of the Ægean Sea, he took shipping at Pydna in Macedonia, and from thence passed over to Cyma, a city of Æolia in the Lesser Asia. But Xerxes having put a price of two hundred talents upon his head (which amounted to thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds of our money,) several were there upon the hunt after him for the gain of so great a reward. For the avoiding of this danger, he was forced there to lie hid for some time; till at length, by the contrivance and assistance of his friend and host Nicogenes, the richest man of that country, he was conveyed safe to Susa, in one of those close chariots in which the Persians used to carry their women; they that had the conducting of him giving out, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to the court for one of the nobility; by which means he got to the Persian court without any danger; where being arrived, he addressed himself to Artabanus, the captain of the guards, to whose office it belonged to bring those to the audience of the king that had any business with him: by him he was introduced into Xerxes' presence; and being there asked who he was, he told him he was Themistocles the Athenian; that, though he had done him great hurt in his wars, yet he had in many things much served him, particularly in hindering the Greeks from pursuing him after the battle of Salamis, and obstructing his retreat over the Hellespont; that, for these his services to him being driven out of his country, he was now fled to him for refuge, hoping that he would have more regard to what he had done for his interest, than to what, with the rest of his countrymen, he had in the wars acted against it. Xerxes then said nothing to him; though, as soon as he was withdrawn, he expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction, that so considerable a person was come over to him, wishing that God would always put it into the minds of his enemies thus to drive their best men from them. But the next morning, having assembled the chief of the Persian nobility about him, and ordered him again to be brought into his presence, he received him with great kindness; telling him, in the first place, that he owed him two hundred talents: for he having set that price upon his head, it was due to him who had brought him his head, by thus rendering himself unto him; and accordingly commanded it to be paid him: and then ordered him to say what he had concerning the affairs of Greece to impart unto him. But Themistocles, being then no otherwise able to deliver himself than by an interpreter, begged leave that he might be permitted first to learn the Persian language; hoping that then he might be in a capacity to communicate to the king what he had to impart to him in a much more perfect manner, than he could then pro-

¹ *Tracydides lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Mod. Sic. lib. 11.*

² *Plutarchus in Aristide.*

mise to do by the interpretation of another: which being granted to him, and he having after a year's time made himself thorough master of that tongue, he was again called into the king; to whom having communicated all that he thought proper, he grew very much into his favour, so that when Mandana his sister, who had lost several of her sons in the battle of Salamis, had prosecuted an accusation against Themistocles for their death, and was very importunate and clamorous to have delivered up to her a sacrifice to her revenge, he not only caused him to be acquitted by the suffrages of all the nobility then attending the court, but conferred many royal bounties upon him; for he gave him a wife of a noble Persian family, with a house, servants, and an equipage in all things suitable hereto, and an annual revenue sufficient to enable him in the best manner to support the same, and on all occasions much caressed him as long as he continued in his court. And it is mentioned as one particular instance of his favour to him, that by his especial command, he was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magians,¹ and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy. But at length, it being thought best for the king's interest, that he should reside in some of the maritime towns near Greece, that he might be there ready at hand for such services as the king might have occasion of from him in those parts, he was sent to live at Magnesia, on the river Meander; where he had not only all the revenues of that city (which were fifty talents a year,) but also those of Myus and Lampsacus allowed him for his maintenance, amounting altogether to one hundred and fifty talents a year, which was little less than thirty thousand pounds of our money. And here he lived all the time of Xerxes, and several years after, in the reign of Artaxerxes his son, in a very plentiful and splendid manner, as well he might, on so large a revenue, till at length he ended his days in that city in the manner as shall be hereafter related.

But according to Thucydides,² Xerxes was dead, and Artaxerxes had newly succeeded in the throne, when Themistocles fled out of Greece to the Persian court; and therefore he tells us, that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and not Xerxes, by whom Themistocles was received with so much favour; and Thucydides being an historian of great credit, and having wrote this not many years after the death of Artaxerxes,³ the lord-primate Usher, moved by so great an authority, follows him in this matter; and to make it accord with the other transactions of those times, takes nine years from the reign of Xerxes, and adds them⁴ to the following reigns, making Xerxes to end his reign nine years sooner, and Artaxerxes to begin his reign nine years sooner than any other author says. Hereby the learned primate doth exceedingly help his hypothesis of the computation of the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy; and that, no doubt, induced him to prefer the authority of Thucydides before all others in this particular. For if we put the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (from whence he reckons the beginning of these seventy weeks) nine years higher than others do, the middle of the last week will fall exactly in with the time when Christ was crucified. And therefore, were the authority of Thucydides sufficient to justify him in this matter, the primate's computation would appear much more plausible than now it doth. But the Canon of Ptolemy,⁵ Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Africanus, Eusebius, and all others that write of these times, being against him herein, it is much more probable, that Thucydides was out in this particular; for although he be a very exact historian in the affairs of Greece, of which he professedly writes, yet it is possible he might be mistaken in those of Persia, which he treats of only by the by.

In the interim, the Athenians, having set out a fleet under the command of Cimon,⁶ the son of Miltiades, conquered Eione, on the River Strymon, and other

¹ Plutarchus in Themistocle. ² Lib. 1. ³ In Annal. Vet. Testamenti sub anno Julianæ Periodei, 421.

⁴ i. e. To the reigns of Artaxerxes and his son Xerxes, whom the primate makes to reign one year after him.

⁵ For these authors say, that Xerxes reigned twenty-one years, and Artaxerxes reigned forty-one. But according to the primate, Xerxes reigned but twelve years, and Artaxerxes fifty.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.

parts of Thrace, and then took in the islands of Scyrus and Naxus, which had revolted from them, and while they were assaulting the last of these, Themistocles passed by them, in his flight into Asia, and difficultly escaped falling into their hands.

An. 470. Xerxes 16.]—The next year after, Cimon,² sailing from Athens with a fleet of two hundred sail, passed over to the coasts of Asia; where, having augmented it with one hundred sail more from the allies, he took in all the maritime parts of Caria and Lycia, driving the Persians out of all the cities they were possessed of in those parts; and then hearing that they had a great fleet on the coasts of Pamphylia, and were also drawing down thither as great an army by land for some expedition, he hastened thither with two hundred and fifty of his best ships in quest of them; and, finding their fleet, consisting of three hundred and fifty sail, at anchor in the mouth of the River Eurymedon, and their land army encamped on the shore by, he first assaulted their fleet, which being soon put to the rout, and having no other way to fly but up the river, were all taken, every ship of them, and twenty thousand men in them, the rest having either escaped to land, or been slain in the fight. After this, while his forces were thus flushed with success, he put them ashore, and fell upon the land army, and overthrew them also with a great slaughter; whereby he got two great victories in the same day, of which one was equal to that of Salamis, and the other to that of Plataea. And having gotten information, that there were eighty more Phœnician ships coming to join the Persian fleet, he surprised them in the harbour, before they had any notice of the late defeat, and destroyed every ship of them; and all the men on board were either drowned or slain in the fight. After which success, Cimon returned home in great triumph, and very much enriched and adorned Athens with the spoils got in this expedition.

An. 469. Xerxes 17.]—The next year Cimon sailed to the Hellespont;³ and falling on the Persians, who had taken possession of the Thracian Chersonesus, drove them out thence, and subjected their country again to the Athenians; though in truth (it having been the principality of his father Miltiades⁴) he had the best right to it himself. After this he subdued the Thrasians, who had revolted from the Athenians, and then landing his army on the opposite shore of Thrace, he seized all the gold mines on those coasts, and brought under him all that country as far as Macedon, and thereby opened a way for the conquering of that realm also, would he have pursued the opportunity: for the omitting of which he was afterward,⁵ on his return, brought to trial for his life before the Athenians, as if he had been corrupted by the Macedonians to spare them, and hardly escaped being condemned for it.

Xerxes, being at last daunted and wholly discouraged by the continued series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of any longer carrying on the Grecian war; and therefore, from this time,⁶ no more of his ships were seen in the Ægean Sea, or any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign.

An. 465. Xerxes 21.]—After this, Xerxes giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, minded nothing but the gratifying of his pleasures and his lusts; whereby growing into contempt with the people, Artabanus,⁷ the captain of his guards, and one who had been long in prime favour and authority with him, conspired against him, and having drawn Mithridates, one of his eunuchs that was his chamberlain, into the plot, by his means got into his bedchamber, and there slew him, while he slept in his bed; and then going to Artaxerxes his third son, acquainted him of the murder, and accused Darius his elder brother to be the author of it, telling him that it was done to make his way to the throne; that it was his design to cut him off next to secure himself in it; and that therefore it behoved him to look to himself. All which Artaxerxes (as being then

¹ Plutarchus in Themistocle.

² Plutarchus in Cimone.

⁴ Herod. lib. 6.

³ Diod. et Plutarchus. ibid. Thucydides, lib. 1.

⁵ Plut. in Cimone.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ctesias. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Justin. lib. 3. c. 1.

a very young man) rashly believing, without any farther examination, to be true, and being irritated thereby in such a manner as Artabanus intended, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, by the assistance of Artabanus and his guards, slew him also. And this he did, as he thought, by way of just revenge for the death of his father, and for the securing of his own safety, being imposed on and deceived by the craft of the traitor who excited him hereto. The next heir was Hystaspes, the second son of Xerxes; but he being absent in Bactria, of which province he was governor, Artabanus took Artaxerxes, as being next at hand, and put him on the throne; but with design to let him sit on it no longer than till he had formed a party strong enough to seize it for himself. He having been long in great authority, had made many creatures, and he had also seven sons, all grown up to be men of robust bodies, and advanced to great dignities in the empire; and his confidence in these was that which put his ambition on this design: but while he was hastening it to a conclusion, Artaxerxes, having got a full discovery of the whole plot, by the means of Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, was beforehand with him in a counterplot, and cut him off before his treason was fully ripened for execution, whereby, having secured himself in thorough possession of the kingdom, he held it forty-one years.

He is said to have been the handsomest person of the age in which he lived, and to have been a prince of a very mild and generous disposition;² he is called by the Greek historians *Μακροχρῆς*, or Longimanus (*i. e.* the Long-handed,) by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands;³ for they were so long, that on his standing upright, he could touch his knees with them. But in scripture he hath the name of Ahasuerus, as well as that of Artaxerxes, and was the same who had Esther for his queen. I acknowledge there are two very great men, whose opinions differ from me herein, Archbishop Usher and Joseph Scaliger.

The former holdeth,⁴ that it was Darius Hystaspes that was the king Ahasuerus who married Esther; and that Atossa was the Vashti, and Artystona the Esther of the holy scriptures. But all that is said of those persons by the historians who have written of them is wholly inconsistent herewith: for Herodotus positively tells us, that Artystona⁵ was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Esther: and that Atossa⁶ had four sons by Darius, besides daughters, all born to him by her after he was king; and therefore she could not be that Queen Vashti, who was divorced from the king her husband in the third year of his reign,⁷ nor he that Ahasuerus that divorced her. Furthermore, Atossa is said to have had predominant interest with Darius even to the time of his death, that it was by her means that in the last act of his life,⁸ he was influenced to settle the succession of his crown on Xerxes her son, to the disinheriting of all his elder sons, who were born to him by a former wife; whereas the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, had removed Vashti both from his bed and from his presence by an unalterable decree;⁹ and therefore never could admit her again to either, all his life after. That which chiefly induced the learned archbishop to be of this opinion was, that whereas it is said of Ahasuerus¹⁰ in the book of Esther, that he laid a tribute upon the land and upon the isles,¹¹ the same is also said of Darius Hystaspes by Herodotus; and therefore he thought that they were both the same person. But Strabo, who is an author of as good, if not better credit, attributeth this to Longimanus.¹² It must be acknowledged, that in the printed copies which we now have of that author, it is read Darius Longimanus in the place which I refer to. But the title Longimanus, and the description of the person after in that place added, can belong to none but to the Artaxerxes whom we now speak of; and therefore it is manifest, that there Darius is put instead of Artaxerxes, by the corruption of the text.

Scaliger's opinion is,¹³ that Xerxes was the Ahasuerus, and Hamestris his

1 Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.

2 Plutarch. in Artaxerxe Mnemone.

3 Plat. et Strabo, lib.

4 In Annalibus Veteris Testamenti, sub anno J. P. 4103.

5 Herodot. lib. 3. et lib. 7.

6 Herodot. lib. 7. sub initio.

7 Esther i. 3.

8 Herodot. lib. 7.

9 Esther i. 19.

10 Chap. x. i.

11 Herodot. lib. 3.

12 Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.

13 De Emendatione, lib. 6.

queen, the Esther of the holy scriptures. His main reason for it is, the similitude that is between the names of Hamestris and Esther. But how much more the dissimilitude of their characters proves the contrary, has been already shown; and what will be hereafter said of her dealing with Inarus and the Greeks, taken with him in Egypt, and her frequent adulteries, will be a farther confirmation of it. Furthermore, it appears from Herodotus,¹ that Xerxes had a son by Hamestris that was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign; and therefore it is impossible she could be Esther; for Esther was not married to Ahasuerus² till the seventh year of his reign, nor could possibly have been taken into his bed sooner than two years before. For, according to the sacred history,³ it was the fourth year of Ahasuerus when the choice of virgins was made for him, and a whole year being employed in the purifications⁴ whereby they were prepared for his bed, she could not be called thither till the fifth year of his reign; and therefore the sixth was the soonest that she could have a son by him. Besides, Artaxerxes, the third son of Hamestris,⁵ being grown up to the state of a man at the death of his father (which happened in the twenty-first year of his reign,) he must have been born before the sixth year of his reign. All which put together, do sufficiently prove, how much soever the names Esther and Hamestris may be alike, the persons could not be the same.

But there being no such objections as to Artaxerxes Longimanus, it is most probable that he was the person. The ancientest and best evidences that can be had of this matter, are from the Greek version of the sacred text, called the Septuagint, the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther, and Josephus; and all these agree for Artaxerxes Longimanus. For Josephus⁶ positively tells us it was he; and the Septuagint, through the whole book of Esther, wherever the Hebrew text hath Ahasuerus, translate Artaxerxes; and the apocryphal additions to that book every where call the husband of Esther, Artaxerxes, who could be none other than Artaxerxes Longimanus; for there are several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal Esther, which can by no means be applicable to the other Artaxerxes, called Mnemon. And Severus Sulpitius, and many other writers, as well of the ancients as the moderns, come also into this opinion. And the extraordinary favour and kindness⁷ which Artaxerxes Longimanus showed the Jews beyond all the other kings that reigned in Persia, first in sending Ezra and after Nehemiah, for the repairing of the broken affairs of that people in Judah and Jerusalem, and the restoring of them again to their ancient prosperity, is what scarce be accounted for on any other reason, but that they had in his bosom such a powerful advocate as Esther to solicit for them. But these, and the other transactions of this king, will be the subject of the next ensuing book.

BOOK V.

An. 464. Artax. 1.]—ARTAXERXES having, by the death of Artabanus, removed one grand obstacle to his quiet possessing of the throne, had still two others to struggle with, his brother Hystaspes in Bactria, and Artabanus's party at home. And this last being nearest at hand, gave him the first trouble: for although Artabanus⁸ was dead, he had left behind seven sons, and many parti-

1 De Emendatione, lib. 9.

2 Esther ii. 16.

3 Esther ii.

4 Esther ii. 12.

5 Diolor. Sic. lib. 11.

6 Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

7 There were two other kings of Persia that showed kindness to the Jews, Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes. Each of them granted a decree in favour of the Jews: but Artaxerxes went beyond them both; for he granted two decrees, by virtue of which both the ecclesiastical and political state of the Jews were thoroughly restored: and therefore, where the scripture names those kings of Persia, by whose favour this restoration was made, he is named among them in the order as he reigned; for it is said (Ezra vi. 14.) that this was done by the commandment of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, i. e. Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, Darius, Hystaspes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus. For of these, and none other, is that text undoubtedly to be understood; and, no doubt, when the church and state were restored, much was done for the restoration of the temple also.

8 Ctesias.

sans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death; whereon a fierce conflict ensued between them and those who stood by Artaxerxes, in which many noble Persians were slain; but at length Artaxerxes having prevailed, did cut off all that were concerned in this conspiracy; and especially he took a signal revengé of every one of those who had a hand in the murder of his father, and particularly of the eunuch Mithridates that betrayed him, whom he caused to be boated to death. The¹ manner of this punishment was thus: the person condemned to it, being laid on his back in a boat, and having his hands stretched out, and tied fast to each side of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out through a place made fit for it. In this posture they fed him, till the worms which were bred in the excrements that he voided as he thus lay did eat out his bowels, and so caused his death; which was usually, this way, twenty days in effecting, the criminal lying all this while in exquisite torments.

Artaxerxes, having mastered this difficulty, was at leisure to send an army into Bactria² against his brother. But there he did not meet with so easy success;³ for a fierce battle ensuing, though Hystaspes did not get the victory, yet he did so well make good his ground, that no advantage was gotten against him; but both armies parted with equal success, and each retired to make better preparations for a second encounter.

An. 463. Artax. 2.]—But the next year⁴ Artaxerxes having drawn together a much stronger army, as having the greatest part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered Hystaspes, and utterly overthrew him in a second battle; whereby, having removed all difficulties and oppositions, he now became fully possessed of the whole empire;⁵ and the better to secure himself in it, he removed all those governors of cities and provinces of whom he had any suspicion, that they had been concerned with, or any way well affected to either of the parties which he had suppressed, and put into their places only such as he had a thorough confidence in. After this he did set himself to reform all the abuses and disorders of the government; whereby he gained to himself much credit and authority throughout all the provinces of the empire, and thoroughly established himself in the affections of the people, wherein lieth the surest interest of princes.

An. 462. Artax. 3.]—After Artaxerxes had obtained these successes, and thereby firmly settled himself in the peaceable possession of the whole Persian empire,⁶ he appointed a solemn rejoicing on this account, and caused it to be celebrated in the city of Shushan, or Susa, in feastings and shows, for the term of a hundred and eighty days, on the conclusion of which he made a great feast for all the princes and people that were then in Shushan for seven days. And Vashti the queen at the same time made a like feast in her apartment for the women. On the seventh day, the king's heart being merry with wine, he commanded his seven chamberlains to bring Queen Vashti before him with the crown royal on her head, that he might show to the princes and people her beauty; for she was exceeding fair. But for her thus to show herself in such an assembly, being contrary to the usage of the Persians,⁷ and appearing to her (as indeed it was) very indecent, and much unbecoming the modesty of a lady, as well as the dignity of her station, she refused to comply herewith, and would not come: whereon the king being very much incensed, called his seven counsellors to take advice with them about it, who fearing this might be of ill example through the whole empire, in encouraging women to contemn and disobey their husbands, advised that the king should put Vashti away for ever from him, and give her royal state to another that should be better than she, and by his royal edict give command throughout the whole empire, that all wives should pay honour and obedience to their husbands, and that every man should bear rule in his own house. Which advice pleasing the king, he

¹ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

² That Hystaspes was governor of Bactria, at his father's death, is attested by Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. p. 52.

³ Ctesias.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.

⁶ Esther i. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

commanded it accordingly to be put in execution, and Vashti never more after that came again into the king's presence: for the decree whereby she was removed from him was registered among the laws of the Medes and Persians, and therefore it could never again be altered. After this, orders were given out through the whole empire, for the gathering together to the palace at Shushan all the fair virgins in every province, that out of them one might be chosen whom the king should best like, to be made queen in her place.

An. 461. Artax. 4.]—At the time when this collection of virgins was made,¹ there lived in Shushan a certain Jew, named Mordecai, who was of the descendants of those who had been carried captive to Babylon with Jeconiah king of Judah, and, by his attendance at the king's gate, seems to have been one of the porters of the royal palace. He having no children, did breed up Hadassah, his uncle's daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young woman, being very beautiful and fair, was made choice of among other virgins on this occasion, and was carried to the king's palace, and there committed to the care of Hegai, the king's chamberlain, who was appointed to have the custody of these virgins whom she pleased so well by her good carriage, that he showed her favour before all the other virgins under his care, and therefore he assigned her the best apartment of the house, and provided her of the first with those things that were requisite for her purification. For the custom was, that every virgin thus taken into the palace for the king's use, was to go through a course of purification by sweet oils and perfumes for a whole year; and therefore Hadassah having been by the favour of the chamberlain, of the earliest provided with these things, was one of the first that was prepared and made ready for the king's bed, and therefore was one of the soonest that was called to it.

An. 460. Artax. 5.]—The term therefore of her purification being accomplished, her turn came to go in unto the king, who was so well pleased with her, that he often again called for her by name; which he used not to do, but to those only of his women whom he was much delighted with. From this time she seems to have had the name of Esther; for it is of a Persian original; the signification of it is not now known.

The Egyptians being very impatient of a foreign yoke,² in order to deliver themselves from it, rebelled against Artaxerxes, and making Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king, called in the Athenians to their assistance, who, having then a fleet of two hundred sail at Cyprus, gladly laid hold of the invitation, and forthwith sailed for Egypt, looking on this as a favourable opportunity for the crushing of the Persian power, by driving them out of that country.

Artaxerxes, on the hearing of this revolt,³ made ready an army of three hundred thousand men for the suppressing of it, proposing himself to march into Egypt at the head of them; but being dissuaded from hazarding his person in this expedition, he committed it to the care of Achæmenides, one of his brothers. Herodotus⁴ and Diodorus Siculus⁵ say, that it was Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and uncle of Artaxerxes, the same who before had the government of Egypt in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, that had the conduct of this war: but herein they were deceived by the similitude of the names; for it appears by Ctesias, that he was the son of Hamestris, whom Artaxerxes sent with his army into Egypt.

An. 459. Artax. 6.]—Achæmenides, being arrived in Egypt with his numerous army, encamped on the River Nile. In the interim⁶ the Athenians having beaten the Persian fleet at sea, and destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the Nile, and having landed their forces under the command of Charitimus, their general, joined Inarus and the Egyptians; whereon, falling on Achæmenides with their joint forces, they overthrew him in a great battle, killing one hundred thousand of his men, and among them Achæmenides himself. The

¹ Esther ii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

² Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias.

³ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Ctesias.

⁴ Herodot. lib. 3. et lib. 7.

⁵ Diodorus siculus, lib. 11.

⁶ Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.

remainder fled to Memphis, where the victors pursuing them, took two parts of the town; but the Persians securing themselves in the third, called the White Wall, which was by much the largest and the strongest part, there suffered a siege of near three years; during all which time they valiantly defended themselves against their assailants, till at length they were succoured by those who were sent to their relief.

An. 458. Artax. 7.]—Artaxerxes having received an account of the defeat of his army in Egypt, and what part the Athenians bore in the affecting of it, in order to divert their forces from being thus employed against him,¹ he sent an ambassador to the Lacedemonians, with great sums of money, to induce them to make war upon the Athenians; but they not being by any means to be wrought to it, Artaxerxes resolved to endeavour this diversion another way, by sending himself an army into Attica, with Themistocles at the head of it; which he thought could not fail of making them recall their forces out of Egypt, because then they would need them at home for their own defence. And accordingly orders were sent to Themistocles to prepare for the expedition;² and an army and fleet were drawing toward the Ionian coast to be committed to his conduct for this purpose. But Themistocles not knowing how to decline the command, by reason of the great benefits he had received from the king, and the promises he had made of serving him on any such occasion, and, on the other hand, abhorring the bringing of a war upon his country, to extricate himself from this difficulty, resolved to put an end to his life; and therefore inviting all his friends together, and having sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of his blood, and so died. But there are others that say,³ this was done not so much out of a love to his country, as out of a fear of encountering the valour and good fortune of Cimon, who, being then general of the Athenians, carried victory with him wherever he went. But, had this been all the matter, so wise and valiant a man would have seen enough in this case not to have run upon so fatal a resolution. It is possible he might have beaten Cimon: if not, it would have been time enough for him to have saved his credit this way, by dying in battle when vanquished; and therefore he needed not to have anticipated it by a poisonous draught. In the interim,⁴ Artabazus governor of Cilicia, and Megabyzus governor of Syria, were ordered to get ready an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the White Wall, and for the carrying on of the Egyptian war. This Megabyzus⁵ was the son of Zopyrus, and had been one of the generals that commanded in the army which Xerxes led into Greece, whose daughter Amytis he had married; but she having very much abused his bed by her frequent adulteries, which she was very infamously addicted to, he grew very much disgusted at it; and that not only with her, but also with the whole royal family, where perchance she found too much countenance in her crime, especially from her mother, who was as infamously guilty of it as herself. This induced Artabanus to communicate to him the plot, which he had contrived against the life of Artaxerxes after the murder of his father, hoping while he was under this discontent to draw him into his party. But Megabyzus, abhorring the treason, made discovery of the whole to Artaxerxes, and gave him that counsel which put him in the way to get rid of this danger. And, after the death of Artabanus, he headed the king's forces against the partisans of the traitor; and it was chiefly by his valour and conduct that they were suppressed, and Artaxerxes secured on the throne; and, in the accomplishing of this, he received a dangerous wound, of which he very difficultly recovered. By all which merit he very deservedly obtained the first place in the king's favour, and therefore was chiefly confided on in this important commission for the reduction of Egypt.

In the beginning of this year, Ezra⁶ obtained of King Artaxerxes, and his seven chief counsellors, a very ample commission for his return to Jerusalem,

¹ Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.

² Plutarchus in Themistocle.

³ Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle et Cimone.

⁴ Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodorus, lib. 11. Ctesias

⁵ Herodotus, lib. 3. in fine, et lib. 7. Ctesias.

⁶ Ezra vii.

with all of his nation that were willing to accompany him thither, giving him full authority there to restore and settle the state, and reform the church of the Jews, and to regulate and govern both according to their own laws. This extraordinary favour not being likely to have been obtained but by some more than ordinary means, it seems to have been granted at the solicitation of Esther, who was now become the best beloved of all the king's concubines, though not yet advanced to the dignity of queen. For it was usual for the kings of Persia,¹ on some particular days and occasions to allow their women to ask what boons they pleased; and upon some such time or occasion it is most likely Esther, by the direction of Mordecai, though she had not yet discovered her kindred and nation, asked this of the king. This Ezra was of the descendants of Seraiah the high-priest, who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar, when he burned the temple and city of Jerusalem. That he was the immediate son of Seraiah is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one year old at the death of this Seraiah, he must now have been one hundred and thirty-two, and yet we find him alive in the time of Nehemiah,² fifteen years after, when, according to this account, he must have been one hundred and forty-seven years old, though he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole forenoon together to all the people of the Jews; which is a thing wholly unlikely in those days: and, therefore, where he is said to be the son of Seraiah, it must be understood in that large sense wherein commonly, in scripture, any descendant is said to be the son of any ancestor from whom he was derived; and we seek no farther for an instance of this, than the very text, where Ezra is said to be the son of Seraiah; for in the same place Azariah is said to be the son of Meraioth, though there were six between.³ As Ezra was a very holy, so also was he a very learned man, and especially he was very excellently skilled in the knowledge of the holy scriptures; and, therefore, he is said to have been a very ready scribe in the law of God: which he was so eminent for, that Artaxerxes⁴ takes particular notice of it in his commission.⁵ He began his journey from Babylon on the first day of the first month, called Nisan (which might fall about the middle of our March,) and having halted at the river of Ahava till the rest of his company was come up to him, he there, in a solemn fast, recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine protection, and then, on the twelfth day, set forward for Jerusalem, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from Babylon thither. On his arrival, he delivered up to the temple the offerings which had been made to it by the king and his nobles, and the rest of the people of Israel that stayed behind, which amounted to one hundred talents of gold, with twenty basons of gold of the value of one thousand darics,⁶ and six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver of the weight of one hundred talents more. And then, having communicated his commission to the king's lieutenants and governors throughout all Syria and Palestine, he betook himself to the executing of the contents of it; whereby he was fully empowered to settle both the church and the state of the Jews according to the law of Moses,⁷ and to appoint magistrates and judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and not become obedient to it, and that not only by imprisonment and confiscation of goods, but also with banishment and death, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this power Ezra was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute it for the space of thirteen years, till Nehemiah arrived with a new commission from the Persian court for the same work.

Esther⁸ growing farther still in the king's favour, and gaining his affection beyond all the rest of his women, he advanced her to higher honour, and on the tenth day of the tenth month, which falls about the end of our year, did pu

¹ Herodot. lib. 9.

² Nehem. viii.

³ See 1 Chron. vi. 7-9.

⁴ Ezra vii. 12.

⁵ Ibid. viii.

⁶ A daric was a piece of gold of the value of one of our Jacobuses.

⁷ Ezra vii. 25, 26.

⁸ See above, book 2.

the royal diadem upon her head, and declared her queen in the stead of Vashti, and thereon made a solemn feast for his princes and servants, which was called Esther's feast; and, in honour of her, at the same time, made a release of taxes to the provinces, and gave donatives and presents to all that then attended him, according to the grandeur and dignity of his royal estate; which gave Ezra the greater encouragement, under her protection and patronage, to go on with the work of reforming and settling the Jewish church and state in Judea and Jerusalem, which he had there undertaken.

And from his entering on this work, the beginning of the seventy weeks of the famous prophecy which is delivered to us, in the ninth chapter of Daniel, concerning the coming of the Messiah, is to be computed. The words of the prophecy, in our English translation, are as follow:—

(Ver. 24.) "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy: (ver. 25.) Know therefore, and understand, that, from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times: (ver. 26.) And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and to the end of the war desolations are determined: (ver. 27.) And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured out upon the desolate."

And it being of great moment, for the conviction of Jews, and other infidels who reject the faith of Christ, to have this prophecy well cleared, and made out, in order hereto it is to be observed:—

I. That this prophecy doth relate primarily and especially to the Jews. For it expreseth the time that was determined upon the people of Daniel, that is, the Jews, and upon the holy city, that is, Jerusalem, the whole of which was seventy weeks; that is, that this was the time which God had foreordained and determined upon the Jews for their being his peculiar people, and upon Jerusalem for its being his holy city; after the expiration of which, an end being to be put to the Mosaic economy, they should be no longer God's peculiar people, and the worship which he had established at Jerusalem being to be abolished, that city should be no longer a city holy unto him.

II. That these seventy weeks are weeks of years: for among the Jews, as there were sabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days; so there were sabbatical years,¹ whereby their years were divided into weeks of years; and this last sort of weeks is that which is here mentioned: so that every one of the weeks of this prophecy contains seven years, and the whole number of seventy weeks contain four hundred and ninety years, at the end whereof this determined time expired; after which the Jews were no more to be the peculiar people of God, nor Jerusalem his holy city, because then the economy which he had established among them was to cease, and the worship which he had appointed at Jerusalem was wholly to be abolished. And,

III. All this was accomplished at the death of Christ; for then the Jewish church, and the Jewish worship at Jerusalem, were wholly abolished, and the Christian church and the Christian worship succeeded in their stead; then the time, which was determined upon the Jews for their being God's peculiar people, and upon Jerusalem for its being his holy city, being fully expired, thenceforth began the kingdom of the Messiah; and, instead of the Jews, all the na-

tions of the world were called thereunto, and instead of Jerusalem, every place through the whole earth, where God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth, was made holy unto him. And therefore then the seventy weeks of this prophecy must have their ending: for they were determined and decreed for this purpose; and therefore in this they must have their conclusion. And this, all the events which are in this prophecy predicted to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, do necessarily prove. In the twenty-fourth verse, we have six of them, for the accomplishing of which these seventy weeks are there said to be determined; and therefore at the accomplishing of them these weeks must have their ending. They are these following. 1st, To finish (or restrain) transgression;¹ 2nd, To make an end of sins;² 3rd, To make (expiation, or) reconciliation for iniquity;³ 4th, To bring in everlasting righteousness; 5th, To seal up (or complete and fulfil) vision and prophecy;⁴ and 6th, To anoint the Most Holy. And all these were accomplished in that great work of our salvation, which Christ our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his death and passion, and his resurrection from the dead; for being born without original sin, and having lived without actual sin, he was truly the most holy of all that bore our nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great work, he was anointed with the Holy Ghost, and with power, to be our King, and our Priest, and our Prophet, for the effecting and accomplishing of it. And having, as our Priest, offered up himself a sacrifice upon the cross, to make expiation and atonement for all our sins, he did thereby make an end of them, by taking away their guilt; and, in so doing, he did work reconciliation for us with our God. And having, as our Prophet, given unto us his gospel, the law of everlasting righteousness, which was not a temporary law, as was that of Moses, but to last for ever, and to be our guide unto all righteousness, as long as the world should last: and also having, as our King, sent his Holy Spirit into our hearts, to influence and govern us according to this law, he hath done all for us that is necessary, thereby to restrain and extinguish in us all manner of transgressions, and fully deliver us from the power of them.

And, in doing all this he hath sealed up, that is, fulfilled, and thoroughly finished, all that, which by visions and prophecies had been before revealed concerning him. And therefore, all these events being thus brought to pass, and accomplished at the time of Christ's death, this necessarily determines us there to fix the end of these weeks, which were appointed for the accomplishing of them.

IV. The end of these weeks being thus fixed at the death of Christ, it doth necessarily determine us where to place the beginning of them, that is, four hundred and ninety years before. And, therefore, the death of Christ, as most learned men agree, falling in the year of the Julian period 4746,⁵ and in the Jewish month Nisan,⁶ if we reckon four hundred and ninety years backward, this will lead us up to the month Nisan, in the year of the Julian period 4256, which was the very year and month in which Ezra,⁷ had his commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, for his return to Jerusalem, there to

¹ The word *laccalle* in the Hebrew signifieth to restrain, as well as to shut up or finish, and the former rather than the latter.

² Here is a various reading in the Hebrew text as to the word which we translate, *to make an end of*. For whereas the true reading is *lekatem*, that is, *to finish*, or *make an end of*, and in the next line after there is the word *lactom*, which there signifieth *to seal up*; and these two words, as to the letters, differing only in this, that the former is written with a *He* in the middle, and the other with a *Cheth*, the similitude that is between these two letters in the Hebrew alphabet (for they differ very little the one from the other), led transcribers into this mistake, that they wrote the word as if it were *lactom* in both places. But it is corrected in the margin. However, this would not have altered the sense, because the same word, which signifieth *to seal up* in Hebrew, is also used to signify *to finish* or *complete*, because the putting of the seal to any instrument or writing, completes the matter about which it is, and finisheth the whole transaction.

³ The word in the Hebrew text properly signifieth *to expiate as by sacrifice*; and by such an expiation did Christ our Lord work reconciliation for us with our God.

⁴ See note i.

⁵ Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 562. Usherus in Annalibus sub anno J. P. 4746. Strauchius, alique.

⁶ Christ suffered at the time of the Passover, which was always celebrated in the middle of the month Nisan.

⁷ Ezra vii. 9. There it is said in *the first month*, and the first month of the Jewish year was Nisan.

restore the church and state of the Jews; for that year of the Julian period according to Ptolemy's Canon, was the seventh year of that king's reign,¹ in which the scriptures tell us his commission was granted. The beginning, therefore, of the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, of this prophecy, was in the month Nisan of the Jewish year, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and in the four thousand two hundred and fifty-sixth year of the Julian period, when Ezra had his commission; and the end of them fell in the very same month of Nisan, in the four thousand seven hundred and forty-sixth year of the Julian period, in which very year and very month Christ our Lord suffered for us, and thereby completed the whole work of our salvation, there being just seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, from the one to the other.

V. It is evident, from the prophecy itself, that these weeks must have this beginning, that is, from the date of the commission granted Ezra. For, 1st, They are pinned down thereto by an express character in the text; and, 2dly, They cannot, agreeable to that and other scriptures, and the authentic histories of the times to which they relate, have it any where else.

And, 1st, These weeks must have their beginning from the date of the commission granted Ezra, because they are pinned down thereto by an express character in the text; and that character is "the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem;" for that from thence the seventy weeks must have their beginning,² the text is very express; and, to excite us the more to observe it, introduceth it with this remarkable preface, "Know, therefore, and understand." But this commandment or decree was that which was granted to Ezra in that commission with which he was sent into Judea, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia; and therefore from thence the beginning of these weeks must commence. For the words in the text, "to restore and build Jerusalem," are not to be understood literally, but figuratively, for the restoring of the state of the Jews, as well the political as the ecclesiastical, and the resettling of both, according to the law of Moses. And what is more usual in prophecies, than to be given out in figurative expressions? and what is more common in scripture, than by Jerusalem to mean the whole political and ecclesiastical state of that people? and for the re-establishing of both these, and the settling of them again upon the former basis, from whence they had been overthrown by the Babylonians, and were not as yet but very imperfectly restored, the commission granted to Ezra was very full: for it gave him thorough power to restore the law of Moses,³ and fully re-establish the observance of it both in church and state, and to appoint magistrates and judges to govern the people according to it, and to punish all such as should be disobedient thereto, either with death, banishment, imprisonment, or confiscation of goods, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this Ezra accordingly executed, in manner as will hereafter be related. Before his coming to Jerusalem with his commission, the scriptures were in a manner lost, the people in a profound ignorance of the law, and the worship of God neglected, and every thing else, both in church and state, in great disorder and confusion. But, on his coming, he restored the scriptures, instructed the people in the law, brought the worship of God into due order, and proceeded, as long as his commission lasted, to work a full reformation in all things else. And after his commission was at an end, he gave not over his endeavours herein, but, as a priest, as a skilful scribe in the law of God, and as president of the Sanhedrin,⁴ he still carried on the same work; and having a successor equally zealous in the same design, he did as much in it under his authority as formerly he did by his own: so that he hath been esteemed as another Moses, and deservedly reckoned as the second founder of the Jewish church and state. And, therefore, the beginning of this work is a noble epocha from whence to begin the calculation of

¹ Ezra vii. 7.

² See the commission in the 7th chapter of Ezra, ver. 11—26.

³ Dan. ix. 25.

⁴ Neh. viii.

these weeks, and doth most agreeably accord with the intent and purpose of this prophecy, in which they are predicted: for the whole intent and purpose of it is, to foreshow and set forth the age of the restored church of the Jews, how long it was to continue, and when to cease, and be abolished; and from whence is it more proper to reckon this, than from the time when the thorough restoration of it began? and this was then only begun, when Ezra, by virtue of the commission granted to him by Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, in the seventh year of his reign, did set about this work; and, therefore, from hence the computation of these weeks, according to the prophecy that predicts them, must begin. And, that this figurative interpretation of the words, and none other, must be the true meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be understood in a literal sense; for, if they are so to be understood, they can be applicable to no other restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, than that which was decreed and commanded by Cyrus at the release of the captivity; for this prophecy was revealed to Daniel before this release; and, therefore, when it is said therein, that the epocha of these weeks was to begin from the going forth of the command or decree to restore and build Jerusalem, of what decree can it be more properly understood, than of that, which should first be granted next after this prophecy for that purpose, and by virtue whereof this city was accordingly rebuilt, after its having been destroyed by the Babylonians, and was again re-peopled and inhabited by the same people who had been its former inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of Cyrus's decree, appears from many places of scripture. We are told in Isaiah xlv. 28, that "it was Cyrus that should say to Jerusalem, Be thou built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid." And again (ch. xlv. 13,) it is said of the same Cyrus, that "God would raise him up and direct him, that he should build his city, and release his captives;" where it is to be observed, that he that released God's captives, and laid the foundation of the temple, was to be the person that was to rebuild Jerusalem; so that he is not only by name, but also by this character and description, plainly pointed out to be the person that was to do this work. For that Cyrus did release the captive Jews, who were God's people, and that he did no more than lay the foundation of the temple (for it was not perfected till in an after reign,) is well known. And therefore, according to these passages of holy scripture, it must be he only that did restore and rebuild Jerusalem. And so accordingly it was done by virtue of the decree which he granted for the return of the Jews thither: for can it be imagined, that Cyrus should grant license for the Jews to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the temple there, without allowing them to rebuild that city also? Ezra plainly tells us, that as soon as the Jews were returned into Judea by virtue of Cyrus's decree,¹ they dispersed themselves into the several cities to which they belonged, and again dwelt in them; and can it be thought that they did not then again rebuild them? For without rebuilding of them, how could they dwell in them? And if those who belonged to the other cities of Judah rebuilt, and dwelt in them again, how can we think that those who belonged to Jerusalem did not do the same, and that especially since it was the metropolis of the whole nation, the place where the temple stood, where all went up continually to worship, and where three times a year every male appeared before the Lord at the solemn festivals, and where also the governor dwelt, where the council sat, and all matters of judgment were ultimately decided? The matter is beyond all dispute; when the Jews on their return rebuilt their other cities, they must then most certainly have rebuilt Jerusalem also. The great concourse which the reasons I have mentioned constantly drew thither, must have necessitated this, had there been no other inducement for it. It is easier to suppose all the rest of the cities of Judah to have been left still in their rubbish, after the return of the Jews from their captivity, than that this city alone should remain unbuilt. The rebuilding of it is not indeed expressly included in the commission of Cyrus. As we have it recorded in

¹ Ezra ii. 1. iii. 1.

the first chapter of Ezra, that only gives license "to the Jews to return into Judea, and there rebuild the house of God which is in Jerusalem." But the license to rebuild the house of God which is in Jerusalem, must either imply a license to rebuild Jerusalem also, or else (which seems most probable) Ezra gives us, in the place mentioned, only an abstract of the chief things granted by that license, and not a recital of the whole, in which most likely many other things, and among them the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the other cities of Judah, might be fully and expressly mentioned; for it is certain, by virtue of that license, they had power so to do; and accordingly executed it. For the complaint of the neighbouring nations to the Persian court against them that were returned was, that "they builded Jerusalem, that rebellious and bad city, and had set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations of it;" and the order from King Artaxerxes (so the Magian who then reigned, it seems, called himself) was, "to cause the Jews to cease, that this city be not builded."² However, from the first of Cyrus, till the time of this order, fourteen years having elapsed, the rebuilding of Jerusalem had by that time gone a great way; for, within two years after, we find the prophet Haggai complaining of the Jews at Jerusalem, "that they dwelt in ceiled houses, while they let the house of God lie waste."³ From all this it plainly appears, that Jerusalem, after its having been destroyed by the Babylonians, was again rebuilt, by virtue of the decree which Cyrus granted, in the first year of his reign, for the release and restoration of the Jews. And therefore, if these words of the prophecy, "to restore and build Jerusalem," are to be understood in a literal sense, they can be understood of no other restoring and building of that city, than that which was accomplished by virtue of that decree; and the computation of the seventy weeks must begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the computation be begun so high, the four hundred and ninety years of the said seventy weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of those events which are predicted by this prophecy; for, from the first of Cyrus to the death of Christ, were five hundred and sixty-eight years; and therefore, if the said four hundred and ninety years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many years either before the cutting off or the coming of the Messiah, which ought both to fall within the compass of them, according to the express words of this prophecy. It evidently, therefore, follows from hence, that the words of this prophecy, "to restore and build Jerusalem," cannot be understood in a literal sense: for the sum of the whole argument is thus:—If the words are to be understood in a literal sense, they must be understood of that rebuilding of Jerusalem which was accomplished by virtue of Cyrus's decree, and the computation of the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years thereof, must begin from the going forth or issuing out of that decree. But it cannot begin from thence, for the reason mentioned; and therefore these words cannot be understood in a literal sense, but must be interpreted to mean figuratively the restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem. And this Ezra effected, by virtue of the command or decree which was granted to him, for this purpose, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; and therefore here the beginning of these weeks must be placed. And this will be farther proved, if we consider,

2dly, That it can be placed no where else, so as to make the ending comport with the intent and purpose of the prophecy, and the accomplishing of the events predicted by it. For there were four commandments or decrees issued out by the kings of Persia in favour of the Jews, from one of which, according to the express words of the prophecy, the computation of these weeks is to be begun; the first granted by Cyrus,⁴ in the first year of his reign; the second by Darius,⁵ about the fourth year of his reign; the third by Artaxerxes to Ezra,⁶ in the seventh year of his reign; and the fourth by the same Artax-

1 Ezra iv. 12.
4 Ezra i.

2 Ibid. iv. 21.
5 Ibid. vi.

3 Haggai i. 4.
6 Ibid. vii.

erxes to Nehemiah,¹ in the twentieth year of his reign. But this computation could not begin from that of Cyrus, nor from that of the twentieth of Artaxerxes, and therefore it must begin from this of the seventh of Artaxerxes granted to Ezra. That it could not begin from any of the other three I shall show in their order.

And, 1st, As to the decree of Cyrus, the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks cannot be computed from thence, for the reason already said, that is, because, if they begin from thence, they cannot, by a great many years, reach the events predicted by this prophecy, and therefore none who understand this prophecy to relate either to the cutting off, or the coming of the Messiah, do begin them from hence; for, according to this computation, no chronology can ever reconcile them to either of them.

2dly, Neither can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted by Darius: but there having been three Darius's that reigned in Persia, Darius Hystaspes, Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus, it is to be first inquired, which of these three it was that granted this decree, and then, secondly, it shall be shown, that the computation of these weeks cannot be begun from it. And, first of these three Darius's, it is certain it could not be Darius Codomannus: for if the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks be reckoned from any part of his reign, they will overshoot all the events predicted by this prophecy by many more years, than they will fall short of them, if reckoned from the first of Cyrus; and therefore no one hath ever said, that he was the Darius that granted this decree. But Scaliger, and many others following his authority, have said it of Darius Nothus. But there are invincible arguments against it, which unanswerably demonstrate, that it could not be Darius Nothus; but it must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes, the first of these three that reigned in Persia, and none other, by whom this decree was issued out: for he who, according to Ezra, granted this decree, is the same Darius of whom mention is made in Haggai and Zechariah;² but that Darius could not be Darius Nothus, but must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes. For, first, from the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans to the reign of Darius Nothus, were one hundred and sixty-five years: but from the destruction of it to the time of the second decree, by virtue of which the rebuilding of it was finished, were no more than seventy years, according to the prophet Zechariah. For we find in the book of his prophecies,³ that in the fourth year of the same Darius who granted this decree to the Jews (which was also the year in which it was published at Jerusalem,) the fast of the fifth month,⁴ in which they had mourned for the destruction of the temple, and the fast of the seventh month,⁵ in which they had mourned for the utter desolation of the land, which had been brought upon it by the death of Gedaliah, had been observed just seventy years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly considers that text, but that their mourning for these calamities had been from the very time that they had suffered them; and that therefore it could not be Darius Nothus, but it must be some other Darius then reigning in Persia, within the reach of the said seventy years, who granted this decree; and that since the fourth year of Darius Hystaspes was just seventy years from the time in which the city and temple of Jerusalem were destroyed by the Chaldeans (as hath been before observed,) this other Darius must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes. It must be acknowledged, that the same prophet speaks also in another place of the like number of seventy years in the second of Darius two years before. But these were not the seventy years of mourning for the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, but the seventy years⁶ in which God had expressed his indignation against

¹ Nehem. ii.

² Ezra v. i. vi. 14. Haggai i. 1—15. Zech. i. 1—7. and vii. 1.

³ Zech. vii. 5.

⁴ 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12. The Jews observe this fast on the ninth of Ab, which is their fifth month, even to this day.

⁵ 2 Kings xxv. 25. Jer. xli. 1. The Jews observe this fast on the third day of Tisri, which is their seventh month, even to this day; and both these fast days, that of the third of Tisri, and the other of the ninth of Ab are marked on those days in all their calendars.

⁶ Zech. i. 12.

Jerusalem and the cities of Judah; which are to be computed from the time that Nebuchadnezzar came up against Judah,¹ and besieged Jerusalem, for which the Jews fasted in the tenth month: and this was two years before that city was taken and destroyed by him. For the taking and destroying of Jerusalem was in the eleventh of Zedekiah: but the first besieging of it was in the ninth year of Zedekiah,¹ and in the tenth month of that year. But Scaliger,² instead of being convinced by this argument, turns it to speak for him; and his reasonings upon it for this purpose are, that these fasts, which are spoken of in Zechariah³ to have been observed on the fourth and fifth month, and on the seventh month, and the tenth month, could not be appointed but by the church of the Jews (by which I suppose he meaneth the Sanhedrin, or some other convention of priests and elders representing that church.) But neither the Sanhedrin, or any other convention representing that church, could come together, or make any such constitution after the calamities which these fasts commemorated, till the Jews were returned from their captivity, and again settled in Judah and Jerusalem; and therefore these fasts could not begin to be observed, nor the seventy years observing of them, which Zechariah speaks of, commence till after that time. But seventy years from any time after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity will carry us much beyond the reign of Darius Hystaspes; and therefore it could not be the fourth year of Darius Hystaspes, but it must be the fourth year of the Darius, the next of that name, who reigned after him in Persia (and that was Darius Nothus,) in which these fasts were spoken of by that prophet. But the answer to all this is, that there was no need of any such formal constitution of the whole Jewish church for the observing of these fasts. The calamities which they commemorated, while fresh in memory, might be reason enough to introduce the use of them by common consent; and if not, yet what should hinder, but that the priests and elders might meet together in Babylon, while there in captivity, and in that place, as well as if they had been at Jerusalem, hold conventions for the making of such a constitution? If the book of Baruch be to be credited in any thing,⁴ that tells us of such a convention in Babylon, held there in the time of the captivity, and of a fast appointed by it. And we find in the book of Ezekiel, which is of undoubted, because of divine authority, that the elders of Israel in Babylon⁵ met more than once to ask counsel of God from the mouth of the prophet. And when Sherezer and Regem-Melech⁶ came to Jerusalem to ask counsel of the prophets and priests there, in the name and behalf of the Jews of Babylon, about these fasts, can we think that they were sent by any other than a convention of the priests and elders in that place met together for this purpose? It is certain, that most of the constitutions that are now observed by the Jews⁷ were made in the land of Babylon, by conventions of their elders, after the last destruction of Jerusalem (for all that are in the Babylonish Gemara were there made.) And why then might not a constitution for these fasts be made there also by a like convention, after the first destruction of that city? And why there might not be a Sanhedrin in Babylon, during the captivity of the Jews, I cannot see. The temple-service was indeed confined to Jerusalem; but the Sanhedrin was no part of it. That was a national council which might be assembled wherever the nation was. And, therefore, when the whole nation of the Jews was removed into the land of Babylon, who can give a reason why this national council should not be there also, and there meet and

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. iii. 4. The Jews observe this fast in the tenth day of Tebeth, which is their tenth month, even to this day, and call it the fast for the first siege of Jerusalem in all their calendars.

² De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 602.

³ Zech. vii. 5. and viii. 19.

⁴ Baruch i. Although perchance this book be no more than a religious romance, yet such romances do usually so accommodate their fables to the usages and customs of the people and times of which they treat, as not to ascribe any other to them than such as have been of known use and practice in them; and therefore, these books may be of some authority for usages and customs, although not for history.

⁵ Ezek. vii. 1. xiv. 1.

⁶ Zech. vii. 1-3.

⁷ The Jews had in the land of Babylon three universities, Sora, Naharda, and Pumbeditha, where they had their public schools, and public conventions of their principal doctors and learned men; and in these the constitutions that are in the Babylonish Gemara were all made.

consult together for the common interest of the nation in that land, as well as they did when they were in their own? We are told by the Jewish writers, that from the time of Alexander the Great, there was a Sanhedrin in Alexandria in Egypt; for the sake only of a colony of the Jews that was there planted, even while Judea and Jerusalem were fully inhabited. And how much more then might there have been one at Babylon, when the whole nation was removed thither during their captivity in that land? It is plain from hence, that in every part of this argument Scaliger begs his principles, and therefore they can be of no force for the proof of any thing that he would infer from them. But, 2dly, That the Darius who granted this second decree could not be Darius Nothus, but must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes, will farther appear from the part which Jeshua the high-priest and Zerubbabel the governor acted in it; for they were the persons who were sent to Jerusalem² with the first decree, that which was granted by Cyrus, and they also executed the second decree, that which was granted by Darius.³ But if this Darius were Darius Nothus, supposing Jeshua to have been forty years old at the granting of Cyrus's decree (and less at that time he could not be, he having then sons⁴ in the work of the temple of twenty years old and upward,) and supposing Zerubbabel to be thirty years old (and a less age could not comport with his office,) the former must have been one hundred and fifty-seven, and the other one hundred and forty-seven years old, when this second decree granted by Darius was executed by them; which is utterly improbable.⁵ Scaliger, to make out the probability of it, brings instances of several long-livers. I deny not, it is possible one in a century may be found, who may have reached the first of these ages, that is, that of one hundred and fifty-seven. For we have had a Parr⁶ who hath come nigh it, and a Jenkinson who hath outlived it. But that two together, and colleagues in the same work and business, should live so long, is not likely. But, 3dly, the improbability of this will appear much farther, if we consider the words spoken by God himself in the second year of this Darius, which we have in the second chapter of Haggai, ver. 3. "Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?" For this text doth plainly express, that some were then alive who had seen the first temple, and well remembered the beauty and glory of it; and, therefore, if this Darius were Darius Nothus, they must have been of an age much more beyond belief, than either that of Jeshua or that of Zerubbabel above mentioned. For, from the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in which the temple was destroyed, to the second of Darius Nothus, had passed one hundred and sixty-six years; and, therefore, supposing these persons, who are here said to have seen the first temple, and remembered the glory of it, had been then seven years old (which is the lowest that can be allowed for such a remembering,) they must have been of the age of one hundred and seventy-three in the second year of Darius Nothus. And who can think it likely, that many (as the text seems to express,) or any at all among the people, should then be found of so great an age? Scaliger himself thinks this improbable; and, therefore, to evade the strength of the argument, which is from hence brought against him, he would turn the words of the sacred text to speak thus,⁷—"Oh! if any among you had seen the glory of the first house," &c. But the text will not bear this interpretation. 4thly, The series of the kings of Persia, as mentioned in Ezra, plainly makes the Darius, who granted this second decree in favour of the Jews, to be the fourth that reigned in that empire; and the fourth king therein, all agree, was Darius Hystaspes; for after Cyrus, who was the first, succeeded Cambyses the second, and after him was the Magian the third, and then was Darius

¹ Gemara Hierosol. in Succah, fol. 53. Gemara Babylonica in Succah fol. 51.

² Ezra ii. 2. iii. 8. &c.

³ Ezra v. 6. Haggai i. 2. Zech. iii. iv.

⁴ Ezra iii. 8. 9.

⁵ De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 603. et in Animadversionibus ad Chronologica Eusebii sub anno 1487. p. 97.

⁶ Parr lived to the age of a hundred and fifty-two, and Jenkinson to that of a hundred and sixty-nine. See Sir William Temple's Tracts.

⁷ De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 603.

Hystaspes the fourth. And in the same order are these kings mentioned in Ezra in respect to the temple and the rebuilding of it; for he tells us,¹ that during the reign of Cyrus, though he had granted a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, yet the work was discouraged all his reign, through the fraud of his officers, corrupted by the bribes of the Samaritans: that, in the beginning of the reign of Ahasuerus, who next succeeded (*i. e.* Cambyses,) the king himself, being wrote to, discouraged the work, but made no decree against it, out of respect, it is supposed, to his father's decree, which was for it. But Artaxerxes, the next that reigned (*i. e.* the Magian,) having no such regard to what Cyrus had ordered, made a decree against the work; whereon it wholly ceased (which it had not done before) for the space of two years,² until the second year of Darius. This Darius therefore must be Darius Hystaspes, and none other; for he it was that was the fourth of those kings that reigned over the Persian empire. And the prophecy of Daniel (ch. xi.) helps to make this out: for there (ver. 2.) the words are, "There shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all, and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." By which it appears, that the four kings here spoken of were those who were to reign in Persia after him that was then reigning: and he that was king of Persia at that time was Cyrus. And it is from the same words most manifest, that the fourth was Xerxes; and, therefore, according to this place of scripture, there were between Cyrus and Xerxes three kings in Persia: and Herodotus and other historians say the same, and thus name them; 1. Cambyses, 2. Smerdis, the Magian, and, 3. Darius Hystaspes; and, therefore, since the scripture doth name in the same order, after Cyrus, these three as kings of Persia, 1. Ahasuerus, 2. Artaxerxes, and 3. Darius, no doubt they were the same persons; and this Darius, the third of them, was he that granted the second decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. But against all this, the short time that was between the granting of the first decree by Cyrus, and the second year of Darius Hystaspes, is made an objection; and they being men of great name who have thought it of weight, it must not be passed over without an answer, although otherwise it seems not worthy of any. They urge it thus:—From the time of the granting of Cyrus's decree to the second of Darius Hystaspes, were no more than sixteen years; and therefore, if it were then that the resuming of the work of the temple gave occasion for the searching of the records for this decree,³ and it were that Darius who, on the finding of the decree, granted a confirmation of it, there would then have been no reason for any such search to have been made at all; for, say they, what need was there of searching of the records for this decree, before its confirmation, after so short a time as that of sixteen years? the thing might then have been well enough remembered, without going to the records for the proof of it. Darius Hystaspes was himself (they proceed to argue) bred in Cyrus's court, and therefore might himself well enough have remembered this thing, without ordering the records to be searched for it; and if not, yet many of his counsellors and courtiers might. And, therefore, from hence they infer, that it could not be Darius Hystaspes that granted this decree, but it must necessarily have been another Darius reigning after him, in whose time the granting of Cyrus's decree was grown to be a thing past the memory of man; and that could be none other than Darius Nothus. The whole, therefore, of this argument goes upon this supposition, that public records are never to be appealed to, but for things past the memory of man; than which what can be more absurd? Can any that at-

¹ Ezra iv. 5–7.

² So saith the writer of the first apocryphal book of Esdras, v. 73. And although he be an apocryphal writer, and is, in most things where he doth not translate from the canonical book of Ezra, very fabulous, yet, in this particular, he may well be supposed to deliver himself according to the received tradition of the age in which he lived, and the histories then extant; and this was very ancient; for it is certain he wrote before Josephus; and an ancienter evidence than this we cannot have from any writer, since the scriptures of the Old Testament, concerning this matter.

³ Ezra vi.

tend the Chancery here in England remember all the grants and decrees that have passed the seals for sixteen years past? can the chancellor himself do this, if he hath been so long in office? or, if any decree be to be made upon the foundation of a former decree, though passed but sixteen days before, will any chancellor, upon memory only, seal that latter decree, or pass any thing in it, without having the former first laid before him? Although some may have a confused remembrance, in general, of some things there transacted even for sixteen years past, yet, amidst the variety and multiplicity of business which pass in such a court, and where the quick succession of new matters frequently crowd out of the mind all thoughts of those that preceded, whose memory can be sufficient to be depended upon for an exact account of any thing there decreed, without having recourse to the records, where all is exactly set down and registered? and how can any thing be there rightly settled without it? And if this cannot be done for so small a realm as this of England, how could it be done for so large and vast an empire as that of Persia,¹ which was above forty times as large, and therefore must have afforded occasion for grants and decrees forty times as many? It is scarce possible to conceive how such a multitude of things, as must in this case have been decreed and granted for all that empire, could have been all distinctly remembered by any one after a week past; and how much less after sixteen years? As to the memory of Darius himself, Herodotus tells us,² he was but twenty years old when Cyrus died, and, therefore, could not have been above fourteen when this decree was granted for the return of the Jews; and what could he know or observe of it at that age? And as to the courtiers of Darius, the argument is not at all stronger. For is every courtier called to be a witness of all the public acts and decrees of the kingdom? Do all such know whatever passeth the royal signature? or rather, are they not the fewest of all that observe or take notice of such matters? And if otherwise, yet doth not sixteen years usually make great revolutions in kings' courts, especially in those of arbitrary princes, where not only men's places, but also their lives, depend wholly upon will and pleasure, as was most notoriously the case of the Persian court at that time? Cambyzes, who succeeded Cyrus,³ cruelly and wantonly, upon freak, humour, and very trivial occasions only, destroyed a great many of his father's officers. And after him reigned the Magian, who, no doubt, upon that usurpation, provided himself with such a new set of officers and attendants as would best serve to support him in it, and conceal the imposture by which he reigned. And, on his death, there being a new revolution, and a new king chosen, most likely this produced another change of officers and ministers at the court, and by that time many must have gone off the stage by natural death: so that, whether any at all that had been officers in Cyrus's court, when he granted his decree in favour of the Jews, were in Darius's court, in the second year of his reign, then to remember it, and give evidence thereof, is at best very uncertain; but it is most likely that none of them were. And therefore, nothing that is said from this head, for the proving that it could not be Darius Hystaspes that granted the decree above mentioned, can amount to as much as an argument of the lowest probability for it. But, on the contrary, they who, for the sake of this argument, put the granting of this decree as low as the time of Darius Nothus, do thereby afford a much stronger argument against themselves than this can be for them; for this will put the finishing of the second temple at the distance of one hundred and eighteen years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the decree of Artaxerxes made it cease? If they allow this Artaxerxes to be the third Persian king, as he is reckoned in scripture,⁴ that is, the Magian, who reigned next after Cambyzes, then, from the ceasing of the work to the resuming of it again, will be full one hundred years: and, in so long a time of intermission, how could they so pre-

¹ The scriptures tell us, that it reached from India to Ethiopia, and contained, in the time of Cyrus, a hundred and twenty provinces, and afterward seven more were added to them. See Dan. vi. 1. and Esther i. 1.

² Herodot. lib. 1. non longe a fine.

³ Herodot. lib. 3.

⁴ Ezra iv. 7.

serve the beams from being rotten, and the whole building from being so damaged and decayed, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very foundation? which it is certain they did not; for, after the granting of the decree for the proceeding of the work, all was finished in a little more than three years' time. But if they say it was not the Magian, who was the Artaxerxes in the scriptures that caused the work to cease, but he that is first named in the catalogue which we have of the Persian kings in profane historians, that is, Artaxerxes Longimanus, then, from the beginning of the work to that ceasing of it, will be seventy-one years. And, in this case, it may be asked, how came it to pass, if they had so long been permitted to have gone on with the work, that in all that time it had not been finished? Neither of these questions can be answered; and therefore, taking either of these ways, the argument worketh strong against them, and farther proves that it could not be Darius Nothus, but that it must necessarily be Darius Hystaspes who granted the decree, whereby the rebuilding of the second temple was finished. And, upon this supposition, all will be easy and free of difficulty, and the whole proceeding of the matter will be thus: Cyrus, in the first year of his reign over the whole Persian empire, granted his decree to the Jews for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem: the next year after they began the work, and went on with it for about thirteen years, till the Magian caused it to cease. But two years after, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who slew the Magian, and succeeded him in the throne, it was, on the preaching of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, again resumed, and, about a year and a half after, they obtained a decree from Darius to authorize them therein; and then, in a little more than three years time after, they finished the whole work. And thus far having shown, that the Darius who granted the second decree in favour of the Jews, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem was finished, could be none other than Darius Hystaspes, the remaining part of the argument is that therefore the seventy weeks of this prophecy could not have their beginning from this decree, which is demonstrated by the same reason, whereby it hath been above shown, that they could not begin from the decree of Cyrus, that is, because the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks, reckoned from the granting of this decree, cannot reach the chief events which are by this prophecy predicted to fall within the compass of them, that is, the coming and the cutting off of the Messiah: for this decree I reckon was brought to Jerusalem in the fourth year of Darius. The Jews indeed began again with the rebuilding of the temple in the latter end of the second year of Darius; but they had no decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. But, from the fourth year of Darius Hystaspes to the death of Christ, were five hundred and fifty years; and, therefore, reckoning the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years, from thence, they will expire sixty years before the death of Christ, and twenty-four years before the birth of Christ; and, therefore, can reach neither the cutting off of the Messiah, nor the coming of the Messiah, in any sense whatsoever that his coming can be taken in: and these two are the grand events predicted by this prophecy, and it can never be rightly interpreted but in the accomplishing of them. And it may be farther added on this head, that this decree of Darius seems not to accord or agree with the description of that commandment or decree which is mentioned in the prophecy: for the words of the text are, "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem," which plainly imply an original decree, which this of Darius was not; for it was no more than an exemplification and confirmation of that which was before granted by Cyrus.¹ And if it be not such a decree as the prophecy intended, it is certain the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years, cannot begin from thence.

3dly, Neither can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign. And

¹ Ezra vi.

in the clearing of this particular, I must take the same method as in the former: for, as there were three Darius's, so also were there three Artaxerxes's, which, according to ancient historians, reigned over the empire of the Persians, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus. And therefore, first, it must be inquired which of these three it was that granted this decree; and then, secondly, it shall be shown that the computation of these weeks cannot begin from it. And, first, as to which of these three Artaxerxes's it was that granted this decree to Nehemiah, it is certain it must be Artaxerxes Longimanus, who reigned immediately after Xerxes over the Persian empire. For it was that Artaxerxes who was contemporary with Eliashib the high-priest of the Jews, he being high-priest at the time when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem with this decree,¹ which was in the twentieth year of that king: but no other Artaxerxes, but he that was called Longimanus, could be contemporary with Eliashib; and therefore none other but he could be the Artaxerxes that granted this decree. For the age which Joiakim, the father of Eliashib, must then have been of at the time of his death, makes it utterly improbable that it should be Artaxerxes Mnemon; and it would make it much more so, as to Artaxerxes Ochus who succeeded him: for supposing Eliashib, who was high-priest in the twentieth year of that Artaxerxes who granted this decree to Nehemiah, had then been twenty years in that office, his father Joiakim, if this Artaxerxes were Artaxerxes Mnemon, must then, upon this supposition, have died in the last year of Darius Nothus, at which time Joiakim must have been at least one hundred and fifty-one years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in Ezra, that Jeshua, the father of Joiakim,² at the first return of the Jews to Jerusalem after the Babylonish captivity, had sons of twenty years old and upward employed in the work of the temple;³ and since the high-priesthood among the Jews went by succession, according to the primogeniture, and Joiakim succeeded Jeshua in it, it cannot be doubted but that Joiakim was one of those his sons, who were thus employed, and the eldest of them; and if he were twenty years old at this time, he must then have been one hundred and fifty-one in the last of Darius Nothus: for from the first of Cyrus to the last of Darius Nothus, were one hundred and thirty-one years.⁴ The improbability of this sufficiently proves, that it could not be Artaxerxes Mnemon who granted this decree to Nehemiah. And the improbability would be much greater, if we should suppose it to be Artaxerxes Ochus who succeeded him; because then Joiakim must have been forty-six years older. Besides, there is this farther argument that Artaxerxes Ochus could not be the person, because in scripture there is mention made of the thirty-second year of that Artaxerxes who granted this decree to Nehemiah,⁵ but Artaxerxes Ochus reigned only twenty-one years in all.⁶ And if it were not Artaxerxes Mnemon, nor Artaxerxes Ochus, it must then necessarily follow, that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and none other, that granted the decree to Nehemiah in the twentieth year of his reign. And thus far the first part of the argument being cleared, the second is, that the computation of the seventy weeks cannot be begun from this decree, which will fully be manifested by the calculation of the years: for, reckoning from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Christ, there will be no more than four hundred and seventy-seven years; and therefore, if the four hundred and ninety years of the seventy weeks be computed from thence, they will overshoot the death of Christ thirteen years; which being the grand event to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this ending.

But several great and learned men having a particular fancy to begin the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, notwithstanding this objection, they have devised several ways and methods

¹ Nehem. iii. 1.
⁴ Canon. Ptol.

² Ibid. xii. 10. 22.
⁵ Nehem. xiii. 6.

³ Ezra iii. 8. 9.
⁶ Canon. Ptol.

for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of these weeks, calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

The first way which hath been proposed for this purpose, is to reckon the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, by lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath Africanus for its author, who flourished in the beginning of the third century; and he is followed by Theodoret, Beda, Zonaras, Rupertus, and others; and the generality of the Romish doctors strike in with this opinion, into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar Latin translation, which they have decreed in their Trentine Council to be authentic. For, instead of what we read in the beginning of the prophecy, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people," &c. this translation renders it, "*Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviata sunt super populum tuum*, i. e. Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy people;" from whence they argue this abbreviation of the years must be either in their number or their quality. It cannot be in their number; for the text absolutely determines that to seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years; and therefore it must be in their quality or form, that is, they must be lunar years, which are short years; and not solar years, which are longer years. But the Hebrew word *nechtac* in the text will not bear this interpretation; for the true meaning or signification of it in that place is, *are decided or determined*, as in our English version; and in this sense it is used in the Chaldee Paraphrase,¹ and so where in any other. I confess the word doth not occur any where else in the whole Hebrew Bible, or any other word of that root; and in the Septuagint it is rendered *συμπεπληρωται*. But this is not sufficient to justify either the meaning which they would put upon the word, or the inference which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it; for lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as solar years fall short of it. For whereas the four hundred and seventy-seven solar years, which were from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Christ, fall thirteen years short of the four hundred and ninety years, at the end of which this prophecy doth put it; the same four hundred and seventy-seven years when converted into lunar years, making four hundred and ninety-one years, and two hundred and forty-six days over, do carry us one year and two hundred and forty-six days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the said four hundred and ninety years: and therefore, this way of computation doth by no means adjust the difference, but still leaves it wide of an agreement, although not so wide as it was before. Besides, when Daniel had his prophecy revealed unto him by the angel Gabriel, there was not any form of a year purely lunar then any where in use. The Chaldean year at that time was most certainly the Nabonassarean year,² consisting of three hundred and sixty-five days, and the Egyptian year was the same,³ and so was also the Persian.⁴ The Jews⁵ indeed had their common years purely lunar,⁶ consisting of twelve lunar months, and so had the Greeks, only with this difference, that whereas the Jews' lunar months were strictly lunar, as being observed by the phasis, the Greeks, mistaking a lunar month to consist exactly of thirty days, in compounding of their year of twelve of them, made it amount to three hundred and sixty days, which exceeded its true astronomical measure almost six days. But besides, the common years they had also intercalated years intermixed with the common years, which reduced all to the solar form: for what was defective of it in the common years, was restored in the intercalated years. And this the Jews as well as the Greeks were necessitated to by their festivals:⁷ for the Nisan of the Jewish year,⁷ which begun their ecclesiastical year, being pinned down by the

1 In Esther iv. 5.

2 Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, aliosque.

3 Vide Marsham Canon. Chronicum, p. 245. Edit. Lips.

4 Quintus Curtius, lib. 3. c. 3.

5 Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Marsham Canon. Chron. p. 290 291 Edit. Lips.

6 Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. c. de Anno. Marsham Canon. Chron. p. 657-659.

7 Maimonides ibid. Exod. xii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4.

Passover (which was always celebrated in the middle of it),¹ to the time of the beginning of their harvest;² and the month of Tisri,³ which begun their civil year being likewise pinned down by the feast of the tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month),⁴ to the time of the ending of their vintage,⁵ this necessitated them to fling in an intercalary month,⁶ whenever their year fell short of these seasons. And the Greeks were likewise necessitated to do the same thing for the sake of their festivals, especially for the sake of their Olympiads. For the fixed time for their celebrating of those games,⁷ being the first full moon after the summer solstice, it always fell within the compass of one lunar month, either sooner or later, in the solar year; and there being just four years between Olympiad and Olympiad, this necessarily made these years to be solar years, and cycles and rules of intercalation were invented of purpose to bring them to it; and the same is to be said of all other nations which used the like form. Although they might measure their months by the motion of the moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the sun. The Arabs indeed, from the time of Mahomet, have used a year purely lunar, and the Turks do the same, in imitation of them, and so do all others of their sect; but of the ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had lunar years, had also intercalated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore, whatsoever any of their years might be in their singular numbers, they were always solar in their collective sums. And who can think then, that in the collective sum of seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of them, the angel should intend a computation which was then no where in practice, the whole world over? This prophecy concerning principally the Jews, and being written to them (for it is in the Hebrew, which was the Jews' language, and not in the Chaldee, as some other parts of Daniel are,) it is most likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein should be according to the Jewish form, and none other; and there is one argument which, I think, undeniably proves it to be so. The weeks of years by which the time of this prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifestly the same with the Sabbaths of years mentioned, Leviticus xxv. 8, and, therefore, must be reckoned by the same sort of years; but it is certain that those Sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years, and, therefore, these weeks of years must be so too. That these Sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years is manifest; for they all begun from the first of Tisri, which was pinned down by the feast of tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain season of the year (as hath been already observed,) and from that season in one year, to the same season in another, can only be measured by the course of the sun: and all this put together sufficiently shows, that lunar years are not the years which this prophecy is to be computed by.

Another way taken for the reconciling of this difference, is by beginning the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus nine years sooner than where it is above placed, and ending the said seventy weeks three years and a half later, that is, by putting the death of Christ into the middle of the last week, and continuing the remainder of that week beyond it. For, according to this account, the first year of Artaxerxes Longimanus will fall in the year of the Julian period 4241, and his twentieth year in the year of the Julian period 4260; from which numbering sixty-nine weeks and a half, it will carry down the computation to the year of the Julian period 4746, which was the very year on which Christ suffered. And thus far Petavius and Archbishop Usher agree, as to the time both of the beginning and ending of the prophecy; but they differ in one circum-

1 Exod. xii. 13. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16.

3 Exod. xxiii. 16. Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hashanah.

5 Exod. xxiii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 39. Deut. xvi. 9.

6 Talmud in Rosh Hashanah.

7 Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum. lib. 1. c. de Anno, et c. de Period Olympica; et Petavium de Doctrina Temporum, in Paralip. p. 530. Et Rationar. Temp. part 2. lib. 3. c. 1.

2 Levit. xxiii. 10. Deut. xvi. 9.

4 Levit. xxiii. 34. 39. Numb. xxix. 12.

8 2. c. de Anno veterum Hebræorum Autumnali. Joseph. lib. 1. c. 4. Marsham Canon. Chrc. p. 190. Edit. Lips.

stance about the beginning, that is, whether this twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, from whence they both reckon this beginning, and which they both put in the same year of the Julian period, were his twentieth from the death of Xerxes his father, or his twentieth year from the time when it is supposed he was admitted to reign in co-partnership with him, nine years before.

For Petavius supposeth,¹ that Xerxes, nine years before his death, admitted his son Artaxerxes to reign in co-partnership with him, and that from this admission is to be computed the twentieth year of his reign, in which he issued out the decree from whence the first year of this prophecy did commence. And he builds this supposition chiefly upon the authority of Thucydides,² who tells us, that Themistocles, in his flight into Persia, addressed himself to Artaxerxes, then newly reigning. But Diodorus Siculus³ tells us, that Themistocles fled into Persia in the second year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, several years before the death of Xerxes; and therefore to reconcile these two authors, Petavius infers, that Artaxerxes must have been admitted to reign with his father several years before his death, and these years he determines to be nine, because this will best serve his purpose; and to support this supposition, he insists on the usage anciently in practice among the Persian kings, of naming their successors before they went to any dangerous war, and will have it, that when Xerxes⁴ again renewed the war against the Greeks, after the death of Pausanias, he then named Artaxerxes according to this usage, in the same manner as his father had named him on the like occasion, and took him into co-partnership with him in the government of the empire. But there is nothing in the history of those times that can give any countenance to this conjecture. Herodotus,⁵ indeed, tells us of such a usage among the Persians, as is above mentioned; but this was only to name a successor, not to take a partner into the government; and this, according to that usage, was then only to be done when there was a controversy about the succession, as was the case when Darius named Xerxes his successor in his lifetime; but we are told of no such controversy about the succession in Xerxes's time. And it is plain from the passage in Thucydides, where the words are on which the main stress of Petavius's opinion is laid, that he there speaks of Artaxerxes, as then newly reigning after his father's death; and, till his father's death, he could scarce be of an age proper for the receiving of such an address, as Themistocles is said then to have made unto him; for he was but a lad when his father died,⁶ and therefore must have been a mere child, when, according to this reckoning, Themistocles, came into Persia. And if he were admitted to be his successor, and also partner in the empire before his elder brother Darius, upon the same reason that Xerxes was before his elder brother Artabasanus, that is, because he was born after his father came to be king, and the other before, it must follow then, that in the second year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Diodorus Siculus tells us Themistocles came to the Persian court, he could be at the most but fourteen years old; for Xerxes⁷ began his reign but fourteen years before. And there are besides many other inconsistencies in this opinion; but what hath been said is sufficient to show, that it can afford no foundation for the solution of any part of this prophecy upon it.

And therefore Archbishop Usher takes the other way;⁸ and although he placeth the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus in the same year that Petavius doth, in order to the solution of his prophecy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwise than from the death of Xerxes his father; so that he anticipates the true twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus in the same manner as Petavius doth, though not by joining him in co-partnership with his father, but by putting him in due succession after him, nine years sooner than

¹ Rationar. Temp. part 2. lib. 3. c. 10. p. 154. Et de Doctrina Temporum. lib. 12. c. 32, &c.

² Lib. 1.

³ Lib. 11.

⁴ Justin, lib. 2. c. 15. Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.

⁵ Lib. 7. in initio libri.

⁶ Justin, lib. 3. c. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.

⁷ Canon. Ptolemaei.

⁸ In Annalibus Veteris Testamenti sub anno Julianæ period, 4259.

either Ptolemy or any other author doth; and the same testimony of Thucydides which is above mentioned, is the ground which he goes upon for it. And therefore, to reconcile this testimony with the time assigned by Diodorus Siculus, for the flight of Themistocles which is above mentioned, he puts the death of Xerxes, and the succession of his son Artaxerxes, nine years higher up than any other writer doth: and to patch this up, takes nine years from the reign of Xerxes, and adds them to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, his son, contracting the former to twelve years, and enlarging the latter with that of his son¹ Xerxes to fifty. In allowing no other beginning to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than from the death of his father, the most learned archbishop is most certainly in the right. For all those among the ancients, who put the flight of Themistocles in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, suppose it to be after the death of his father, but in no other particular can this opinion be justified: for, first, in contracting the reign of Xerxes to twelve years, and enlarging that of Artaxerxes Longimanus and his son Xerxes to fifty, he goes contrary to all that have wrote of those times, whether ancients or moderns; and especially to Ptolemy, who, in his Canon, assigns twenty-one years to Xerxes, and no more than forty-one to Artaxerxes,¹ including the short reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus his sons, in the last of them. And although the authority of Thucydides be great, and Plutarch tells us² that he hath Charon of Lampsacus also on his side, yet the same Plutarch, from a great number of other ancient writers, and of as good authority, concludes the contrary: but, 2dly, although the authority of Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus should be allowed to be incontestable, and all other authorities must be set aside to make place for theirs; yet this will not infer, that the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus must therefore be put nine years higher than all others have put it, since the matter may be as well adjusted by bringing the flight of Themistocles nine years lower; and this way Mr. Dodwell hath followed,³ and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aside the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who fixeth the flight of Themistocles to the year above mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others that have wrote of the matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardest in this opinion is, for the sake of any historical writer, to lay aside the authority of Ptolemy's Canon, which is built upon astronomical demonstrations. Although Thucydides be a grave author, and of incontestable authority in those matters of the Peloponnesian war which he writes of (for they were done in his time, and he was near at hand to be well informed of them, and he himself was an accurate observer,) yet it is possible he might be mistaken in what he tells us of the Persian affairs, which were done at a distance (as this was,) and before his time; for he was just born when this flight of Themistocles happened.⁴ But Ptolemy's Canon being fixed by the eclipses, the truth of it may at any time be demonstrated by astronomical calculations, and no one hath ever calculated those eclipses but hath found them fall right in the times where placed; and therefore, this being the surest guide which we have in the chronology, and it being also verified by its agreement every where with the holy scriptures, it is not, for the authority of any other human writing whatsoever, to be receded from.

And, as these two great men have been thus far out in placing the beginning of these seventy weeks, so have they been no less mistaken in the fixing the end of them: for to make up the thirteen years which this reckoning fell short of, they have not only anticipated the beginning of these weeks nine years,

¹ Xerxes, the son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, reigned after his father's death only forty-five days, and Sogdianus, another of Artaxerxes' sons, who succeeded his brother, reigned no more than six months and fifteen days; so the time of both their reigns, amounting to no more than eight months, they are in the Canon of Ptolemy cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and neither of them is therein made mention of.

² Plut. in Themistocle.

³ In Annalibus Thucydides.

⁴ According to Aulus Gellius, Thucydides was forty years old when the Peloponnesian war began. (A. Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23.) And the Peloponnesian war beginning toward the end of the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, reckoning forty years upward from thence, the first of them will end in the very year in which, Diodorus tells us, Themistocles made his flight, i. e. in the second year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.

out have also cut them short three years and a half in the ending, by placing the death of Christ in the middle of the last week, and there concluding this part of the prophecy three years and a half before these seventy weeks are fully completed; which hath this great objection against it, that it drops the latter half part of the last week as void, and of no significancy. But no word of God is given in vain; every part hath its significancy, and every word of prophecy therein contained must have its completion. For what our Saviour saith of the law is also true of the prophets; and, as not one jot or tittle of the former was to pass without being fulfilled, so neither can any one jot or tittle of the latter ever pass away without being accomplished. And therefore, every part of the last week of this prophecy, that is, the last half part as well as the first half part, must have its significancy, and also its completion; and, accordingly, every part of it had, as well as all the rest, as shall be hereafter shown.

By all this it appears, that none of those ways which have been taken for the computing of those seventy weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, can make it agree with the prophecy, and therefore it cannot be begun from thence. That which hath made so many fond of beginning the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of this king, and the issuing out of the commission then granted by him to Nehemiah, is the agreeableness which they think is between the prophecy and this commission, beyond what they find in any of the three other grants or commissions above mentioned; for the prophecy placeth the beginning of the seventy weeks at the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, and afterward makes mention of the building of the streets and the walls thereof; and both these, they say, were rebuilt by Nehemiah, by virtue of the grant made to him in the twentieth year of this Artaxerxes. To this I answer, 1st, That Ezra, thirteen years before this grant made to Nehemiah,¹ speaks of a wall in Jerusalem given to the Jews by the favour of the king of Persia; and therefore this, if literally taken, may imply, that the grant made to Ezra included a license or commission to build such a wall, as well as that made by Nehemiah. But if it be said, that the wall mentioned by Ezra, in the place which I refer to, is to be taken figuratively (as I acknowledge it is,) my reply hereto is:—And why may not then the word *wall* in the prophecy be taken figuratively also, there being as much reason for it in the one place as there is in the other? But, 2dly, There is no such word as the *wall* to be found in the original text of the prophecy; for what we there render, in our English translation, *the wall*, is, in the Hebrew original, *the ditch*. 3dly, That though Nehemiah did much enlarge Jerusalem, by bringing new colonies of the Jews thither out of the country, and obliging them to build themselves houses and dwell there, yet this enlarging of the city cannot be called the restoring and rebuilding of it; for it was restored and rebuilt long before, and had many streets and ceiled houses again erected in it,² by virtue of the decree granted by Cyrus, as hath been above shown. And after that, from time to time, many more were added to them, by virtue of the same decree, confirmed by Darius Hystaspes many years before Nehemiah came to be governor of Judea. 4thly, The rebuilding or repairing of the walls of Jerusalem, accomplished by Nehemiah, was a work but of fifty-two days,³ and the enlarging of Jerusalem with new colonies was within a year after;⁴ but the restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, predicted by the prophecy, was to be a work of seven weeks, or forty-nine years, and so long, first Ezra, and after Nehemiah, laboured successively in the work of restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem, as will hereafter be shown: and therefore of this restoring and rebuilding only can the prophecy be understood.

And thus far having shown that the commandment or decree, mentioned in the prophecy for the restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, cannot be understood either of the decree of Cyrus, or that of Darius, or of that granted to Nehemiah

1 Matt. v. 18.

2 Ezra ix. 9.

3 Haggai i. 4.

4 Nehem. vi. 15.

5 Ibid. vii.

in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, it remains, that it must then be understood of that granted to Ezra by the same Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign, and of none other. For, besides the three commandments or decrees above mentioned, there was no other commandment or decree ever granted by any of the kings of Persia for the restoration of the Jews in Judah and Jerusalem, after the Babylonish captivity, but this only that was granted to Ezra. And therefore, if it cannot be understood of any of the other three, it must then necessarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the death of Christ are exactly four hundred and ninety years to a month; for in the month Nisan was the decree granted to Ezra, and in the middle of the same month Nisan,¹ Christ suffered just four hundred and ninety years after.

VI. And thus much being said for the fixing of the beginning and ending of these seventy weeks, it remains that, for the fuller explication of all other particulars that are in this prophecy contained, I farther observe, that the whole of it, as delivered to us in Daniel ix. 24—27, contains three branches or parts: the first foretells events to be accomplished within seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them; the second, events to be accomplished precisely at the end of three particular periods, into which the said general number of seventy weeks is divided; and the third, events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said seventy weeks in the times immediately following thereupon.

I. The first branch or part of this prophecy is that which is contained in the twenty-fourth verse, and foretells the six events above mentioned, which were to be accomplished within the said seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them.

II. The second branch or part of this prophecy is that which is contained in the twenty-fifth verse, and in the former parts of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses. This divides the general number of seventy weeks into three particular periods, and assigns particular events to be precisely accomplished at the end of each of them. These three particular periods are seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week, that is, forty-nine years, four hundred and thirty-four years, and seven years; and the particular events to be accomplished at the end of each of them are, 1st, The restoring and building of the street and ditch of Jerusalem in troublous times; 2dly, The coming of the Messiah; and, 3dly, His confirming of the covenant of the gospel, with many of the Jews, for one week, his causing sacrifice and oblation to cease in the half of that week, and his being cut off at the end thereof. And, therefore, applying these particular events to their proper periods, the prophecy will be clearly thus:—That, numbering the said seventy weeks from the going forth of the commandment or decree to restore and build Jerusalem (that is, to restore and establish the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem,) there should be first seven weeks of that number, that is, forty-nine years, and then the said church and state (here figuratively expressed by the streets of the city) should be thoroughly reformed and restored, and all such good constitutions and establishments² (here figuratively expressed by the ditch) should be made and settled, as should be necessary, for the fortifying and preserving of the same; and that all this should be done in troublous times, and amidst great opposition from enemies. That, after sixty-two weeks from the end of the said seven weeks, that is, four hundred and thirty-four years, the Messiah should come; and that, after this, having for one week, the last of the said seventy weeks (that is, for the space of seven years,) confirmed the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews) he should, in the half part of that week (that is, in the latter half part of it,

¹ For Christ was crucified in the beginning of the Jewish Passover, and that always began in the middle of the month Nisan.

² It is a celebrated saying among the Jews, and of ancient date among them (for it is in Pirke Aboth, which is one of the tracts in their Mishna), "That the constitutions of their elders are a hedge to the law," that is, to fence, preserve, and keep it, from being broken in upon and violated. But a ditch is as much made use of for a fence as is a hedge; and therefore, the constitutions which fence the law from being violated may be figuratively expressed by the one as well as by the other.

cause the sacrifices and oblations of the temple to cease, and, in the conclusion of the whole, that is, in the precise ending of the said seventy weeks, be cut off and die. And, accordingly, all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to pass.

1st, As to the period of seven weeks, it must be acknowledged, that the particular event of restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its streets and ditch, in troublous times (by which I understand the restoring and settling of the church and state of the Jews,) is not distinctly applied thereto in the prophecy: for, in the end of the twenty-fifth verse, both the two first periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the seven weeks, and that of the sixty-two weeks, the event of restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its street and ditch, is subjoined to both of them, without any distinct application to either; but the words immediately following in the next verse, appropriating the time of the Messiah to the period of sixty-two weeks, this necessarily leaves the other, that is, the restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its streets and ditch, to be appropriated to the period of seven weeks. And accordingly, within the compass of the said period of seven weeks, or forty-nine years, this event was accomplished, in the full restoring and establishing of the church and state of the Jews in Judah and Jerusalem, after the Babylonish captivity: for this was begun by Ezra, by virtue of that commandment or decree which was granted to him for it, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and afterward carried on by Nehemiah, by virtue of another decree granted to him, for this purpose, by the same Artaxerxes, in the twentieth year of his reign. And, from the beginning of this restoration of the church and state of the Jews by Ezra, to the ending and perfecting of it by Nehemiah, in that last act of this reformation which is spoken of in the thirteenth of Nehemiah (that is, from the twenty-third verse to the end of the chapter,) were forty-nine years, as will be clearly made out, in its proper place, in the sequel of this history: for, during all that time this work was carrying on, and the great opposition which these two good men met with herein, not only from the Samaritans and other enemies abroad, but also from false brethren and wicked men at home, who hated all reformation, was the true cause that it was so long doing; and that there were such oppositions in the doing of it, this sufficiently verifieth the prophecy in its prediction, that it was to be done in troublous times. And it is observable, that, at the same juncture of time where the restoration of the Jewish church and state ended, there the holy scriptures of the Old Testament do end also; for this last reformation of Nehemiah, which I have mentioned, and where I place the full completion of the said restoration, is the last act which is recorded therein; and therefore, this ending of the period is of sufficient remark for this reason, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the prophecy; which can scarce be said of any other that is assigned for it. And,—

2dly, From these seven weeks, or forty-nine years, reckoning sixty-two weeks, or four hundred and thirty-four years more (which is the term of the second period,) this will lead us down to the coming of Christ, the Messiah, who is here in the prophecy predicted to come at the end of the said sixty-two weeks. For the words of the prophecy are, "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks;" that is, there shall be seven weeks for the completing and finishing of the work for which that commandment or decree was granted, and from thence sixty-two weeks more to the coming of Christ, the Messiah, here intended, that is, to the time of his first appearance on the ministry of the gospel. For his coming here predicted, must be interpreted, either of his coming at his birth, or of his coming on his ministry. No one saith it of the former, neither will the term of years predicted of it ever meet it there: and therefore, it must be understood of the latter, that is, his coming and first appearing in his ministry; and here the years predicted

in the prophecy will exactly find it; for the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, from whence these weeks do begin, being coincident with the year of the Julian period 4256, if we reckon from thence seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, that is, sixty-nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty-three years, this will lead us down to the year of the Julian period 4739, which was the very year in which the ministry of the gospel first began. This Christ executed at first, and therein made his appearance as the Messiah, by his forerunner, John the Baptist, for the space of three years and a half, and after that by himself, in his own person, for three years and a half more. And these two being put together make up the last week of this prophecy, which began exactly at the ending of the said sixty-two weeks. And therefore, here this prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah had its completion. St. Luke¹ tells us, "The word of God first came to John in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar," emperor of Rome. And from the coming of that word to John, and his preaching of it to the Jews,² was the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the first appearance of his kingdom here on earth. And this Christ himself tells us; for his words are (Luke xvi. 16,) "The law and the prophets were until John; since that the kingdom of God is preached." That is, the Jewish economy, under the law and the prophets, lasted until the coming of John, and his preaching of the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. But, from the time of his coming on this ministry, which was the ministry of the gospel, the kingdom of the Messiah began. For as, in the gospel of St. Matthew by the kingdom of heaven, so here by the kingdom of God,³ is meant the kingdom of the Messiah, the church of Christ, which he hath here established among us. And therefore, this kingdom thus beginning with the preaching of John, there must we necessarily place the first coming of that king, Christ our Lord, who founded this his kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been said, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. But here it is to be observed, that this fifteenth year of Tiberius could not be his fifteenth year from the death of Augustus, his predecessor; for then there would have been but four years for the ministry of John the Baptist and the personal ministry of Jesus Christ put both together; which time would have been too narrow a space for the actings which are recorded of them in the gospel. Besides, in so short a time as must be allowed to the ministry of John in this case, it is not likely that he could have acquired that great fame; as appears not only by the gospels,⁴ but also from the writings of Josephus the historian,⁵ that he had obtained, not only in Judea and Galilee, but also through all the circumjacent regions before his death. The fifteenth year, therefore, of the reign of Tiberius,⁶ in which John the Baptist began to preach, must be reckoned from that time when he began to reign jointly with Augustus, and was, according to Velleius Paterculus⁷ and Suetonius,⁸ admitted by him into co-partnership with him in the empire; and, by a law (which Augustus caused to be proposed and enacted by the consuls) had conferred on him an equal power in the government of the provinces with Augustus himself: for from that time the public acts went in his name, as well as in that of Augustus, especially in the imperial provinces, of which Syria was one;⁹ and therefore from that time the years of his reign were reckoned in those provinces. And this happened,¹⁰ as the most learned Archbishop Usher observes, in the year of the Julian period 4725; and the fifteenth year from thence brings us to the year of the Julian period 4739; in which (as is above noted,) the word of God came to John the Baptist; and the preaching of the gospel first began. And then it was that Christ, by this his forerunner, manifested his coming, and made his

1 Chap. iii. 1, 2.

2 Mark i. 1.

3 Vide Grotii Annotationes in secundum caput Matthæi, et Lightfooti Horas Hebraicas ad eundem locum.

4 Matt. iii. xiv. 5. xxi. 26.

5 Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.

6 Luke iii. 1.

7 Lib. 2. c. 121. Ubi verba faciendi de Tiberio hæc habet.—"Senatus populusque Romanus postulante patre ejus (sc. Augusto) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus est."

8 In Tiberio, c. 21. Ubi de Tiberio dicit.—"Legæ per consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto committere administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est."

9 Dio Cassius.

10 In Annalibus sub ann. J. P. 4725.

first appearance in that great work of our salvation, on which he was sent. And from the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when the commandment went forth from that king for the restoring of the church and state of the Jews, to this time, were just seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks, that is, sixty-nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty-three years in all, exactly as this prophecy predicted.

3dly, From this coming of our Saviour began the third period of these seventy weeks, that is, the one week, which is spoken of in the twenty-seventh verse; the events whereof, as there predicted, are, that "for that week the Messiah should confirm the covenant with many, and in the half part thereof (for thus it ought to be rendered,¹ where in our English translation we read *the midst*) should cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease." And so accordingly it came to pass; for, during these seven years of his evangelical ministry, he did, first by his forerunner,² the messenger whom he had sent before him, and then by himself, in his personal ministry, confirm the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then, in the half part of the said week, that is, in the last half part thereof, when he appeared in his own person in the same ministry on which John was sent before him, he caused the sacrifices and the oblations of the temple to cease, that is, first by his preaching of the gospel, which was to supersede them; and then, lastly, by that great sacrifice of himself, which he once offered for all, in his death upon the cross, at the end of this week, whereby they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever. For all other sacrifices and oblations till then being only antitypes and figurative representations of this great sacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy, but as they referred to it, when this was offered, all others vanished of course; as the representative doth at the appearance of the principal, or the type or figure at the presence of the thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the virtue and propitiation of this one sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since. The whole latter part of the last week being the time of Christ's personal ministry here on earth, as the whole of it was employed in the preaching of the gospel, which was to cause the law to cease; so the whole of it may very properly be said to be employed in causing all those sacrifices and oblations to cease which the law enjoined; though the whole was not completed till at the end of this half part, by his death and passion; for then, at the offering up of this great sacrifice, the virtue and efficacy of all others ceased for ever. But here it may be objected, that my placing the death of Christ at the end of this last period is against the express words of the prophecy; for that placeth the cutting off the Messiah at the end of the second period, that is, of the sixty-two weeks; for the words of it are, (ver. 26,) "After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off." To this I answer, he word *after* in this place cannot be understood to mean strictly the time immediately after, but in a large and indefinite sense to denote the whole next week which after followed; for otherwise his coming and his cutting off must have happened at the same time both together, and no intermediate space would have been left for his ministry: for in the verse preceding it is positively said, 'That from the going forth of the commandment, to restore and build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, should be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks;' and therefore, if at the end of the same sixty-two weeks he should be cut off also, then his coming and his cutting off must have happened both together at the same time; and the consequence, which I have mentioned, must necessarily follow, *i. e.* that no intermediate space would have then been left for his ministry; which cannot be said. The word *after* must therefore mean the whole week after; at the end of which Christ, the Messiah named in that prophecy, was cut off by his death on the cross. And there is no need of expressing it otherwise in that place, because the cutting off and death of the Messiah had

¹ The word in the original Hebrew is *chatsi*, which signifieth *the half part*, and not *the midst*.

² Malachi iii. 1. Matt. xi. 10. Luke i. 76. vii. 27.

been exactly determined to that time by what was said before in the twenty-fourth verse. For it is manifest, that, according to the true intent and meaning of that part of the prophecy, his death must be there placed; for, according to that, it must be there placed where it placeth the events that were to be accomplished and brought to pass by it: but the events which were to be accomplished and brought to pass by the cutting off the Messiah, are by that part of the said prophecy (ver. 24,) placed at the end of the seventy weeks, and consequently, at the end of the last of them; and therefore, the cutting off of the Messiah must there be placed also. And there it accordingly happened in the death and passion of Christ our Saviour; and this part of the prophecy was exactly fulfilled by it.

The whole therefore of this second part or branch of the prophecy is thus: the seventy weeks being divided into three periods, that is, into seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week; the first reached from the time of the going forth of the commandment to Ezra, for the restoring of the church and state of the Jews, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the finishing of that work by Nehemiah, forty-nine years after; the second, from the end of that period to the coming of the Messiah, four hundred and thirty-four years after; and the last from that his coming, to his cutting off by his death on the cross; which was one week, or seven years after. And all these put together fully make up the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy; and according to this computation every particular of it hath been fully verified in the completion exactly agreeable thereto, and the whole number of years pointed out thereby exactly answered to a month: for as the going out of the commandment to Ezra, from whence they began, was in the month of Nisan, so the crucifixion of Christ was also in the same month, just four hundred and ninety years after.

III. After what is predicted of these three periods, follows the third branch, or part of the prophecy which is contained in the latter end of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses, and foretells events to be brought to pass, after the expiration of the said seventy weeks, in the times immediately following thereupon; that is, "the destruction of the city and sanctuary by the people of the prince that was to come," who, with their armies, and desolating abominations, should invade Judea, as with a flood, and by a terrible and consuming war bring utter ruin and desolation upon it, and all the people of the Jews that should dwell therein, and consummate the same upon them in an absolute destruction. All which accordingly came to pass, and did, in a very signal manner, verify the prophecy in a full completion of every particular hereof. For on the end of these seventy weeks which were determined upon that people, and their holy city, they having slain the Lord of life, they were thereon cast off by God from being his peculiar people, and the Gentiles were called in their stead; so that thenceforth they were no more his people, nor their city Jerusalem any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and destined to utter ruin and destruction: for, immediately on their having executed the sentence of death upon Christ our Lord, this sentence of condemnation passed upon them; and from that time all second causes operated toward the hastening the execution of it, till at length the Roman armies, the people that were to come, under the command of Titus their prince, invaded them as with a torrent and begirt Jerusalem with their ensigns, "the abomination of desolation,"² which our Saviour from this prophecy forewarns his disciples of. For³ they were idolatrous images,⁴ abominated by the Jews, under which those people marched

¹ Christ foreknowing the wickedness, foretells that this sentence should be thereon passed upon them for it, and accordingly be executed. Matt. xiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.

² Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

³ Vide Grotii Annotationes ad 24. cap. Matt. com. 15.

⁴ Josephus tells us (Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.) that when Vitellius, governor of Syria, was going to pass through Judea with a Roman army to make war against the Arabians, the chief of the Jews met him, and earnestly entreated him to lead his army another way: for they could not bear the sight of those images which were in the ensigns under which they marched, they were so abominated by them. These ensigns therefore, for the sake of those images in them, were abominations to the Jews; and, by reason of the desolations which were

against them, invaded their land, besieged their holy city, and by a most calamitous war, brought utter desolation upon both; which, according to the relations of Josephus (who was an historian of their own nation, and present in all the actions of the war,) they executed in the most terrible and tragical manner of destruction that was ever brought upon any nation, and consummated it to such a degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themselves ever since even to this day, though now one thousand six hundred and forty-five years have passed since these judgments were by the just hand of God thus executed upon them.

But, for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been said in the explication of this prophecy, there still remains one great objection to be answered. For it is urged, that the Artaxerxes who granted the commission to Ezra in the seventh year of his reign, from whence we begin the computation of the seventy weeks, was the same Artaxerxes who, in the twentieth year of his reign, granted another commission to Nehemiah; for the scriptures¹ making Ezra and Nehemiah contemporary, render this beyond dispute. But that this Artaxerxes should be Artaxerxes Longimanus, the age which Nehemiah and Sanballat must then have lived to, makes it, they say, wholly improbable: for Nehemiah, in the book of the holy scriptures called by his name (which all acknowledge to have been written by him),² speaking of the reign of Darius Codomanus, king of Persia, and of the days of Jaddua the high-priest of the Jews, as of times past, he must have been alive after the death of both of them; but Jaddua not dying till two years after the death of Alexander the Great,³ in the year of the Julian period 4392, from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to that time, had passed one hundred and twenty-three years: to which, if we add thirty years more for the age of Nehemiah, when he came to be governor of Judea (which is the least that can be allowed to qualify him for such a trust,) he must have been at the least one hundred and fifty-three years old when he wrote that book, if the Artaxerxes, from whom he had his commission, were Artaxerxes Longimanus. And though we suppose the writing of this book to have been while Darius Codomanus and Jaddua were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, into the first year of the reign of that Darius, yet this will not much mend the matter; for, on this supposition, Nehemiah must have been one hundred and forty years old when he wrote that book; which is still a very improbable age in those times, and consequently, infers the supposal on which it is built (*i. e.* that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus from whom he had his commission) to be very improbable also. And the age of Sanballat, upon the same supposal, will not only be as improbable, but also much more so; for when Nehemiah came into Judea, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, he found him governor of Samaria,⁴ under the king of Persia, and he was alive, as Josephus tells us,⁵ till the besieging of Gaza, by Alexander the Great, in the fourth year of Darius Codomanus, at which time he died. And therefore, if that Artaxerxes were Artaxerxes Longimanus, Sanballat, at the time of that siege, could not be less than one hundred and forty-eight years old: for from the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the fourth of Darius Codomanus, according to Ptolemy's Canon, were one hundred and thirteen years; and when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem, Sanballat having been for some time, perchance for several years, fixed in the government of Samaria, he cannot be well supposed to have been less than thirty-five years old at that time; and putting both these numbers together, they make one hundred and forty-eight years; and both these ages, that is, that of Nehemiah and this of Sanballat, it must be acknowledged, seem very improbable, and most especially that of the latter: for as to Nehemiah, an extraordinary blessing upon that good man may be alleged for such an extraordi-

wrought under them by the Roman armies in conquered countries, they were called desolating abominations or abominations of desolation; and they were never more so than when under them the Roman armies besieged, took, and destroyed Jerusalem.

¹ Nehem. viii.

² Chap. xii. 27.

³ Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chronicon Alexand.

⁴ Nehem. iv. 2.

⁵ Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

nary age in him: but this cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances apart look very improbable; but coming both together are much more so. And therefore, as we have argued above, that the Darius who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple, could not be Darius Nothus, because of the great and improbable age which Jeshua and Zerubbabel must have been of at the executing of that decree: so it is argued here, in the same manner, that the Artaxerxes, from whom Ezra and Nehemiah had their commissions, could not be Artaxerxes Longimanus, because of the great and improbable age which Nehemiah and Sanballat must then have been of at the time of their death: and therefore, as we have said of the former difficulty, that it can be no otherwise solved, but by making the Darius who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple to be another Darius, that is, Darius Hystaspes, who reigned ninety-eight years before that Darius who was called Nothus; so, in like manner, it is said of this latter difficulty, that it can be no otherwise cleared, but by making the Artaxerxes, who in the seventh and in the twentieth years of his reign granted his commissions to Ezra and Nehemiah, to have been another Artaxerxes, that is, Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose seventh year, and whose twentieth year of his reign, were just sixty years after the seventh year and the twentieth year of the reign of the other Artaxerxes that was called Longimanus. Thus far the objection; and, if it holds good, I must acknowledge it overthrows the computation on which hath been built all which I have hitherto said for the explication of this prophecy.

In answer hereto, it hath been said by some, 1st, As to Nehemiah, that in that passage of his book (ch. xii. 22,) where the reign of Darius the Persian, and the days of Jaddua the high-priest of the Jews, are mentioned, that reign of Darius was the reign of Darius Nothus,¹ and those days of Jaddua² were his days from his birth; which might very well have happened in the reign of the said Darius Nothus; and, 2dly, As to Sanballat, that there were two of that name;³ the first of which was the Sanballat spoken of by Nehemiah, and the second the Sanballat spoken of by Josephus. But neither of these answers can possibly hold good. For,

1st, It is manifest, that the text of Nehemiah (ch. xii. 22,) where the Levites are spoken of that were in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, cannot be understood to mean any other days than those wherein they were high-priests. For the high-priest among the Jews was the head of the priests and Levites; and after the captivity, when there was no king in Judah, he had the absolute supremacy over them in all affairs relating to their office. And therefore, it was then as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by the times of their high-priests, as it is now with us to reckon all actions in the state by the times of our kings; and consequently, when any thing is said to have been done in such a high-priest's time, it is altogether as improper to understand it of any other time than that of his high-priesthood, as it would be, when any thing is said to have been in such a king's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his reign; and, therefore, to refer what is here said of the days of Jaddua, as far back as to his days from his birth, is a very forced sense, which the text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the time of King Henry VIII., will any one understand it of the time before his reign, or think it any other than an absurdity so to construe it? And is it not altogether as absurd to understand what is here said of the Levites to have been in the days of Jaddua, of any other days than of those wherein he was high-priest? And, it is to be here observed, that the text joins with the days of Jaddua, the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan: for it is said, "In the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua,"⁴ &c. And therefore, if it should be here asked, whether the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, are to be understood of the days of their high-priesthood, or of the days of their life

¹ Usserius in *Annalibus* sub anno Julianæ period, 4998.

² Isaacus Vossius in *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 149.

³ Usserius, *ibid.*

⁴ Nehem. xii. 22.

from their birth, no doubt it will be answered by every body, of the days of their high-priesthood. And why then must not the days of Jaddua be understood so too? It may be farther added, what need is there in this case to name Jaddua's days at all? because, if they be understood of those before he was high-priest, they were coincident with the days of Joiada and Johanan, which were named before. And therefore, if we understand those days of Jaddua in the text, of any other days than of those wherein he was high-priest, they must have been named twice in the same text, which would be such a faulty repetition as it must not be charged with. Nothing seems more plain, than that the text speaks of the days of these four men, as in succession one after another; and, therefore, we must not run the days of one into the days of the other. Besides, the whole design of interpreting the days of Jaddua, in this text, of the days before he was high-priest, is to support a notion that the said text was written before he was high-priest, and so far back as the time immediately after his birth, about the latter end of the reign of Darius Nothus; they who are the patrons of this notion having no other way to make them contemporary. But then, to name his days with the days of the other high-priests, so many years before he came to be high-priest, and when it must be on many respects uncertain whether he would ever be so or no,¹ is what all the writings in the world besides cannot give us an instance of. From all this it plainly follows, that those days of Jaddua, in the text above mentioned, can be meant of no other days than the days of his high-priesthood; and that therefore he must have been in that office before this text was written. And also it is as evident, that the Darius in the same text mentioned, can be none other than Darius Codomannus,² in whose reign Jaddua was high-priest. For the text,³ bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several high-priests, terminates the whole in the days of Jaddua, and the reign of Darius the Persian, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore, Darius the Persian, in that text mentioned, could be none other than Darius Codomannus, because no other Darius but he was king of Persia while Jaddua was high-priest at Jerusalem. And, if so, it must be in the reign of this Darius, of the soonest, that this text was written; and consequently Nehemiah, if he were the writer of it, must then have been living. And, supposing it to have been in the reign of this Darius, and in the first year of it, Nehemiah, if then living, must have been a hundred and forty years old; but if it were after the death both of Darius and Jaddua, as the obvious sense of the text seems to imply, he must then have been much older, that is, one hundred and fifty-three at the least, as I have above said. But neither of these is likely; and, therefore, it must be acknowledged, that this answer doth not remove the difficulty. Neither,—

2dly, Can the other answer remove that which ariseth from the age of Sanballat. For, to solve that objection, by making two Sanballats, is plainly giving up the cause; it being only a shift, which can never go down with any one that duly considers the matter: for it is not to be doubted, but that the Sanballat who is said, in the last chapter of Nehemiah, to have married his daughter to one of the sons of Joiada the high-priest, is the same Sanballat who is mentioned so often in the former part of that book, as the great opposer of Nehemiah in all his undertakings for the welfare of the children of Israel: for he is, in this last place, called by the same proper name of Sanballat,⁴ as in the former places of that book, and hath there also given unto him the same additional name of the Horonite, taken from the name of Horonaim,⁵ a city of Moab, whereof it is supposed he was a native. And it is not likely, that both these names should concur in any other within the time of the same governor of Judea, but in the same person only. And that this same Sanballat, the Horon-

¹ It was uncertain, not only from the uncertainty of life, but also because he might in the interim have incurred an incapacity by being maimed, or otherwise, and also might be excluded by the Persian king.

² Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

³ Nehem. xii. 22.

⁴ Ibid. xiii. 28.

⁵ Isa. xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 3. 5. 34.

nite, is the same Sanballat which Josephus treateth of, is as evident; for the Sanballat of Nehemiah¹ was governor of Samaria, and so was the Sanballat of Josephus:² the Sanballat of Nehemiah was a great enemy of the Jews,³ and so was the Sanballat of Josephus:⁴ the Sanballat of Nehemiah married his daughter to one of the sons of a high-priest of the Jews;⁵ and so did the Sanballat of Josephus: and who then is there that will not from hence conclude that they were both the same person?

And thus far I have shown, that neither part of the objection above mentioned is removed by either of these answers. And I have been the longer herein, because they have been men of great name, and great learning, who have been the authors of them, and others as great have acquiesced in them as sufficient. But, to come to the truth of the matter, I answer,

1st, As to the age of Nehemiah, that the text from whence this objection is made, doth not infer it. For, notwithstanding what is said therein, Nehemiah might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great number of years before it was written: for all that is contained in the said twelfth chapter of Nehemiah, from the beginning of it to the twenty-seventh verse of the same, was never written by Nehemiah, but is an interpolation there inserted long after his death, by those who received this book into the canon of scripture: for, as Ezra,⁶ as far as he went in that collection which he made of the holy scriptures, inserted in several places such interpolations as he thought necessary for the clearer understanding of them; so they who laboured after him in the perfecting of the said collection, did the same in the books which they afterward added to it, till they had completed the whole about the time of Simon the Just: for he being the last of those whose labours were employed in the settling of the canon of the scriptures of the Old Testament, and this book being the last that was received into it, as being the last that was written, it is justly reckoned to have been in his time that it was first thus received into the number of the sacred books; and then this interpolation was added by him, and those who were assisting him in this work. Of all which particulars a fuller account will be hereafter given in their proper places. And that this is an interpolation, the interruption which is made thereby in the sense and connexion of that part of the book doth sufficiently show; and most learned men that have considered this matter are now convinced that it is so.⁷

But, 2dly, As to the other objection which is drawn from the age of Sanballat, the answer is much easier; for here there is no opposition between scripture and scripture, but only between scripture and the writings of a profane author. Nehemiah placeth Sanballat, the Horonite, in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus; Josephus⁸ makes him live down to the time of Alexander the Great, above a hundred years after. Here there is no necessity of reconciling one with the other: for, if both cannot consist together (as the great age which Sanballat in this case must have lived to, doth sufficiently prove they cannot,) the profane writer must give place to the sacred: and therefore, the true answer to this matter is, Josephus was mistaken. The sacred writ, as being dictated by the Holy Spirit of God, must ever be of infallible truth: which cannot be said of the writings of Josephus, for they have in them many great and manifest mistakes; and no part of them more than the eleventh book of Antiquities, in which is written what gives the ground for this objection: for therein he frequently varies from scripture, history, and common sense; which manifestly proves it to have been the least considered, and the worst digested, of all that he hath written. Therein he makes Cambyases,⁹ who was the first that reigned after Cyrus, to have been the Persian king that, by his decree, forbade the going on with the rebuilding of the temple; whereas, the scripture plainly tells us it was Artaxerxes,

¹ Nehem. iv. 2.

² Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7, 8.

³ Nehem. ii. iv. vi.

⁴ Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7, 8.

⁵ Nehem. xiii. 28.

⁶ See below, in the sequel of this history

⁷ Isaacus Vossius in Chronologia Sacra, c. 10. p. 149. Cary's Chronology, part 2, book 2, chap. 6. p. 197.

⁸ Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

⁹ Antiq. lib. 11. c. 3.

who is there named in the third place, after Cyrus.¹ He inserts into this book,² out of the apocryphal Esdras, the fabulous and absurd story of the three chamberlains contending before Darius Hystaspes about who was strongest: and, making Zerubbabel to be one of them, and to obtain the victory in this contest, he introduceth Darius giving him, for the reward of this victory, a decree for another return of the captive Israelites to Judea; which is neither spoken of in scripture, nor consisting with it; and placeth at the head of those who he saith then returned, Zerubbabel the governor, and Jeshua the high-priest; whereas, it is certain, from Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, that they were then both at Jerusalem, and there, on the exhortations of the two prophets last mentioned, setting forward the rebuilding of the temple. And then he goes on, out of the same romance, to relate as consequential to this second return (which is wholly fictitious,) all that which the scriptures tell us was done after the first; and, in some particulars, very much exceeds the fictions of the romancer himself; for he makes those who came from Babylon to Judea, in this fictitious return, to be four millions eight thousand six hundred and eighty-four men, a monstrous number! and the women and children that belonged to them to be no more than forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; a disproportion which is utterly incredible, especially among those who had plurality of wives. And he makes Xerxes,³ who succeeded Darius Hystaspes, to have been that Artaxerxes of the holy scriptures, who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem; whereas the thirty-second year of that Artaxerxes is mentioned in scripture,⁴ and it is certain the reign of Xerxes did not exceed twenty-one years.⁵ He brings not Nehemiah to Jerusalem till the twenty-fifth year of that Artaxerxes;⁶ whereas the scriptures tell us⁷ he came thither in the twentieth; and he makes him to be employed there three years and a half in the rebuilding of the walls of the city; whereas we read in the sacred text,⁸ that it was done in fifty-two days. And since Josephus hath in this book made all these mistakes, besides many more, which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought strange, that I assert what he saith in this same book, in reference to Sanballat, is a mistake also: for therein he tells us of him,⁹ "That, being made governor of Samaria for the last Darius, he married his daughter to one whose father had been high-priest of the Jews: and that this son-in-law having, for this marriage, as being contrary to the Jewish law, been deprived of his priesthood, and driven out of Jerusalem, he obtained from Alexander (to whom he revolted while at the siege of Tyre) license to build on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that at Jerusalem, and to make his son-in-law high-priest of it; and that, after having attended Alexander at this siege of Tyre, and also at that of Gaza, with eight thousand men, about the time of the taking of the last of these he died." Thus far this historian. That Sanballat thus married his daughter to a son of a high-priest of the Jews, and built a temple on Mount Gerizim for him, I readily acknowledge; but that he built this temple by license from Alexander, or lived down to those times, is as great a mistake in the relator as any that I have above mentioned; that he should build this temple by license from Alexander, is inconsistent with what Josephus himself tells us of the matter: for, according to him, Sanballat did not revolt to Alexander till he was set down before Tyre; and that siege and the siege of Gaza, both together, lasted only nine months. And therefore, if we suppose Sanballat to have obtained this license from Alexander in the very beginning of these nine months, he could have had but nine months wherein to build a temple like that at Jerusalem, which cost the labour of many years, and the work of a multitude of hands to erect it. And how is it possible such a structure could be built in so short a time, and that especially since all that while neither Sanballat himself could be present to attend it, nor those by whose hand and help the work was to be effected? for during all that time, Jo-

¹ Ezra iv. 6, 7. For there he makes Ahasuerus to be the first after Cyrus, and Artaxerxes, who forbade the going on with the rebuilding of the temple and city of Jerusalem, to be the second.

² Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

³ Ibid. c. 5.

⁴ Nehem. xlii. 6.

⁵ Canon Ptolemaei.

⁶ Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

⁷ Nehem. ii. 1.

⁸ Ibid. vi. 15.

⁹ Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7 & 8.

sephus tells us, Sanballat attended Alexander in the camp, and had eight thousand of his Samaritans there with him, who being the main strength and flower of that people, it is wholly improbable that, in their absence, those who were left behind should have capacity enough to undertake, or hands enough to go through with such a work, especially when the chief projector, Sanballat himself, by whose direction all was to be done, was absent also. It being therefore utterly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that this temple could have been built by a license from Alexander, in the lifetime of Sanballat, it must follow, that if it were built at all by virtue of such a license from Alexander, it must have been built by the Samaritans after Sanballat was dead. But the ill circumstances in which the Samaritans were with Alexander immediately after the time when Josephus saith Sanballat died, and the great misfortunes which they thereon fell into, make this as improbable as the former: for Alexander was no sooner gone into Egypt, where he immediately marched after his taking of Gaza, but the Samaritans,¹ rising in a mutiny against Andromachus, a favourite of his, whom he had left governor of Syria, set fire to the house where he was, and burned him to death; which justly provoked Alexander to so severe a revenge against them, that, on his return, he put a great number of them to death, expelled all the rest of them out of their city, and gave it to be inhabited by a colony of his Macedonians, and added their country to that of the Jews.² And as to the eight thousand men which had followed his camp,³ he sent them into Thebais, the remotest province of Egypt, and there settled them on such lands as he caused to be distributed among them in that province, without suffering them any more to return into their own country. The remainder that survived this ruin were permitted to dwell in Sechem, a small village near Samaria, which hath from that time been the head seat of that people; and there they have remained ever since, even unto this day. And whether a people, who had in so high a degree provoked Alexander, should be allowed to build such a temple by his favour, or, if they had, could at all be in a capacity, when thus broken and ruined, to accomplish it, is an easy question to answer. Whoever shall consider this in both its branches, will, no doubt, think it in each of them improbable; and that, with a license from Alexander, neither before the death of Sanballat, nor after it, could any such temple have been built by the Samaritans. However, I deny not, but that, as hath been already said, such a temple was built by Sanballat upon Mount Gerizim, and upon the occasion mentioned, that is, of the marriage of his daughter with a son of the high-priest of the Jews. But this was done long before the time of the last Darius, who was called Codomannus, in the time of a former Darius, surnamed Nothus, who was king of Persia, eighty-eight years before him; for it appears from scripture, that this marriage was consummated while Joiada the son of Eliashib was high-priest of the Jews,⁴ and he entered on his office in the eleventh year of this Darius; and four years afterward (that is, in the fifth year of the high-priesthood of the said Joiada, and in the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus) was it, that his son was thus married to the daughter of Sanballat, as will be hereafter shown in its proper place. And upon this marriage followed all the rest which Josephus relates of the building of the temple upon Mount Gerizim by Sanballat, and the making of his son-in-law high-priest of it. So that all this was done, not in the time of Darius Codomannus, in the last year of his reign, or by license from Alexander, but in the time of Darius Nothus, and by license from him only granted in the fifteenth year of his reign to Sanballat for this purpose. And this clears the whole objection: for Darius Nothus, in Ptolemy's Canon, immediately succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus, in whose twentieth year Sanballat is first made mention of; and supposing him then to have been thirty-five years old, he would, in the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus, be no more than

¹ Eusebii Chronicon ad annum 1625... In Lat. Hieronymi, p. 137; in Græcis, p. 56, 177. edit. ult. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

² Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. p. 106.

³ Joseph, Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

⁴ Nehem. xiii. 28.

seventy-one; which is an age that more than the tenth part of mankind commonly arrive unto, if we may make a judgment hereof from the bills of mortality in London, where commonly the aged make a tenth part of the burials; and none that die there used to be put into those bills under that title unless they outlive seventy. That which led Josephus into this error, I take it, was the common notion, which hath long obtained among his countrymen,¹ that the Darius whom Alexander conquered was the son of Ahasuerus by Esther; and therefore, on his making Artaxerxes Longimanus to be Ahasuerus, he makes the Darius that succeeded him, that is, Darius Nothus, to be the last Darius who was subdued by that conqueror. And that this was his opinion appears plainly from his history: for, having therein given us an account of all the kings of Persia, from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Longimanus, in that exact series of succession in which they reigned one after the other, without omitting so much as the Magian usurper, though he reigned only seven months after Artaxerxes Longimanus, he names none other but that last Darius, in whom the Persian empire ended: which is a plain argument, that he took that last Darius to have been the Darius that succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus; and, if so, the age of Sanballat will then put no difficulty upon us. But Isaac Vossius,² by an emendation of the text of Josephus, introduceth therein another Artaxerxes, as mentioned by him to reign in Persia between Artaxerxes Longimanus and the last Darius: for whereas, in the seventh chapter of the eleventh book of his Antiquities; in all the printed copies, we read of Bagoses, that he was general του λαου 'Αρταξερξου, that is, of the people of Artaxerxes, he would have it to be του λαου 'Αρταξερξου, which may be rendered in English, either of the other Artaxerxes, or of another Artaxerxes: and, to justify the emendation, he brings the authority of Ruffinus, who, in his version of Josephus, translates this place as if the copy which he used had it του λαου 'Αρταξερξου. But Ruffinus's Latin version is no sufficient standard whereby to judge of the original, since in many places he fantastically varies from it. And since there were two Artaxerxes that reigned in Persia, after Artaxerxes Longimanus, that is, Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus, whether by λαος 'Αρταξερξου we understand the other Artaxerxes, or another Artaxerxes, the true propriety of speech will bear neither of them in that place; and, if it could, a long-received reading ought in no ancient author to be varied from, without the authority of some good manuscript to justify the emendation; and there is none alleged in this case. So that all that Vossius saith about it can amount to no more than a conjecture, which we can build nothing certain upon: and to alter old authors upon conjectures only is never to be allowed, especially where the context will bear the one reading as well as the other: for, since the various fancies of men may lead to various conjectures, if there should be such a liberty allowed, whole books may be thus altered away, and utterly defaced, by such conjectural emendations; and many good authors have already too much suffered by it.

And thus far I have explained this important prophecy in all its parts and branches, and fully shown all those events in which every particular of it had its completion. That there are several difficulties in it must be acknowledged. The perplexities which many learned men have been led into in their explanations of it do sufficiently prove it: and the understanding in a literal sense what is there meant in a figurative hath not been the least cause hereof. Not to be delivered in plain terms is what is common to all prophecies, there being none of them without their difficulties and obscurities. There is too great an itch in mankind to look into futurities, which belong to God only to know. And, although God hath been pleased so far to gratify our curiosity herein, as to give us prophecies for the magnifying of his omniscience among us; yet they are most of them delivered in such dark and obscure terms, as not to be thoroughly understood till after they are fulfilled. Then the events become sure comments upon

1 R. Ab'aham Levita in Historica Cabala. David Gantz in Zemach David. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.
2 In Chronologia Sacra, c. 10. p. 150.

the text And I hope, when the reader hath fully considered all that is above proposed concerning this very important prophecy, he will be thoroughly satisfied how every particular of it hath had its completion.

An. 457. Artax. 8.]—But, to return again to our history, Ezra having found,¹ in the second year of his government, that many of the people had taken strange-wives, contrary to the law, and that several of the priests and Levites, as well as other chief men of Judah and Benjamin, had transgressed herein, after he had, in fasting and prayer, deprecated God's wrath for it, he caused proclamation to be made for all the people of Israel that had returned from the captivity to gather themselves together at Jerusalem, under the penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of all their goods; and, when they were met, he made them sensible of their sin, and engaged them in a promise and covenant before God, to depart from it, by putting away their strange wives, and all such as were born of them, that the seed of Israel might not be polluted with such an undue commixture; and thereon commissioners were appointed to inquire into this matter, and cause every man to do according to the law herein. And they sat down the first day of the tenth month to examine hereinto, and made an end by the first day of the first month; so that, in three months' time, that is, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months of the Jewish year, a thorough reformation was made of this transgression; which three months answer to January, February, and March, in our year.

About this time, Bigthan and Teresh,² two eunuchs of the palace, entered into a conspiracy against the life of King Artaxerxes. Most likely they were of those who had attended Queen Vashti; and, being now out of their offices by the degrading of their mistress, and the advancing of another into her place, took that disgust thereat, as to resolve to revenge themselves on the king for it; of which Mordecai having gotten the knowledge, he made discovery hereof to Queen Esther, and she, in Mordecai's name, to the king; whereon inquiry being made into the matter, and the whole treason laid open and discovered, the two traitors were both crucified for it, and the history of the whole matter was entered on the public registers and annals of the kingdom.

Megabyzus and Artabazus, who were appointed generals by Artaxerxes for the Egyptian war,³ had drawn together into Cilicia and Phœnicia an army of three hundred thousand men for that expedition; but wanting a fleet for the carrying of it on by sea, they were forced to tarry there all this year, while it was preparing for them in Cilicia, Cyprus, and Phœnicia, and other maritime parts of the Persian empire there adjoining; all which time they carefully employed in exercising their soldiers, and practising and instructing them in all military arts for the war; which conduced not a little to the victory which they afterward obtained. In the interim, Inarus with his Egyptians and the Athenian auxiliaries pressed hard their assaults upon the White Wall at Memphis; but the Persians valiantly defending themselves, the siege continued all this year without any success.

An. 456. Artax. 9.]—But the next year after,⁴ the Persian fleet being ready, Artabazus took the command of it, and set sail for the Nile; and, at the same time, Megabyzus marched the army over land to Memphis; where, on his arrival, having raised the siege, and joined the besieged, he gave battle to Inarus and all his forces, and overthrew them with a great slaughter, which fell chiefly upon the Egyptian revoltors. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded in the fight by Megabyzus, made his retreat with the Athenian auxiliaries, and as many of the Egyptians as would follow him, to Biblus, a city standing in the island of Prosopitis; which being surrounded by the Nile, and the branches of that river encompassing it being both navigable, the Athenians drew up their fleet into one of them, in a station where it was safe from the enemy, and endured a siege of a year and a half in that island. In the interim, the rest of the Egyptians,

¹ Ezra ix. x.

² Esther ii. 21.

³ Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

⁴ Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

after that blow, all submitted to the conquerors, and returned again to their obedience to King Artaxerxes, excepting Amyrtæus, who still maintained a party against him in the fens, where he reigned many years; the Persians, by reason of the difficulty of access to those parts, having been never able to reduce him.

An. 454. Artax. 11.]—In the meantime, the Persian army at Prosopitis pressed on the siege; but finding that they could make no work of it by the usual and common ways of war, by reason of the valour and resolution of the defendants, at length had recourse to craft and stratagem, whereby they soon accomplished what by open force they could not affect; for having, by the making of many channels, drained that branch of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet had its station, they laid it on dry ground, and made a passage open for all their army to pass over into the island; whereon Inarus, seeing his case desperate, with all his Egyptians, and about fifty of the Athenian auxiliaries, came to composition with Megabyzus, and yielded to him on terms of safety for their lives. But the rest of the auxiliaries, being in number about six thousand, put themselves on their defence; and therefore, having set their fleet on fire, stood together in battle array, with resolution to die with their swords in their hands, and, in imitation of the Lacedemonians that fell at Thermopylæ, sell their lives as dear as they could; which the Persians perceiving, and not being willing to engage with men so desperately resolved, offered them peace on terms, that they should leave Egypt, and have a free passage home into their own country, which way they should choose for their return thither; which being accepted of, they delivered the island, with the city of Biblus, to the conquerors, and marched to Cyrene, where they took shipping for Greece. But the major part of those that went on this expedition perished in it.

And this was not all the loss which the Athenians suffered in this war:² for another fleet of fifty sail being sent by them for the relief of those who were besieged in Prosopitis, they arrived at one of the mouths of the Nile, a little after the place was delivered, with intention to sail up the Nile, for the assistance of their countrymen, to the place where they were besieged, not knowing the misfortune that had happened to them. But they no sooner entered the river, but they were set upon by the Persian fleet from the sea, and assaulted with darts by their land army from the shore; so that they all perished, excepting a very few of their ships, which broke through the enemy and escaped. And here ended this unfortunate war, which the Athenians made in Egypt, in the sixth year after it was begun. And, after this, Egypt was again reduced under the Persian yoke, and so continued all the remaining time of the reign of Artaxerxes.

An. 453. Artax. 12.]—Joachim, the high-priest of the Jews, being dead, was succeeded by Eliashib his son,³ who bore that office forty years.

Haman, an Amalekite of the posterity of Agag, who was king of Amelek in the time of Saul,⁴ growing to be the chief favourite of King Artaxerxes, all the king's servants were commanded to pay reverence unto him, and bow before him; and all of them obeyed the royal order herein, excepting Mordecai the Jew, who, sitting in the king's gate, according to his office, paid not any reverence to Haman at such times as he passed by into the palace, neither bowed he at all to him: of which, being told, he was exceeding wrath; but scornful to lay hands on one man only, and being informed that he was a Jew, he resolved, in revenge of this affront, to destroy not only him, but also his whole nation with him; and to this perchance he was not a little excited by the ancient enmity which was between them and the people of whom he was descended. And therefore, for the accomplishing of this design, on the first day of the first month, that is, the month Nisan, he called together his diviners, to find out what day would be the most lucky for the putting of it in exe-

¹ Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

² Thucydides, lib. 1.

³ Chronicon Alexandrin. Nehem. xii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

⁴ Esther iii.

cution; whereon they having, according to the way of divination then in use among those eastern people, cast lots, first upon each month, and after upon each day of the month, did thereby determine for the thirteenth day of the twelfth month following, called Adar, as the day which they judged would be most lucky for the accomplishing of what he purposed; whereon he forthwith went in unto the king, and, having insinuated to him that there was a certain people, dispersed all over his empire, who did not keep the king's laws, but followed laws of their own, diverse from the laws of all other people, to the disturbance of the good order of his kingdom, and the breach of that uniformity whereby it ought to be governed; and that therefore it was not for the king's profit that they should be any longer suffered: he proposed and gave counsel, that they should be all destroyed, and extirpated out of the whole empire of Persia, and urged it as that which was necessary for the establishing of the peace and good order of his government. To which, having obtained the king's consent, and an order, that on the thirteenth day of Adar following, according as was determined by the divination of the lots, it should be put in execution, he called the king's scribes together to write the decree; and it being drawn according as he proposed, on the thirteenth day of the same month of Nisan, copies thereof were written out and sent into all the provinces of the empire, commanding the king's lieutenants, governors, and all other his officers in every one of them, to destroy, kill, and cause to perish, all Jews, both young and old, little children, and women, in one day, even on the thirteenth day of Adar following, and to take the spoil of them for a prey; which day being full eleven months after the date of the decree, the lot which pointed out that day seems to have been directed by the special providence of God, that so long a space intervening, there might be time enough to take such measures as might be proper to prevent the mischief intended.

But an objection being likely to rise against this, from those who had the management of the king's treasury, because the destroying of so great a number of the king's subjects, as the Jews through the whole empire amounted to, must necessarily cause a great diminution of the public taxes, he offered ten thousand talents of silver out of his own purse to make the king amends for it: which sum, if computed by Babylonish talents, amounts to two millions one hundred and nineteen thousand pounds of our sterling money; but if by Jewish talents, it will be above twice as much: a prodigious sum for a private man to be owner of! As this shows the greatness of his riches, so doth it also the greatness of his malice toward the Jews, that he could be content to give so great a price for the executing of his revenge upon them. But the king's favour was then so great toward him,² that he remitted to him all that sum, and granted him all that he desired without it; though the damage which the king would have suffered by it in his revenue, would have been much greater than all that the enemy was able to give could have been sufficient to countervail.³ We are not to wonder that private men had then such vast riches. There are instances to be given of much greater sums in the hands of such men in those ancient times. I shall at present make mention only of two of them; Pythius the Lydian, and Marcus Crassus the Roman. The former, when Xerxes passed into Greece,⁴ was possessed of two thousand talents in silver, and four millions of darics in gold, which, together, amounted to near five millions and a half of our sterling money; and the latter,⁵ after he had consecrated the tenth of all that he had to Hercules, feasted all the people of Rome, at ten thousand tables, and had given them in a donative of corn, to every citizen, as much as would last him three months, found the remainder of his estate to be seven thousand one hundred Roman talents, which amounts to above a million and a half of our money. This may seem much to us at present. But the wonder will cease, when we consider that from the time of David and Solomon, and for above one thousand five hundred years afterward, gold and silver were in much

¹ Esther iii. 9.² Ibid. iii. 10.³ Ibid. vii. 4.⁴ Herodot. lib. 7.⁵ Plutarch. in Casso.

greater plenty in the world than either of them is at present. The immense riches which Solomon had in gold and silver,¹ the prodigious quantities of both these which Alexander found in the treasuries of Darius; and the vast loads of them which we find often to have been carried off in triumph before Roman generals,² when they returned from conquered provinces, and the excessive sums which some of the Roman emperors expended in their luxurious and fantastical enjoyments,³ and in donatives to their armies, and many other instances in the histories of the times I have mentioned, sufficiently prove this.⁴ But at length the mines which furnished this plenty, especially those of the Southern Arabia (where we suppose was the Ophir of the ancients,) being exhausted, and the burning of cities, and great devastations of countries, which after followed from the eruptions of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarous nations in the west, and of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartars, in the east, having wasted and destroyed a great part of the gold and silver which the world before abounded with, this induced that great scarcity of both which afterward ensued, and which the mines of Mexico, Peru, and Brasil, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

It is hard to find a reason for Mordecai's refusing to pay this respect to Haman, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his nation to that destruction which it had like to have drawn upon them. That which is commonly said is, that it was the same adoration which was paid to the king of Persia; and that consisting in the bowing of the knee,⁵ and the prostration of the whole body even to the ground, it was avoided by Mordecai, upon a notion which he had of its being idolatrous.⁶ But this being the common compliment which was constantly paid to the kings of Persia by all that were admitted into their presence, it was no doubt paid to this very king by Ezra and Nehemiah, when they had access unto him, and after also by Mordecai himself; for otherwise he could not have obtained that admission into his presence, and that advancement in his palace, which were afterward there granted unto him. And if it were not idolatrous to pay this adoration to the king, neither could it be idolatrous to pay it to Haman. The Greeks would not pay this respect to the king of Persia, out of pride; and, excepting Themistocles, and two or three more,⁷ none of them could ever be brought to it.⁸ I will not say that this was the case of Mordecai in respect of Haman. It seems most probable, that his refusing to pay him this reverence was from a cause that was personal in Haman only. Perchance it was, because Haman being of the race of the Amalekites, he looked on him as under the curse which God had denounced against that nation,⁹ and therefore thought himself obliged not to give such honour unto him. And if all the rest of the Jews thought the same, this might seem reason enough to him to extend his wrath against the whole nation, and to meditate

1 The gold wherewith he overlaid the sanctum sanctorum only, a room in the temple thirty feet square, and thirty feet high, besides what was expended on other parts of the temple, and in the utensils and vessels of it, amounted to six hundred talents, which, reduced to our money, is four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; and the gold which he had in one year from Ophir, amounted to four hundred and fifty talents, which, reduced to our money, is three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; and his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was six hundred and sixty-six talents, which amounts to four millions seven hundred and ninety-five thousand two hundred pounds of our sterling money.

2 See Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, and Quintus Curtius.

3 See the Roman historians.

4 One of these instances may be in Lucullus, a Roman senator; for in one of his halls, which he called Apollo, he expended fifty thousand Roman denarii every time he supped there (which is near sixteen hundred pounds of our money,) and there he supped as often as any of the better sort supped with him. The words of Plutarch, who tells us this in the life of Lucullus, express no more than that the supper cost him five myriads; but this, in strict propriety of speech, can in that author be meant of no other myriads but of denarii. If we carry the valuation down to that of sestertii, five myriads (that is, fifty thousand) of them will amount to a quarter the sum above mentioned, that is, four hundred pounds of our money; and this is prodigious enough to be spent in a supper for the entertainment of two Roman senators (for no more were present at the supper particularly mentioned by that author,) and is a great instance of the prodigious wealth of the entertainer.

5 Vide Brissonium de Regno Pers. lib. 1. s. 16—20.

6 Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

7 One of these was Timagoras, an Athenian, on whom the people of Athens passed sentence of death for it, thinking the honour of their whole city debased by this mean submission of one of their citizens to him that was then the greatest king of the whole earth. Valer. Max. lib. 6. c. 3.

8 Vide Plutarchum in Themistocle, et Pelopida et Artaxerxe. Herodot. lib. 7. Justinum, lib. 6. c. 2. et Cornelium Nepotem in Conone.

9 Exod. xvi. 14. 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3.

the destruction of them all in revenge hereof. But whatsoever was the cause that induced Mordecai to refuse the payment of this respect to the king's favourite, this provoked that favourite to obtain the decree above mentioned, for the utter extirpation of the whole Jewish nation in revenge for it.

When Mordecai heard of this decree, he made¹ great lamentation, as did also all the Jews of Shushan with him; and therefore, putting on sackcloth, he sat in this mournful garb without the king's gate (for he might not enter within it in that dress;) which being told Esther, she sent to him to know what the matter was; whereon Mordecai acquainted her with the whole state of the case, and sent her a copy of the decree, that thereby she might fully see the mischief that was intended against her people, absolutely to destroy them and root them out from the face of the earth; and therefore commanded her forthwith to go in unto the king, and make supplication for them. At first she excused herself because of the law, whereby it was ordained, that whosoever, whether man or woman, should come in unto the king into the inner court, who was not called for, should be put to death, excepting such only to whom the king should hold out the golden sceptre in his hand, that he might live; and she was afraid of hazarding her life in this case. Whereon Mordecai, sending to her again, told her, that the decree extended universally to all of her nation, without any exception; and that, if it came to execution, she must not expect to escape more than any other of her people; that Providence seemed to have advanced her of purpose for this work; but if she refused to act her part in it, then deliverance should come some other way, and she and her father's house should perish; for he was fully persuaded, God would not suffer his people to be thus totally destroyed. Whereon Esther, resolving to put her life to hazard for the safety of her people, desired Mordecai, that he and all the Jews then in Shushan should fast three days for her, and offer up prayer and humble supplication to God to prosper her in the undertaking; which being accordingly done, on the third day, Esther put on her royal apparel, and went in unto the king, where he was sitting upon his throne, in the inner part of the palace: and as soon as he saw her standing in the court, he showed favour unto her, and held out his golden sceptre toward her; and Esther going near, and touching the top of it; had thereby her life secured unto her. And when the king asked her what her petition was, at first she only desired that he and Haman would come to a banquet which she had prepared for him. And when Haman was called, and the king and he were at the banquet, he asked her again of her petition, promising it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom; but then she desired only that the king and Haman would come again the next day to the like banquet, intimating, that then she would make known her request unto him. Her intention, in desiring thus to entertain the king twice at her banquets, before she made known her petition unto him, was, that thereby she might the more endear herself to him, and dispose him the better to grant the request which she had to make unto him.

Haman, being proud of the honour of being thus admitted alone with the king to the queen's banquet, went home to his house much puffed up herewith. But, in his returning thither, seeing Mordecai sitting at the gate of the palace, and still refusing to bow unto him, this moved his indignation to such a degree, that on his coming to his house, and calling his friends about him to relate to them the great honour that was done him by the king and queen, and the high advancement which he had obtained in the kingdom, he could not forbear complaining of the disrespect and affront offered him by Mordecai. Whereon they advised him to cause a gallows to be built of fifty cubits height, and next morning to ask the king to have Mordecai to be hanged thereon. And accordingly he ordered the gallows immediately to be made, and went early next morning to the palace for the obtaining of a grant from the king, to hang Mordecai on it. But that morning the king awaking sooner than ordinary,² and not being able to compose himself again to sleep, he called for the book of the records

¹ Esth. i. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

² Esther vi.

and chronicles of the kingdom, and caused them to be read unto him; wherein finding an account of the conspiracy of Bigthan and Teresh, and that it was discovered by Mordecai the Jew, the king inquired what honour had been done to him for the same; and being told that nothing had been done for him, he inquired who was in the court; and being told that Haman was standing there (for he intended early to speak to the king for the purpose I have mentioned,) he ordered him to be called in, and asked of him, what should be done to the man whom the king delighted to honour. Whereon Haman thinking this honour was intended for himself, gave advice, that the royal apparel should be brought which the king used to wear, and the horse which was kept for his own riding, and the crown royal which useth to be set on his head, and that this apparel and horse should be delivered into the hands of one of the king's most noble princes, that he might array therewith the man whom the king delighted to honour, and bring him on horseback through the whole city, and proclaim before him. Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour. Whereon the king commanded him forthwith to take the apparel and horse, and do all this to Mordecai the Jew, who sat in the king's gate, in reward for his discovery of the treason of the two eunuchs. All which Haman having been forced to do, in obedience to the king's command, he returned with great sorrow to his house, lamenting the disappointment, and great mortification he had met with, in being thus forced to pay so signal an honour to his enemy, whom he intended at the same time to have hanged on the gallows which he had provided for him. And on his relating of this to his friends, they all told him, that if this Mordecai were of the seed of the Jews, this bad omen foreboded, that he should not prevail against him, but should surely fall before him. While they were thus talking, one of the queen's chamberlains came to Haman's house to hasten him to the banquet, and seeing the gallows which had been set up the night before, fully informed himself of the intent for which it was prepared. On the king and Haman's sitting down to the banquet¹, the king asked again of Esther what was her petition, with like promise, as before, of granting of it to her even to the half of his kingdom. Whereon she humbly prayed the king, that her life might be given her at her petition, and her people at her request; for a design was laid for the destruction of her, and all her kindred and nation: at which the king asking with much anger, who it was that durst do this thing, she told him that Haman, then present, was the wicked author of the plot, and laid the whole of it open to the king. Whereon the king rose up in great wrath from the banquet, and walked out into the garden adjoining; which Haman perceiving, fell down before the queen upon the bed on which she was sitting, to supplicate for his life; in which posture the king having found him on his return, spoke out in great passion, What! will he force the queen before me in the house? At which words the servants present immediately covered his face,² as was then the usage to condemned persons; and the chamberlain, who had that day called Haman to the banquet, acquainting the king of the gallows which he saw at his house there prepared for Mordecai, who had saved the king's life in detecting the treason of the two eunuchs, the king ordered that he should be forthwith hanged thereon, which was accordingly done; and all his house, goods, and riches, were given to Queen Esther, and she appointed Mordecai to be her steward to manage the same. On the same day,³ the queen acquainted the king of the relation which Mordecai had unto her; whereon the king took him into his favour, and advanced him to great power, riches, and dignity, in the empire, and made him the keeper of his signet, in the same manner as Haman had been before.

But still the decree for the destruction of the Jews remaining in its full force,⁴ the queen petitioned the king the second time to put away this mischief from them. But, according to the laws of the Medes and Persians,⁵ nothing being

1 Es her vii. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

4 Es her viii. Josephus, lib. 11. c. 6.

2 Vide Brissonium de Regno Persarum.

5 1 an. vi. c. 15. Esther i. 19. viii. 8.

3 Esther viii.

to be reversed which had been decreed and written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's seal, and the decree procured by Haman against the Jews having been thus written and sealed, it could not be recalled. All, therefore, that the king could do, in compliance with her request, was to give the Jews, by a new decree, such a power to defend themselves against all that should assault them, as might render the former decree ineffectual; and for that end he bid Esther and Mordecai draw such a decree in words, as strong as they could devise, that so the former might be hindered from being executed, though it could not be annulled. And therefore the king's scribes being again called, on the twenty-third day of the third month, a new decree was drawn, just two months and ten days after the former; wherein the king granted to the Jews, which were in every city of the Persian empire, full license to gather themselves together, and stand for their lives; and to destroy, slay, and cause to perish, all the power of the people and province that should assault them, with their little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. And this decree being written in the king's name, and sealed with his seal, copies hereof were drawn out, and especial messengers were despatched with them into all the provinces of the empire.

In the interim,¹ Megabyzus having reduced the whole kingdom of Egypt, except the fenny part held by Amyrtæus, and there settled all matters again under the dominion of King Artaxerxes; he made Sartamas governor of that country, and returned to Susa, carrying with him Inarus and his Grecian prisoners. And having given the king an account of the articles he had granted them of life and safety, he obtained of them a ratification of the same, although with difficulty, because of the king's anger against them for the death of Achæmenides his brother, who was slain in battle against them. But Hamestris, the mother of both these brothers, was so eagerly set for the revenging of the death of her son, that she not only demanded, that Inarus and his Greeks should be delivered up to her to be put to death for it, contrary to the articles given them, but also required that Megabyzus himself, though her son-in-law, should undergo the same punishment, for granting them such articles as should exempt them from that just revenge, which in this case she ought to execute upon them. And it was with difficulty that she was for this time put off with a denial.

An. 452. Artax. 13.]—The thirteenth day of Adar drawing near,² when the decree obtained by Haman for the destruction of the Jews was to be put in execution, their adversaries every where prepared to act against them according to the contents of it. And the Jews, on the other hand, by virtue of the second decree above mentioned, which was obtained in their favour by Esther and Mordecai, gathered themselves together in every city where they dwelt, throughout all the provinces of King Artaxerxes, to provide for their defence; so that, on the said thirteenth of Adar, through the means of these two different and discordant decrees, a war was commenced between the Jews and their enemies throughout the whole Persian empire. But the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, the deputies, and other officers of the king, knowing in what power Esther and Mordecai were then with him, through fear of them, so favoured the Jews, that they prevailed every where against all those that rose up against them; and, on that day, throughout the whole empire, slew of their enemies seventy-five thousand persons; and, in the city of Shushan, on that day and the next, eight hundred more, among which were the ten sons of Haman, whom, by a special order from the king, they caused all to be hanged, perchance upon the same gallows on which Haman their father had been hanged before.

The Jews being thus delivered from this dangerous design, which threatened them with no less than utter extirpation, they made great rejoicings for it on the two days following, that is, on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the said month of Adar. And,³ by the order of Esther and Mordecai, these two days,

¹ Ctesias.

² Esther ix.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

³ Esther ix. 20—22. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

with the thirteenth that preceded them, were set apart and consecrated to be annually observed for ever after in commemoration hereof; the thirteenth as a fast, because of the destruction on that day intended to have been brought upon them, and the other two as a feast, because of their deliverance from it. And both this fast and this feast they constantly observe every year on those days even to this time.¹ The fast they call the fast of Esther, and the feast the feast of Purim, from the Persian word *purim* (which signifieth lots,) because it was by the casting of lots that Haman did set out this time for their destruction. This feast is the Bacchanals of the Jews, which they celebrate with all manner of rejoicing, mirth, and jollity; and therein indulge themselves in all manner of luxurious excesses, especially in drinking wine even to drunkenness, which they think part of the duty of the solemnity, because it was by the means of the wine banquet (they say) that Esther made the king's heart merry, and brought him into that good humour which inclined him to grant the request which she made unto him for their deliverance; and therefore, they think they ought to make their hearts merry also when they celebrate the commemoration of it. During this festival, the book of Esther is solemnly read in all their synagoges from the beginning to the end, at which they are all to be present, men, women, children, and servants; because all these had their parts in this deliverance which Esther obtained for them. And as often as the name of Haman occurs in the reading of this book, the usage is for them all to clap with their hands and stamp with their feet, and cry out, Let his memory perish. This is the last feast of the year among them: for the next that follows is the Passover, which always falls in the middle of the month which begins the Jewish year.

An. 450. Artax. 15.]—The Athenians, having provided themselves with another fleet, after the loss of that in Egypt,³ sent Cimon with two hundred sail again into Cyprus, there to carry on the war against the Persians; where he took Citium and Malum, and several other cities, and sent sixty sail into Egypt to the assistance of Amyrtæus. At the same time Artabazus was in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and Megabyzus, the other general of King Artaxerxes, had a land army of three hundred thousand men on the coast of Cilicia; but neither of them had the success in this war which they had in the last. For,

An. 449. Artax. 16.]—Cimon,² on the return of his ships from Egypt, fell on Artabazus, and having taken a hundred of his ships, and destroyed several others, pursued the remainder to the coasts of Phœnicia; and, being flushed with this success, on his return landed upon Megabyzus in Cilicia, and overthrew him also, making a very great slaughter of his numerous army, and then sailed back again to Cyprus with a double triumph.

Artaxerxes hearing of these great losses sustained both at sea and land,³ became weary of so destructive a war; and therefore, upon thorough advice taken with his counsellors and ministers, came to a resolution of putting an end to the calamities of it, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy; and accordingly sent to his generals and commanders, who had the charge of the Cyprian war, to make peace with the Athenians on the best terms they could. Whereon Megabyzus and Artabazus, sending ambassadors to Athens to make the proposal, plenipotentiaries were appointed on each side to treat of the matter; and they came to an agreement on these terms, first, That all the Grecian cities in Asia should have their liberty, and be left free to live according to their own laws; secondly, That no Persian ship of war should any more appear on any of those seas, which lie from the Cyanean to the Chilionian islands, that is, from the Euxine Sea to the coasts of Pamphylia; thirdly, That no Persian commander should come with an army by land within three days' journey of those seas; fourthly, That the Athenians should no more invade any of the territories of King Artaxerxes. Which articles, being ratified and sworn to on both

¹ Talmud in Megillah. Maimonides in Megillah. Buxtorff's Synagoga Judaica, c. 29.

² Plutarchus in Cimone. Thucydides, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.

sides, peace was concluded. And so this war ended, after it had continued from the time that the Athenians burned Sardis (which was the first beginning of it,) full fifty-one years, to the destruction of a vast number of men on both sides. In the interim Cimon died at Citium, and the Athenians returned with his corpse into Athens, and after this came no more into those seas.

An. 448. Artax. 17.]—King Artaxerxes,¹ being continually solicited by his mother to deliver to her Inarus and the Athenians who were taken with him in Egypt, that she might revenge on them the death of her son Achæmenides, after having for five years resisted her unwearied and restless importunities, was at last tired out by them to yield to her request; and the prisoners were delivered to her: whereon the cruel woman, without having any regard to the public faith which had been plighted for their safety, caused Inarus to be crucified,² and the heads of the rest to be struck off; at which Megabyzus was exceedingly grieved and offended; for it being on his engagement for their safety that they had rendered themselves, he thought it great dishonour done him that it was thus violated, and therefore retired in discontent into Syria, the province of which he was governor, and, to revenge the wrong, there raised an army, and rebelled against the king.

An. 447. Artax. 18.]—To repress this rebellion,³ Artaxerxes sent Osiris, a prime nobleman of his court, with two hundred thousand men into Syria. But Megabyzus, having met him in battle, wounded him, and took him prisoner, and put his whole army to flight. But Artaxerxes, having sent a messenger to demand him, Megabyzus forthwith released him, and, as soon as his wounds were healed, sent him back again to the king.

An. 446. Artax. 19.]—The next year following, the king sent another army against him,⁴ under the command of Menostanes, son to Artarius, governor of Babylon, and one of his brothers. But he had no better fortune this year than the former general had in the last; for, being in the same manner vanquished and put to flight, Megabyzus gained a great victory over him. Whereby Artaxerxes perceiving that he could not prevail against him by force of arms, sent Artarius his brother, and Amytis his sister, who was wife to Megabyzus, with several other persons of quality, to reconcile him unto him, and bring him by fair means to return to his duty; by whose interposition the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned again to court. But, while the king was hunting, a lion having raised himself upon his hinder legs against him, Megabyzus, who was then present, out of his zeal to extricate the king from this danger, threw a dart at the lion, and slew him. But Artaxerxes, laying hold of this light pretence to express the bitter rancour which he still retained in his mind against him for his late revolt, ordered his head to be struck off, for presuming to strike at the beast before him; and it was with difficulty that Amytis his wife, and Hamestris her mother, with their joint petitions, prevailed so far in his behalf, that his sentence of death was changed into that of banishment: whereon he was sent to Cyrtæ, a place on the Red Sea, there to lead the rest of his life under confinement. But after he had lived there five years, having made his escape from thence, and under the habit and disguise of a leper, got safe to his own house at Susa, he was there, by the means of his wife and her mother, again restored to the king's favour, and continued in it ever after to the time of his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was then very much lamented by the king and all his court: for he was the ablest man, both in council and war, that was in the whole empire, and to him Artaxerxes owed his life, as well as his crown, at his first accession to the government. But it is a dangerous thing for a subject to have too much obliged his prince; and this was the cause of all the misfortunes that happened unto him.

Ezra⁵ continued in the government of Judea till the end of this year, and by virtue of the commission he had from the king, and the powers granted him

¹ Ctesias.

² Thucyd. lib. 1. Ctesias

³ Ctesias.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ezra. viii. ix. x. Nehem.

thereby, he reformed the whole state of the Jewish church according to the law of Moses, in which he was excellently learned, and settled it upon that bottom upon which it afterward stood to the time of our Saviour. The two chief things which he had to do, were to restore the observance of the Jewish law, according to the ancient approved usages which had been in practice before the captivity, under the directions of the prophets, and to collect together and set forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures; in the performance of both which, the Jews tell us, he had the assistance of what they call the great synagogue, which, they tell us,¹ was a convention consisting of one hundred and twenty men, who lived all at the same time under the presidency of Ezra, and were assisting to him in both these two works; and, among these, they named Daniel, and his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abendego, as the first of them, and Simon the Just as the last of them; though, from the last mention which we have of Daniel in the holy scriptures, to the time of Simon the Just, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty years. But all this they reconcile by that absurd and wretched account which they give of the history of those times; for they tell us, that the whole Persian empire lasted only fifty-two years (as hath been before taken notice of,) and that the Darius whom we call Darius Hystaspes was the Darius whom Alexander conquered, and that the same was the Artaxerxes (which they will have to be the common name of all the kings of Persia in those times) who sent Ezra first, and afterward Nehemiah, to Jerusalem, to restore the state of the Jews; and that Simon the Just was the same with Jaddua the high-priest, who received Alexander at Jerusalem. And according to this account, they might indeed all have lived together in the seventh year of this Darius (or Artaxerxes as they would call him,) when they say Ezra first went to Jerusalem; for that he was in the middle of the said fifty-two years, according to their computation, at which time Jaddua might very well have been of an age capable to assist in those councils; and it is not impossible but Daniel might have lived down to it, for the scriptures gives us no account of his death. The truth of this matter seemeth most likely to have been, that these one hundred and twenty men were such principal elders as lived in a continued succession from the first return of the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, to the death of Simon the Just, and laboured in their several times, some after others, in the carrying on of the two great works above mentioned, till both were fully completed in the time of the said Simon the Just (who was made high-priest of the Jews in the twenty-fifth year after the death of Alexander the Great,) and Ezra had the assistance of such of them as lived in his time. But the whole conduct of the work, and the glory of accomplishing it, is, by the Jews, chiefly attributed to him, under whose presidency (they tell us) it was done. And there they look on him as another Moses;² for the law, they say, was given by Moses, but it was revived and restored by Ezra, after it had been in a manner extinguished and lost in the Babylonish captivity; and, therefore, they reckon him as the second founder of it. And it is a common opinion among them,³ that he was Malachi the prophet; that he was called Ezra as his proper name, and Malachi (which signifieth an angel or messenger) from his office, because he was sent, as the angel and messenger of God, to restore again the Jewish religion, and establish it in the same manner as it was before the captivity, on the foundation of the law and the prophets. And, indeed, by virtue of that ample commission, which he had from King Artaxerxes, he had an opportunity of doing more herein than any other of his nation; and he executed all the powers thereof to the utmost he was able, for the resettling both of the ecclesiastical and political state of the Jews; in the best posture they were then capable of; and from hence his name is in so high esteem and veneration among the Jews, that it is a common saying among their

¹ Vide Davidem Ganz, aliosque Judæorum Historicis, et Buxtorfii, Tiberiadem, c. x.

² Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 10.

³ Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz Chalæus Paraphrastes in Malachiam. Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 3.

writers, that if the law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was worthy by whom it should have been given.

As to the ancient and approved usages of the Jewish church, which had been in practice before the captivity, they had, by Jeshua and Zerubbabel, with the chief elders their contemporaries, and by others that after succeeded them, been a gathering together from their first return to Jerusalem, as they could be recovered from the memories of the ancients of their nation, who had either seen them practised themselves before the captivity, or had been informed concerning them by their parents, or others who had lived before them: all these, and whatsoever else was pretended to be of the same nature, Ezra brought under a review; and having, after due examination, allowed such of them as were to be allowed, and settled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the Jews now call their oral law. For they own a twofold law;¹ the first, the written law, which is recorded in the holy scriptures; and the second, the oral law, which they have only by the tradition of their elders. And both these, they say, were given them by Moses from Mount Sinai; of which the former only was committed to writing, and the other delivered down to them, from generation to generation, by the tradition of the elders. And, therefore, holding them to be both of the same authority, as having both of them the same divine original, they think themselves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more: for the written law is, they say,² in many places, obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the oral law; which containing, according to them, a full, complete, and perfect interpretation of all that is written in the other, supplies all the defects, and solves all the difficulties of it. And, therefore, they observe the written law no otherwise than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their oral law. And hence, it is a common saying among them, that the covenant was made with them, not upon the written law, but upon the oral law. And, therefore, they do in a manner lay aside the former to make room for the latter, and resolve their whole religion into their traditions, in the same manner as the Romanists do theirs, having no farther regard to the written word of God than as it agrees with their tradictionary explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though, in many particulars, they are quite contradictory to it: which is a corruption that had grown to a great height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them (Mark vii. 13,) that they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions. But they have done it much more since, professing a greater regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it so often said in their writings, that the words of the scribes are lovely above the words of the law; that the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the scribes are all weighty; that the words of the elders are weightier than the words of the prophets (where, by the words of the scribes, and the words of the elders, they mean the traditions delivered to them by their scribes and elders:) and, in other places, that the written text is only as water, but the Mishnah and Talmud (in which are contained their traditions) are as wine and hippocras: and again, that the written law is only as salt, but the Mishnah and Talmud as pepper and sweet spices. And, in many other sayings, very common among them, do they express the high veneration which they bear toward the oral or tradictionary law, and the little regard which they have to the written word of God in comparison of it, making nothing of the latter but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the tradictionary law alone the soul that gives the whole life and essence thereto. And this being what

¹ Vido Buxtorfium de Opere Talmudico, et Synagogam Judaicam ejusdem, et Maimonidis Prefationem ad Seder Zeraim.

² Maimonidis Prefatio ad Seder Zeraim. Buxtorfi Synagoga Judaica c. 3. et ejusdem Recensio Operis Talmudici. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, disp. 1. s. 1. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 2. c. 3. s. 3. Lightfoot's Harmony of the Four Evangelists, s. 23.

they hold of their traditions, which they call their oral law, the account which they give of its original is as followeth:

For they tell us, that at the same time when God gave unto Moses the law on Mount Sinai,¹ he gave unto him also the interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of mouth, to be preserved in the memories of men, and to be transmitted down by them, from generation to generation, by tradition only; and from hence the former is called the written, and the other the oral law. And, to this day, all the determinations and dictates of the latter are termed by the Jews constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai, because they do as firmly believe that he received them all from God, in his forty days' converse with him in that mount, as that he then received the written text itself: that, on his return from this converse, he brought both of these laws with him, and delivered them unto the people of Israel in this manner. As soon as he was returned to his tent, he called Aaron thither unto him, and first delivered to him the text, which was to be the written law, and after that the interpretation of it, which was the oral law, in the same order as he received both from God in the mount. Then Aaron arising, and seating himself at the right hand of Moses, Eleazar and Ithamar, his sons, went next in; and being taught both these laws, at the feet of the prophet, in the same manner as Aaron had been, they also arose, and seated themselves, the one on the left hand of Moses, and the other on the right hand of Aaron; and then the seventy elders, who constituted the Sanhedrin, or great senate of the nation, went in, and being taught by Moses both these laws in the same manner, they also seated themselves in the tent; and then entered all such of the people as were desirous of knowing the law of God, and were taught it in the same manner: after this, Moses withdrawing, Aaron repeated the whole of both laws as he had heard it from him, and also withdrew; and then Eleazar and Ithamar repeated the same; and on their withdrawing, the seventy elders made the same repetition to the people then present; so that each of them having heard both these laws repeated to them four times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their memories; and, that then they dispersed themselves among the whole congregation, and communicated to all the people of Israel what had been thus delivered unto them by the prophet of God: that they did put the text into writing, but the interpretation of it they delivered down only by word of mouth to the succeeding generations: that the written text contained the six hundred and thirteen precepts into which they divide the law, and the unwritten interpretations, all the manners, ways, and circumstances, that were to be observed in the keeping of them: that after this, toward the end of the fortieth year from their coming up out of the land of Egypt, in the beginning of the eleventh month (which fell about the middle of our January,) Moses calling all the people of Israel together, acquainted them of the approaching time of his death; and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot ought of what he had delivered to them, they should repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had slipped their memories, and farther explain unto them every difficulty and doubt which might arise in their minds concerning what he had taught them of the law of their God; and that hereon, they applying to him, all the remaining time of his life, that is, from the said beginning of the eleventh month until the sixth day of the twelfth month, was employed in instructing them anew in the text, which they call the written law, and in the interpretations of it, which they call the oral law: and that, on the said sixth day, having delivered to them thirteen copies of the written law, all copied out with his own hand, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Deuteronomy, one to each of the twelve tribes, to be kept by them throughout their generations, and the thirteenth to the Levites, to be laid up by them in the tabernacle before the Lord; and having moreover then anew repeated the oral law to Joshua his

¹ Perke Avoth, c. 1. Prefatio Maimonidis in Seder Zeraim in Pocockii Porta Mosis, p. 5, 6, &c. Buxtorfi Recensio Operis Talmudici. David Ganz. Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

successor, he went, on the seventh day, up into Mount Nebo, and there died. that, after his death, Joshua delivered the said oral law to the elders who after succeeded him, and they delivered it to the prophets, and the prophets transmitted it down from each other, till it came to Jeremiah, who delivered it to Baruch, and Baruch to Ezra, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was Simon the Just; that by him it was delivered to Antigonus of Socho, and by him to Jose the son of Jochanan, and by him to Jose the son of Joezer, and by him to Nathan the Arbelite, and Joshua the son of Perachiah, and by them to Judah the son of Tabbai, and Simeon the son of Shatah, and by them to Shemaiah and Abtalion, and by them to Hillel, and by Hillel to Simeon his son, who is supposed to have been the same that took our Saviour into his arms when he was brought to the temple to be there presented to the Lord at the time of his mother's purification; and by Simeon it was delivered to Gamaliel his son (the same at whose feet Paul was brought up,) and by him to Simeon his son, by him to Gamaliel his son, and by him to Simeon his son, and by him to Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh his son, who wrote it into the book which they call the Mishnah.

But all this is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the Talmudists, without the least foundation, either in scripture, or in any authentic history for it. But since all this is now made a part of the Jewish creed, and they do as firmly believe their traditions to have thus come from God in the manner I have related, as they do the written word itself, and have now, as it were, wholly resolved their religion into these traditions, there is no understanding what their religion at present is without it. And it is for this reason that I have here inserted it.

But the truth of the matter is this. After the death of Simon the Just,¹ there arose a sort of men, whom they call the Tannaim or the Mishnaical doctors, that made it their business to study, and descant upon those traditions which had been received and allowed by Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue, and to draw inferences and consequences from them, all which they ingrafted into the body of these ancient traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which example being followed by those who after succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them; whereby these traditions becoming as a snow-ball, the farther they rolled down from one generation to another the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. And thus went on to the middle of the second century after Christ, when Antoninus Pius governed the Roman empire; by which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing; for they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men. And besides, on the second destruction which their country had undergone from the Romans a little before, in the reign of Adrian, the preceding emperor, most of their learned men having been cut off, and the chiefest of their schools broken up and dissolved, and vast numbers of their people dissipated and driven out of the land, the usual method of preserving their traditions had then in a great measure failed; and therefore there being danger, that, under these disadvantages, they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof, it was resolved, that they should be all collected together, and put into a book; and Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, who, from the reputed sanctity of his life, was called Hakkadosh, that is, the Holy, and was then rector of the school which they had at Tiberias in Galilee, and president of the Sanhedrin that there sat, undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which all together make up the number of sixty-three: in which, under their proper heads, he methodically digested all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their law and their religion by the tradition of their ancestors. And this is the

¹ Zemach David. Juchasin Shalsheth Haccabbala. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, 2611.

book called the Mishnah; which book was forthwith received by the Jews with great veneration throughout all their dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among them; for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein contained were dictated by God himself to Moses from Mount Sinai, as well as the written word itself, and consequently must be of the same divine authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed. And therefore, as soon as it was published, it became the subject of the studies of all their learned men, and the chiefest of them, both in Judea and Babylonia, employed themselves to make comments on it: and these, with the Mishnah, make up both their Talmuds, that is, the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonish Talmud. These comments they call the Gemara, *i. e.* the Complement, because by them the Mishnah is fully explained, and the whole traditionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed: for the Mishnah is the text, and the Gemara the comment; and both together is what they call the Talmud. That made by the Jews of Judea, is called the Jerusalem Talmud; and that made by the Jews of Babylonia, is called the Babylonish Talmud. The former was completed about the year of our Lord 300, and is published in one large folio: the latter was published about two hundred years after, in the beginning of the sixth century, and hath had several editions since the invention of printing; the last published at Amsterdam is in twelve folios. And in these two Talmuds (the law and the prophets being in a manner quite jostled out by them) is contained the whole of the Jewish religion that is now professed among them. But the Babylonish Talmud is that which they chiefly follow: for the other, that is, the Jerusalem Talmud, being obscure and hard to be understood, is not now much regarded by them. But this and the Mishnah being the ancientest books which they have (except the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan,) and both written in the language and style of the Jews of Judea, our countryman, Dr. Lightfoot, hath made very good use of them in explaining several places of the New Testament, by parallel phrases and sayings out of them. For the one being composed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, and the other about the three hundredth, the idioms, proverbial sayings, and phraseologies, used in our Saviour's time, might very well be preserved in them. But the other Talmud being written in the language and style of Babylonia, and not compiled till about the five hundredth year of our Lord, or, as some will have it, much later, this cannot so well serve for this purpose. However, it is now the Alcoran of the Jews, into which they have resolved all their faith and all their religion, although framed (almost with the same imposture as that of Mahomet) out of doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from heaven. And in this book all that now pretend to any learning among them place their studies; and no one can be a master in their schools, or a teacher in their synagogues, who is not well instructed and versed herein, that is, not only in the text, which is the Mishnah, but also in the comment thereon, which is the Gemara. And this comment they so highly esteem beyond the other, that the name of Gemara is wholly engrossed by it; the Gemara of the Babylonish Talmud being that only which they now usually understand by that word. For this, with the Mishnah to which it is added, they think, doth truly complete and make up the whole of their religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the doctrines, rules and rites thereof; and therefore it is, in their opinion, the most deserving of that name, which signifieth what completes, fills up, or perfects; for this is the meaning of the word in the Hebrew language. Out of this Talmud, Maimonides hath made an abstract, containing only the resolutions or determinations made therein on every case, without the descants, disputes, fables, and other trash under which they lay buried in that vast load of rubbish. This work is entitled by him *Yad Hachazakah*, and is one of the completest digests of law that was ever made; I mean, not as to the matter, but in respect only of the clearness of the style and method in which it is composed, the filthy mass of dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehensive manner in which he

hath digested the whole. Others among them have attempted the like work, but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And for this and other of his writings, he is deservedly esteemed the best author among them. They who professed this sort of learning, that is, taught and propagated these traditional doctrines among them, have been distinguished by several different titles and appellations, according to the different ages in which they lived. From the time of the men of the great synagogue, to the publishing of the Mishnah, they were called *Tannaim*;¹ and they are the Mishnical doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the Mishnah was composed. And from the time of the publishing of the Mishnah, to the publishing of the Babylonish Talmud, they were called *Amoraim*;² and they are the Gemarical doctors out of whose doctrines and traditions the Gemara was composed. And, for about one hundred years after the publishing of the Talmud, they were called *Seburaim*;³ and after that, *Geonim*.⁴ And these were the several classes in which their learned men have been ranked, according to the several ages in which they formerly lived. But, for these latter times, the general name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned men are called, there being no other title whereby they have been distinguished for near seven hundred years past. For, about the year 1040, all their schools in Mesopotamia, where only they enjoyed these high titles, being destroyed, and all their learned men thence expelled and driven out by the Mahometan princes, who then governed in those parts, they have, since that with the greatest number of their people, flocked into those western parts, especially into Spain, France, and England. And from that time, all these pompous titles which they affected in the east being here dropped, they have retained none other for their learned men, from that time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only, that those of them who minister in their synagogues are called *Chacams*,⁵ i. e. wise men.

But the great work of Ezra,⁶ was his collecting together and setting forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. This both Christians and Jews give him the honour of. And many of the ancient fathers attribute more to him, in this particular, than the Jews themselves: for they hold, that all the scriptures were lost and destroyed in the Babylonish captivity, and that Ezra restored them all again by divine revelation. Thus saith Irenæus,⁷ and thus say Tertullian,⁸ Clemens Alexandrinus,⁹ Basil,¹⁰ and others.¹¹ But they had no other foundation for it than that fabulous relation which we have of it in the fourteenth chapter of the second apocryphal book of Esdras, a book too absurd for the Romanists themselves to receive into their canon. Indeed, in the time of Josiah, through the impiety of the two preceding reigns of Manasseh and Ammon, the book of the law was so destroyed and lost, that besides the copy of it which Hilkiah found in the temple,¹² there was then none other to be had; for the surprise which Hilkiah is said to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which Josiah expressed at hearing of it read, do plainly show, that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the king and the high-priest, who were both men of eminent piety, were without this part of holy scripture, it can scarce be thought that any one else then had it. But so religious a prince as King Josiah could not leave this long unremedied. By his order, copies were forthwith written

1 The word *Tannaim* hath its derivation from *tannah*, which signifieth to deliver by tradition, and is the same in Chaldee with *shanaa* in the Hebrew, from whence the word *Mishnah* is derived.

2 i. e. *Dictators*; because they dictated those explications upon the *Mishnah* which are contained in the *Gemara*.

3 i. e. *Opinionists*; for they did not dictate any doctrines, but only inferred opinions by disputation, and probable arguments, from what had been before dictated and received in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*.

4 i. e. The sublime or excellent doctors; they were so called from the sublimity and excellency of their learning.

5 *Chacam*, in the Hebrew language, signifieth a wise man.

6 Vide Buxtorffii Tiberiadem, c. 11.

7 Adversus Hæreses, lib. 3. c. 25.

8 In Epistola ad Chilonem.

9 In Hieronymus contra Helvidium.

10 Augustinus de Miraculis Sacra Scripturæ, lib. Chrysostomus, Hæc.

11 In Epist. ad Hebræos.

12 2 Kings, xxii. 2 Chron. xxxii.

out from this original; and search being made for all the other parts of holy scripture, both in the colleges of the sons of the prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for transcripts to be made out of these also, and thenceforth copies of the whole became multiplied among the people; all those who were desirous of knowing the law of their God, either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that, though within a few years after the holy city and temple were destroyed, and the authentic copy of the law, which was laid up before the Lord, was burned and consumed with them, yet by this time many copies both of the law and the prophets, and all the other sacred writings, were got into private hands, who carried them with them into their captivity. That Daniel had a copy of the holy scriptures with him in Babylon is certain; for he quotes the law,¹ and also makes mention of the prophecies of the prophet Jeremiah;² which he could not do, had he never seen them. And, in the sixth chapter of Ezra, it is said, that on the finishing of the temple, in the sixth year of Darius, the priests and the Levites were settled in their respective functions, according as it is written in the law of Moses. But how could they do this according to the written law, if they had not copies of the law then among them? and this was near sixty years before Ezra came to Jerusalem. And farther, in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, when the people called for the law of Moses, to have it read to them, they did not pray Ezra to get it anew dictated unto him, but that he should bring forth the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel: which plainly shows, that the book was then well known to have been extant, and not to need such a miraculous expedient as that of a divine revelation for its restoration; and it would with many very much shock the faith of the whole, should it be held, that it owed its present being to such a revival; it being obvious for sceptical persons in this case to object, that he who should be said thus to revive it, then forged the whole. All that Ezra did in this matter, was to get together as many copies of the sacred writings as he could, and out of them all, set forth a correct edition; in the performance of which he took care of these following particulars:—

I. He corrected all the errors that had crept into these copies through the negligence or mistakes of transcribers; for, by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, and set all at rights. Whether the Keri Cetib that are in our present Hebrew Bibles³ were of these corrections, I durst not say; the generality of the Jewish writers tell us,⁴ that they were; and others among them hold much ancients, referring them, with absurdity enough, even as high up as the very times of the first writers of the books in which they are found, as if they themselves had designedly made these various readings for the sake of some mysteries comprised under them. It is most probable, that they had their original from the mistakes of the transcribers after the time of Ezra, and the observations and corrections of the Masorites made thereon. If any of them were of those ancient various readings which had been observed by Ezra himself in comparing of those copies he collated on this occasion, and were by him annexed in the margin, as corrections of those errors which he found in the text; it is certain those could not be of that number which are now in those sacred books that were written by himself, or taken into the canon after his time; for there are Keri Cetib's in them as well as in the other books of the Hebrew scriptures.

II. He collected together all the books of which the holy scriptures did then consist, and disposed them in their proper order, and settled the canon of scrip-

1 Dan. ix. 11. 13.

2 Ibid. ix. 2.

3 The Keri Cetib are various readings in the Hebrew Bible. Keri signifieth that which is read, and Cetib that which is written. For where there are any such various readings, the wrong reading is written in the text (and that is called the Cetib,) and the true reading is written in the margin (and that is called the Keri.)

4 De Keri Cetib vide Arcanum Punctionis Revelatum. lib. I. c. 7. Buxtorfii Vindiciæ Veritatis Hebraicæ, part. 2. c. 4. et Waltoni Prolegom. 8. s. 13, 19, &c.

ture for his time. These books he divided into three parts;¹ 1st, the law; 2dly, the prophets; and 3dly, the Cetubim or Hagiographa, *i. e.* the holy writings; which division our Saviour himself takes notice of (Luke xxiv. 44,) where he saith, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled, which are written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me." For there, by the Psalms, he means the whole third part called the Hagiographa: for that part beginning with the Psalms, the whole was for that reason then commonly called by that name, as usually with the Jews the particular books are named from the words with which they begin. Thus, with them, Genesis is called Bereshith, Exodus Shemoth, Leviticus Vajikra, &c. because they began with these Hebrew words. And Josephus makes mention of this same division. For he saith, in his first book against Apion, "We have only two-and-twenty books, which are to be believed as of divine authority; of which five are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses, to the reign of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, king of Persia, the prophets, who were the successors of Moses, have written in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men." In which division, according to him, the law contains, 1. Genesis, 2. Exodus, 3. Leviticus, 4. Numbers, 5. Deuteronomy: the writings of the prophets, 1. Joshua, 2. Judges, with Ruth; 3. Samuel, 4. Kings, 5. Isaiah, 6. Jeremiah, with his Lamentations; 7. Ezekiel, 8. Daniel, 9. the twelve minor prophets, 10. Job, 11. Ezra, 12. Nehemiah, 13. Esther; and the Hagiographa, 1. the Psalms, 2. the Proverbs, 3. Ecclesiastes, 4. the Song of Solomon; which, altogether, make twenty-two books. This division was made for the sake of reducing the books to the number of their alphabet,² in which were twenty-two letters. But, at present, they reckon these books to be twenty-four,³ and dispose of them in this order; 1st, the law, which contains, 1. Genesis, 2. Exodus, 3. Leviticus, 4. Numbers, 5. Deuteronomy; 2dly, the writings of the prophets, which they divide into the former prophets and the latter prophets, the books of the former prophets are, 6. Joshua, 7. Judges, 8. Samuel, 9. Kings; and the books of the latter prophets are, 10. Isaiah, 11. Jeremiah, 12. Ezekiel, and 13. the twelve minor prophets; 3dly, the Hagiographa, which are, 14. the Psalms, 15. the Proverbs, 16. Job, 17. the Song of Solomon, which they call the Song of Songs; 18. Ruth, 19. the Lamentations, 20. Ecclesiastes, 21. Esther, 22. Daniel, 23. Ezra, and 24. the Chronicles. Under the name of Ezra, they comprehend the book of Nehemiah: for the Hebrews, and also the Greeks, anciently reckoned Ezra and Nehemiah but as one book. But this order hath not been always observed among the Jews;⁴ neither is it so now in all places, for there hath been great variety as to this: and that not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians, as well Greeks as Latins. But no variation herein is of any moment; for in what order soever the books are placed, they are still the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is stamped upon them. But all these books were not received into the canon of the holy scriptures in Ezra's time; for Malachi, it is supposed, lived after him; and, in Nehemiah, mention is made of Jaddua as high-priest, and of Darius Codomannus as king of Persia, who were at least a hundred years after his time; and, in the third chapter of the first book of Chronicles, the genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel is carried down for so many generations, as must necessarily make it reach to the time of Alexander the Great; and, therefore, this book could not be put into the canon till after his time. It is most likely, that the two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, as well as Malachi, were afterward

¹ Buxtorffii Tiberias, c. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 1. s. 6. Elias Levita in Masoreth, Hammasoreth, Leusdeni Prefatio ad Biblia Athia.

² Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato.

³ Buxtorffii Tiberias, c. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 1. s. 6. Leusdeni Prefatio ad Biblia Hebraea Athia.

⁴ Vide Hodium de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus.

added in the time of Simon the Just, and that it was not till then that the Jewish canon of the holy scriptures was fully completed. And, indeed, these last books seem very much to want the exactness and skill of Ezra in their publication, they falling far short of the correctness which is in the other parts of the Hebrew scriptures. The five books of the law are divided into fifty-four sections.¹ This division many of the Jews hold to be one of the constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai. But others, with more likelihood of truth, attribute it to Ezra. It was made for the use of their synagogues, and the better instructing of the people there in the law of God; for every sabbath-day one of these sections was read in their synagogues.² And this we are assured, in the Acts of the Apostles, was done amongst them of old time,³ which may well be interpreted from the time of Ezra. They ended the last section with the last words of Deuteronomy on the sabbath of the feast of tabernacles, and then began anew with the first section, from the beginning of Genesis, the next sabbath after, and so went round in this circle every year. The number of these sections was fifty-four, because in their intercalated years (a month being then added) there were fifty-four sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the sabbaths which were in those years, by joining two short ones several times into one; for they held themselves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their synagogues every year. Till the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, they read only the law. But then being forbid to read it any more,⁴ in the room of the fifty-four sections of the law, they substituted fifty-four sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that, when the reading of the law was again restored by the Maccabees, the section which was read every sabbath out of the law served for their first lesson, and the section out of the prophets for their second lesson; and so it was practised in the time of the apostles. And, therefore, when Paul entered into the synagogue at Antiochia in Pisidia, it is said, that "he stood up to preach after the reading of the law and the prophets;"⁵ that is, after the reading of the first lesson out of the law, and the second lesson out of the prophets. And in that very sermon which he then preached, he tells them, "that the prophets were read at Jerusalem every sabbath-day,"⁶ that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the prophets.

These sections were divided into verses, which the Jews call *Pesukim*. They are marked out in the Hebrew Bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *Soph-Pasuk*, *i. e.* the end of the verse. If Ezra himself was not the author of this division (as many say,) it was not long after him that it was introduced; for certainly it is very ancient. It is most likely it was invented for the sake of the Targumists or Chaldee interpreters. For, after the Hebrew language had ceased to be the mother-tongue of the Jews, and the Chaldee grew up into use amongst them instead of it,⁷ as was their case after their return from the Babylonish captivity, their usage was, that⁸ in the public reading of the law to the people, it was read to them, first in the original Hebrew, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the Chaldee language, that so all might fully understand the same. And this was done period by period. And therefore, that these periods might be the better distinguished, and the reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and the interpreter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a necessity that some marks should be invented for their direction herein. The rule given in their ancient

1 Buxtorffii Tiberias, c. 11. et Tract. de Parashis et Synagoga Judaica, c. 16. p. 27. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 1. s. 6. Prefatio Leusdeni ad Biblia Hebraea Athia. Elias in Tisbite.

2 Buxtorffii Synagoga Judaica, c. 16. 3 Acts xv. 21.

4 Elias in Tisbite. Buxtorffius et Schickardus, *ibid.* Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 2. s. 5. n. 3.

5 Acts xiii. 15.

6 *Ibid.* 27.

7 David Kimchi in Prefatione ad Michlol. Ephodai Gram. c. 7. Elias Levita in Prefatione ad Me. thurgeman.

8 Waltoni Prolegom. 3. s. 24. Lightfoot, vol. i. p. 215. 220. 357. et 1012. vol. ii. p. 545. et 803. Buxtorffii Dissertatio de Linguae Hebraeae Conservatione, p. 197. Morini Exercit. Bibl. p. 2. exerc. 9. c. 5. s. 9. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 3. s. 3. Q. 1. Maimonides in Tephillin, c. 12. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, c. 2. s. 1.

books is, that, in the law, the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render the same into the Chaldee; but that, in the prophets, the reader was to read three verses together, and then the interpreter to render the same three verses into Chaldee in the same manner: which manifestly proves, that the division of the scriptures into verses must be as ancient as the way of interpreting them into the Chaldee language in their synagogues; which was from the very time that synagogues were erected, and the scriptures publicly read in them after the Babylonish captivity. This was at first done only in the law (for till the time of the Maccabees the law only was read in their synagogues,²) but afterward, in imitation hereof, the same was also done in the prophets, and the Hagiographa, especially after that the prophets began also to be publicly read among them, as well as the law; and from hence the division of the holy scriptures into verses, it is most likely, was first made, but without any numerical figures annexed to them. The manner whereby they are now distinguished in their common Hebrew Bibles, is by the two great points, called *Soph-Pasuk*, above mentioned. But whether this was the ancient way, is by some made a question. The objection raised against it is this: if the distinction of verses was introduced for the sake of the Chaldee interpreters in their synagogues, it must therefore be held as ancient as that way of interpreting the scriptures in them,³ it must then have place in their sacred synagogical books; for none other were used either by the readers or their interpreters in their public assemblies. But it hath been anciently held as a rule among them,⁴ that any points or accents written in these sacred books pollute and profane them; and therefore, no copy either of the law or the prophets now used in their synagogues hath any points or accents written in it. To this I answer, whatever may be the practice of the modern Jews, this is no rule to let us know what was the ancient practice among them; since, in many particulars, they have varied from the ancient usages, as they now do from each other, according to the different parts of the world in which they dwell. The division of the law and the prophets into verses, among the Jews, is certainly very ancient: for mention is made of them in the *Mishnah*;⁵ and that the reason of this division was for the direction of the readers and the Chaldee interpreters, is also there implied. And therefore, supposing such a division for this use, it must necessarily follow, that there must have been some marks to set it out, otherwise it could not have answered the end intended. Those that say these verses were distinguished by a set number of lines of which they consisted,⁶ seem not to have considered that a line often end in an imperfect sense, and in the middle of a sentence. And therefore, a division into verses this way could not serve the end for which the *Mishnah* makes mention of them, that is, for the direction of the readers and Chaldee interpreters in their synagogues; for there could be no true reading or true interpreting, if the stop were made otherwise than at the end of a full sentence. And therefore, if the distinction of verses in their sacred synagogical books were anciently discernible only by lines, it could be no otherwise, according to the manner in which *Maimonides* says they were written, than by ending of the last line of the verse in a break. For that author,⁷ out of the *Talmud*, tells us, that the parchments on which they were written were to be of six hands' breadth, and of as many in length, and the writing of them to be in six columns, each column being of a hand's breadth; and that each line in these columns was to contain thirty of their letters. And therefore, if a break were made where the last line of the verse ended, and the next verse were begun with a new line, this would, I acknowledge, be sufficient to set out the distinction of these verses, and make them fully answer the end in-

1 *Mishna* in *Tract. Megilla*, c. 4. *Tract. Sopherim*, c. 11. 2 *Buxtorfius* in *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, p. 233

3 *Morinus* in *Exercitationibus Biblicis*, part 2. exercit. 15. c. 1. s. 9.

4 *Tract. Sopherim*, c. 3. *Morini Exercit. Bibl.* part 2. exercit. 15. c. 4.

5 *Tract. Megilla*, c. 4. s. 4. ubi dicitur. "Qui legit in lege non leget minus quam tres versus. Non leget

interpreti plus quam unum versum, et in prophetis tres."

6 *Morinus* in *Exercitationibus Biblicis*, part 2. exercit. 15. c. 2.

7 *Maimonides* de *Libro Legis*, c. 7. 9. *Talmud* in *Bava Bathra*, fol. 16.

tended. But there are two exceptions against it. The first is, that such breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the verse might be run out to the end of the last line, and so leave no space at all for a break; and then there could no distinction at all be made this way between that verse and the next. And the second is,¹ that those who hold this opinion, that the verses were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines above mentioned to a verse: but there are many verses which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those lines. It is most likely, that anciently the writing of those books was in long lines, from one side of the parchment to the other, and that the verses in them were distinguished in the same manner as the *stichi* afterward were in the Greek Bibles. For² the manner of their writing those *stichi* at first was, to allow a line to every *stichus*, and there to end the writing where they ended the *stichus*, leaving the rest of the line void, in the same manner as a line is left at a break. But this losing too much of the parchment, and making the book too bulky, for the avoiding of both these inconveniences, the way afterward was, to put a point at the end of every *stichus*, and so continue the writing, without leaving any part of the line void as before. And in the same manner, I conceive, the *pesukim*, or verses of the Hebrew Bibles, were anciently written. At first they allowed a line to every verse; and a line drawn from one side of the parchment to the other, of the length as above mentioned, was sufficient to contain any verse that is now in the Hebrew Bible. But many verses falling short of this length, they found the same inconveniences that the Greeks after did in the first way of their writing their *stichi*; and therefore came to the same remedy, that is, they did put the two points above mentioned (which they call *soph-pasuk*) at the place where the former verse ended, and continued the writing of the next verse in the same line, without leaving any void space at all therein. And so their manner hath continued ever since, excepting only that between their sections, as well the smaller as the greater, there is some void space left to make the distinction between them. And I am the more inclined to think this to be the truth of the matter, that is, that anciently the verses of the Hebrew Bible were so many lines therein, because among the ancients of other nations, about the same time, the lines in the writings of prose authors, as well as of poets, were termed verses; and hence it is that we are told,³ that Zoroastres' works contained two millions of verses, and Aristotle's⁴ four hundred and forty-five thousand two hundred and seventy, though neither of them wrote any thing but in prose; and so also we find the writings of Tully,⁵ of Origen,⁶ of Lactantius,⁷ and others,⁸ who were all prose writers, reckoned by the number of verses, which could be no other than so many lines. And why then might not the Bible verses anciently have been of the same nature also? I mean when written in long lines as aforesaid. But the long lines often occasioning, that in reading to the end of one verse, they lost the beginning of the next, and so often did read wrong, either by skipping a line, or beginning the same again: for the avoiding of this,⁹ they came to the way of writing in columns and in short lines, as is above mentioned. But all this I mean of their sacred synagogical books. In their common Bibles, they are not tied up to such rules, but write and print them so as they may best serve for their instruction and con-

1 Morinus, *ibid.*

2 Vide Millii Prolegomena ad Grecum Testamentum, p. 90.

3 Pin. lib. 3. c. 1.

4 Diogenes Laertius in Vita Aristotelis.

5 Asconius Pedianus Ciceronis verba citat, *versu a primo octingentesimo quinquagesimo, &c.*

6 Hieronymus in Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, et alibi.

7 Hieronymus in Epistola 124 ad Damasum.

8 Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda. "In hoc volumine vitas excellentium virorum complurium concludere constitimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt." And Josephus tells us, in the conclusion of his Antiquities, "that this work of his contained twenty books, and sixty thousand *verses*, or verses." For the Greek *verses* is the same with the Latin *versus*, and both the same originally with what we call a line in writing. For *versus* properly is a line, whether in prose or verse, and is so called a *vertendo*, because the writer, when he is got to the end of one line, turns back his hand, and begins the next, and so doth the reader also his eye, from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. Vide Menagii Observations in Diogenis Laertii, lib. 4. N. 24. Jerome also, in his preface before his Latin version of the book of Daniel, saith, that Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius, answered the objections of Porphyry against the scriptures, *multis versuum millibus, i. e. by many thousands of verses, that is, lines*; for they all wrote in prose.

9 Maimonides in Libro Legis, c. 7.

venience in common use. If the Jews at present in their synagogical books leave out the two points *soph-pasuk* at the end of the verses, it proceeds from their wresting the rule above mentioned, against putting points or accents into their sacred books, to a too rigorous meaning; for by those points therein mentioned, seem to be understood no other points than the vowel points, and such others as effect the text in the reading. But these two points at the end of every verse only terminate the period, without affecting at all either the words or the letters. But it is no new thing for the Jews, out of an over-superstitious interpretation of their traditions, to make innovations in their ancient usages, especially while they had their schools and universities in Mesopotamia,¹ and there held their synedrial and consistorial assemblies of their Rabbies, in which they hammered their law, and also their ancient traditions, by a vast number of new constitutions and new determinations, into what form they pleased.

But the division of the holy scriptures into chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later date. The Psalms, indeed, were always divided as at present, for St. Paul,² in his sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, quotes the second Psalm. But, as to the rest of the holy scriptures, the division of them into such chapters as at present, is what the ancients knew nothing of.³ Some attribute it to Stephen Langton,⁴ who was archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of King John and King Henry III. his son. But the true author of this invention was Hugo de Sancto Caro, who being from a Dominican monk, advanced to the dignity of a cardinal, and the first of that order that was so, is commonly called Hugo Cardinals. The whole occasion and history of this matter, and the progress of it to the state it is now in, is as followeth:—

This Cardinal Hugo,⁵ who flourished about the year 1240, and died in the year 1262, had laboured much in the study of the holy scriptures, and made a comment on the whole of them. The carrying on of this work administered to him the occasion of inventing the first concordance that was made of the holy scriptures, that is, that of the Vulgar Latin Bible. For conceiving that such an index of all the words and phrases in the holy scriptures would be of great use for the attaining of a better understanding of them, he projected a scheme for the making of it; and forthwith set a number of the monks of his order on the collecting of the words under their proper classes, in every letter of the alphabet, in order to this design, and, by the help of so many hands, he soon brought it to what he intended. This work was afterward much improved by those who followed him, especially by Arlottus Thuscus, and Conradus Halberstadius, the former a Franciscan, and the other a Dominican friar, who both lived about the end of the same century. But the whole end and aim of the work being for the easier finding of any word or passage in the holy scriptures, to make it answer this purpose, the cardinal found it necessary, in the first place, to divide the books into sections, and the sections into under-divisions, that by these he might the better make the references, and the more exactly point out, in the index, where every word or passage might be found in the text. For till then every book of the holy scriptures, in the Vulgar Latin Bibles, was without any division at all; and therefore, had the index referred only to the book, the whole book, perchance, must have been read over, ere that could be found which was sought for; but, by referring to it by this division and subdivision, it was immediately had at first sight. And these sections are the chapters which the Bible hath ever since been divided into. For, on the publishing of this concordance, the

¹ They had these schools at Naerā, Sora, and Pumbeditha, in Mesopotamia, till about the year of our Lord 1040, when they were driven out thence by the Mahometan princes that reigned in those parts.

² Acts xiii. 32.
³ The Greek Bibles among Christians anciently had their *τῆλος* and *ἐπεφάνη*; but the intent of them was rather to point out the sum or contents of the text, than to divide the books; and they were vastly different from the present chapters; for many of them contained only a very few verses, and some of them no more than one.

⁴ Balmus, Cent. 3. p. 275.

⁵ Buxtorfi Prefatio ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus in Exercit. Bibl. part 2. exercit. 17.
⁶ C. 3. Cerebrardus in Chronico ad annum Christi 1244. Sixtus Senensis Bibliothec. lib. 3. Hottingeri Theaur. lib. 3. c. 2. s. 5. Capelli Arcanum Punctuationis, lib. 2. c. 17. s. 8.

usefulness of it being immediately discerned, all coveted to have it; and, for the sake of the use of it, all divided their Bibles in the same manner as Hugo had done. For the references in the concordance being made by these chapters and the subdivisions of them, unless their Bibles were so divided too, the concordance would be of no use to them. And thus this division of the several books of the Bible into chapters had its original, which hath ever since been made use of in all places, and among all people, wherever the Bible itself is used in these western parts of the world. But the subdivision of the chapters was not then by verses as now. Hugo's way of subdividing them was by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the margin at an equal distance from each other, according as the chapters were longer or shorter. In long chapters all these seven letters were used; in others fewer, according as the length which the chapters were of did require. For the subdivision of chapters by verses, which is now in all our Bibles, was not introduced into them till some ages after, and then it was from the Jews that the use hereof, as now among us, first had its original on this occasion. About the year 1430,¹ there lived here, among the western Jews, a famous Rabbi, called by some Rabbi Mordecai Nathan, by others Rabbi Isaac Nathan, and by many by both these names, as if he were first called by one of them, and then, by a change of it, by the other. This Rabbi being much conversant with the Christians, and having frequent disputes with their learned men about religion, he thereby came to the knowledge of the great use which they made of the Latin concordance composed by Cardinal Hugo, and the benefit which they had thereby, in the ready finding of any place in the scriptures that they had occasion to consult; which he was so much taken with, that he immediately set about the making of such a concordance to the Hebrew Bible for the use of the Jews. He began this work in the year of our Lord 1438, and finished it in the year 1445; so that he was just seven years in the composing of it. And the first publishing of it happening about the time that printing was first invented,² it hath since that time undergone several editions from the press. That which was printed at Basil by Buxtorf the son, Anno 1632, is the best of them: for Buxtorf the father had taken great pains about it, to make it more correct and complete; and Buxtorf the son added also his labours to those of his father, for the perfecting of it, and published it with both their improvements in the year I have mentioned; and, by reason of the advantages it hath received herefrom, it deservedly hath the reputation of being the perfectest and best book of its kind that is extant, and indeed is so useful for the understanding of the Hebrew scriptures, that no one who employs his studies this way can well be without it, it being the best dictionary as well as the best concordance to them. In the composing of this book, Rabbi Nathan finding it necessary to follow the same division of the scriptures into chapters, which Hugo had made in them, it had the like effect as to the Hebrew Bibles that Hugo's had as to the Latin, that is, it caused the same division to be made in all the Hebrew Bibles, which were afterward either written out or printed for common use. For this concordance being found of excellent use among those for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this division for the sake of having the benefit of it. For the references in Nathan's concordance being every where by chapters according to Hugo's division, they could no otherwise have the benefit of finding in their Bibles the places referred to, than by dividing them into the same chapters also. And from hence the division of the scriptural books into chapters first came into the Hebrew Bibles. But Nathan, though he followed Hugo in the division of the scriptural books into chapters, yet did not so in the division of the chapters by the letters A. B. C. &c. in the margin, but refined upon him in this matter, by introducing a better usage, that is, by using the division which was made by verses. This

¹ Prefatio Buxtorffii ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus Exercit. Bibl. part 2. exercit. 17.

² Printing was first invented at Mentz, in Germany, by John Faust and John Gutenberg, A. D. 1449 — Calvisius under that year; and Pancirollus with Salmuth on him, part 2. tit 12.

division, I have shewn, was very ancient; but it was till now without any numbers put to the verses. This was first done by Rabbi Nathan for the sake of his concordance: for therein all his references being by the chapters and verses, as there was a necessity that those who used this concordance should have their Bibles thus divided into chapters and verses also, so was it that both should be numbered in them. For it was by the numbers of the chapters and verses that they were to find the places sought for, in the same manner as is now practised in our English concordances; as in Newman's, which is by much the best and perfectest of all that are extant. The numbering, therefore, of the verses in the chapters, and the quoting of the passages in every chapter, by the verses, instead of doing it by letters, at an equal distance in the margin, was Nathan's invention; in all things else he followed the pattern which Hugo had set him. But it is to be observed, that he did not number the verses any otherwise than by affixing the numerical letters in the margin at every fifth verse. And this hath been the usage of the Jews in all their Hebrew Bibles ever since, till of late Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, in his two fair and correct editions of the Hebrew Bible, printed by him in that city, the first in the year 1661, and the other in the year 1667, hath varied herefrom in two particulars. For, 1st, he hath introduced into these editions the use of the Indian figures; and, 2dly, hath placed them at every verse, where the numerical Hebrew letters are not: so that, continuing the numerical Hebrew letters as formerly, at every fifth verse, he hath put the Indian figures at all the rest. Before this, we were to number from every fifth verse to find any intermediate verse between that and the next fifth. Whether the Jews will follow this new way in their future editions, I know not; but this I know, that this second edition of Athias's Hebrew Bible is the most correct, as well as the most convenient and best fitted for use, of any that have been as yet set forth. After Rabbi Nathan had brought in this use of numbering the verses, and quoting by them what was in every chapter, this soon appeared to be a much better way than the quoting of what is in them by the letters A. B. C. &c. set in the margin. And therefore Vatablus having,¹ from this pattern, published a Latin Bible, with the chapters so divided into verses, and the verses so numbered, this example hath been followed in all other editions that have been since set forth. And all that have published concordances, as well as all other writers, have ever since that time quoted the scriptures by the number of chapters and verses according to this division. So that, as the Jews borrowed the division of the books of the holy scriptures into chapters from the Christians, in like manner the Christians borrowed that of the chapters into verses from the Jews. And thus they have helped each other to make the present editions of the Bible much more convenient for common use than otherwise they would have been. And Robert Stephanus, taking a hint from hence, made a like division of the chapters of the New Testament into verses also, and for the same reason as Rabbi Nathan had done so before him as to the Old Testament, that is, for the sake of a concordance, which he was then composing for the Greek Testament, and which was afterward printed by Henry Stephanus his son, who gives this account hereof in his preface to that concordance. Since that, this division of the holy scriptures by chapters and verses, and the quoting of all passages in them by the numbers of both, hath grown into use every where among us in these western parts: so that, not only all Latin Bibles, but all Greek Bibles also, and all others that have been printed in any of the modern languages, have followed this division. And the usefulness of it from the first time it was introduced, reconciled all men thereto. And thus that division of the holy scriptures into chapters and verses, which is now every where in use, had its original.

III. The third thing which Ezra did about the holy scriptures, in his edition

¹ So saith Morinus in Exercit. Bibliæ. p. 2. exercit. 17. c. 4. s. 2. But Chevalier in his book *L'Origine de l'Imprimerie*, p. 145, saith, that the Latin Bible, which was published at Paris by Robert Stephanus in three folios, Anno Domini 1557, was the first in which the verses were distinguished by the numerical figures which example hath been ever since followed.

of them, was, he added, in several places throughout the books of this edition, what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting, or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit by which they were at first wrote. Of this sort we may reckon the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which giving an account of the death and burial of Moses; and of the succession of Joshua after him, it could not be written by Moses himself, who undoubtedly was the penman of all the rest of that book. It seems most probable, that it was added by Ezra at this time. And such also may we reckon the several interpolations which occur in many places of the holy scriptures. For that there are such interpolations is undeniable; there being many passages through the whole sacred writ, which create difficulties that can never be solved, without the allowing of them. As for instance, Gen. xii. 6, it is remarked, on Abraham's coming into the land of Canaan, that the Canaanites were then in the land; which is not likely to have been said till after the time of Moses, when the Canaanites being extirpated by Joshua, were then no more in the land. And Gen. xxii. 14, we read, "As it is said, to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." But Mount Moriah (which is the mount there spoken of) was not called the mount of the Lord till the temple was built on it, many hundred years after. And this being here spoken of as a proverbial saying, that obtained among the Israelites in after-ages, the whole style of the text doth manifestly point at a time after Moses, when they were in possession of the land in which this mountain stood. And therefore both these particulars prove the words cited to have been an interpolation. Gen. xxxvi. 3, it is written, "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the land of Israel." Which could not have been said till after there had been a king in Israel; and therefore they cannot be Moses's words, but must have been interpolated afterward. Exod. xvi. 35, the words of the text are, "And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited. They did eat manna, till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." But Moses was dead before the manna ceased; and, therefore, these cannot be his words, but must have been inserted afterward. Deut. ii. 12, it is said, "The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime, but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them before them and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them." Which could not have been written by Moses, Israel having not till after his death entered into the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. Deut. iii. 11, it is said, "Only Og, king of Bashan, remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron. Is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?" The whole style and strain of which text, especially that of the last clause of it, plainly speaks it to have been written a long while after that king was slain; and, therefore, it could not be written by Moses, who died within five months after. In the same chapter, ver. 14, it is said, "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the country of Argob, unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maacathi, and called them after his own name, Bashan-Havoth-Jair, unto this day." Where the phrase, unto this day, speaks a much greater distance of time after the fact related, than those few months in which Moses survived after that conquest: and, therefore, what is there written must have been inserted by some other hand than that of Moses, long after his death. And in the book of Proverbs (which was certainly King Solomon's,) in the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter it is written, "These are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." Which must certainly have been added many ages after Solomon; for Hezekiah was of the twelfth generation in descent from him. Many more instances of such interpolated passages might be given. For throughout the whole scriptures they have been frequently cast in by way of parenthesis, where they have appeared necessary for the explaining, connecting, or illustrating the text, or the supplying what was wanting in it. But those already mentioned are sufficient to prove the

thing. Of which interpolations undoubtedly Ezra was the author, in all the books which passed his examination, and Simon the Just and all the rest which were added afterward; for they all seemed to refer to those later times. But these additions do not detract any thing from the divine authority of the whole, because they were all inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. This as to Ezra is without dispute, he being himself one of the divine penmen of the holy scriptures; for he was most certainly the writer of that book in the Old Testament which bears his name; and is, upon good grounds, supposed to be the author of two more, that is, of the two books of Chronicles, as perchance also he was of the book of Esther. And, if the books written by him be of divine authority, why may not every thing else be so which he hath added to any of the rest, since there is all reason for us to suppose that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one as he was in the other? The great importance of the work proves the thing: for, as it was necessary for the Church of God that this work should be done; so also was it necessary for the work, that the person called thereto should be thus assisted in the completing of it.

IV. He changed the old names of several places that were grown obsolete, putting instead of them the new names by which they were at that time called, that the people might the better understand what was written. Thus (Gen. xiv. 14.) Abraham is said to have pursued the kings, who carried Lot away captive, as far as Dan; whereas the name of that place was Laish, till the Danites, long after the death of Moses, possessed themselves of it, and called it Dan,¹ after the name of Dan their father: and therefore, it could not be called Dan in the original copy of Moses, but that name must have been put in afterward, in stead of that of Laish, on this review. And so in several places in Genesis, and also in Numbers, we find mention made of Hebron; whereas the name of that city was Kiriath Arba, till Caleb, having obtained the possession of it after the division of the land, called it Hebron, after the name of Hebron, one of his sons; and therefore, that name could not be in the text, till placed there long after the time of Moses, by way of exchange for that of Kiriath Arba, which it is not to be doubted was done at the time of this review. And many other like examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the study of those who governed the church of God in those times was to render the scripture as plain and intelligible to the people as they could, and not to hide and conceal any of it from them.

V. He wrote out the whole in the Chaldee character. For that having now grown wholly into use among the people after the Babylonish captivity, he changed the old Hebrew character for it, which hath since that time been retained only by the Samaritans; among whom it is preserved even to this day. This was the old Phœnician character, from which the Greeks borrowed theirs. And the old Ionian alphabet bears some similitude to it, as Scaliger shows in his notes upon Eusebius's *Chronicon*.² In this Moses and the prophets recorded the sacred oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himself wrote the ten commandments in the two tables of stone. There are some, I acknowledge, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the sacred character in which the holy scriptures were written; and that the Samaritan was never in use for this purpose but only among the Samaritans, who, in opposition (say they) to the Jews, on the rise of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the law of Moses (which is the only scripture they receive) in this character different from them. Were we to judge of sacred things by their external beauty, we should concur with this opinion: for the Chaldee character is one of the beautifullest, and the Samaritan the uncouthest, and the most incapable of calligraphy of all that have been used among the different nations of the world. Bu-

¹ Joshua xix. 47. Judges xviii. 29.

² In *Animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon*, p. 110, 111. &c.

the opinion of the most learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other side; for there are many old Jewish shekels still in being;¹ and others of the same sort are frequently dug up in Judea, with this inscription on them in Samaritan letters, Jerusalem Kedoash, *i. e.* Jerusalem the holy: which inscription shows, that they could not be the coin either of the Israelites of the ten tribes, or of the Samaritans who after succeeded them in their land; for neither of them would have put the name of Jerusalem upon their coin, or ever have called it the Holy City. These pieces, therefore, must have been the coin of those of the two tribes before the captivity; and this proves the Samaritan character to be that which was then in use among them. And it cannot be said, that these shekels are counterfeited by modern hands: for Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman tells us of several which he met with in his time that had this inscription upon them in Samaritan letters, who lived above five hundred years since. And therefore it must follow, that the present Hebrew character was introduced among the Jews after the Babylonish captivity: and the general testimony of the ancients is, that it was Ezra that did first put the holy scriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to Jerusalem. Eusebius,² in his *Chronicon*, tells us so, and St. Jerome doth the same;³ and so do also both the Talmuds; and the generality of learned men, as well among the Jews as Christians, hold to this opinion. Capellus hath written a tract for it, and Buxtorf the son another against it. They, who shall think fit to read them, will see all that can be said on either side. But I think the argument which is brought from the shekels cannot be answered. But,

VI. Whether Ezra, on this review, did add the vowel points which are now in the Hebrew Bibles, is a harder question to be decided. It went without contradiction in the affirmative, till Elias Levita, a German Jew, wrote against it, about the beginning of the reformation. Buxtorf the father endeavoured to refute his arguments. But Capellus, a Protestant divine of the French church, and professor of Hebrew in their university at Saumur, hath, in a very elaborate discourse, made a thorough reply to all that can be said on this head, and very strenuously asserted the contrary. Buxtorf the son, in vindication of his father's opinion, hath written an answer to it; but not with that satisfaction to the learned world, as to hinder the generality of them from going into the other opinion. I shall here first state the question, and then inquire on which side of it the truth lieth.

And first, as to the state of the question, it is to be observed, that it is upon another foot among us Christians than it is among the Jews. For among them it is a principle agreed on both sides, and which Elias Levita comes in unto as much as any of the rest, that the reading, as now fixed and settled by the vowel points in all the books of holy scripture, is the true, genuine, and authentic reading, as it came from the sacred penmen themselves of the said books, and, consequently, is as much of divine authority as the letters: only the latter were written, and the other delivered down only by oral tradition. The question therefore between them is only about the time when this reading was first marked and expressed in their Bibles, by the present vowel points. This, Elias and his followers say, was not done till after the finishing of the Talmud, about five hundred years after Christ; but that till then the true reading, as to the vowels, was preserved only by oral tradition. But others of them hold (and this is the prevailing opinion among them,) that the reading by oral tradition was only till the time of Ezra, and that ever since it hath been written down and expressed by the vowel points affixed to the letters in the same manner as we now have them. So that the controversy among them, is not about the truth and authority of reading according to the present punctuation (for they all hold this to be the very same which was dictated with the word itself by the Holy

¹ Scaliger in *Animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon*, p. 117. col. 2. Vossius de *Arte Grammatica*, lib. 1. c. 9. Waserus de *Nummis Hebræorum*. Waltonus de *Siclorum Formis et in Prolegom.* 3. s. 29, 30, &c.

² Ad annum 4740. ³ In *Prefatione ad 1 Regum*, et in *Comment. in Ezechielem*, c. 9.

Spirit of God from the beginning,) but about the antiquity of the figures and points, whereby it is marked and fixed in their present Bibles. But among us Christians, who have no regard to what the Jews tell us of their oral tradition, and their preserving of the true reading of the scriptures by it, the question is about the authority of the reading itself; that is, whether the vowel points were affixed by Ezra, and therefore of the same divine authority with the rest of the text, or else invented since by the Jewish critics, called the Masorites; and whether therefore they may not, as being of human authority only, be altered and changed, where the analogy of grammar, the style of the language, or the nature of the context, or any thing else, shall give reason for a better reading? And this being the state of the question, as it is now in debate among Christians, that side of it which I have here last mentioned is, that which is now generally held for the truth, and these following arguments make strongly for it.

1. The sacred books made use of among the Jews in their synagogues have ever been,¹ and still are, without the vowel points; which could not have happened had they been placed there by Ezra, and consequently been of the same authority with the letters; for had they been so, they would certainly have been preserved in the synagogues with the same care as the rest of the text. There can scarce any other reason be given why they were not admitted thither, but that, when the holy scriptures began first to be publicly read to the people in their synagogues, there were no such vowel points then in being; and that when they afterward came in use, being known to be of a human invention, they were for that reason never thought fit to be added to those sacred copies, which were looked on as the true representatives of the original; and therefore they have been ever kept with the same care in the ark or sacred chest of the synagogue,² as the original draught of the law of Moses anciently was in the ark or sacred chest of the tabernacle, which was prepared for it; and they are still so kept in the same manner among them even to this day.

2. The ancient various readings of the sacred text,³ called *Keri Cetib*, are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points; which seems manifestly to prove, that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the text; for, if they had, the variations of these would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as those of the letters.

3. The ancient cabalists draw none of their mysteries from the vowel points,⁴ but all from the letters; which is an argument either that these vowel points were not in use in their time, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the sacred text; for had they then been so, these triflers would certainly have drawn mysteries from the one as well as from the other, as the latter cabalists have done.

4. If we compare with the present pointed Hebrew⁵ Bibles the version of the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrases, the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, or the Latin version of Jerome, we shall in several places find, that they did read the text otherwise than according to the present punctuation: which is a certain argument, that the pointed copies, if there were any such in their times, were not then held to be of any authority; for otherwise they would certainly have followed them.

5. Neither the Mishnah nor the Gemara,⁶ either that of Jerusalem or that of Babylon, do make any mention of these vowel points; although in several places there are such special occasions and reasons for them so to have done, that it can scarce be thought possible they could have omitted it, if they had been in being when those books were written; or if in being, had been looked on by the Jews of those times to be of any authority among them. Neither do we find the least hint of them in Philo-Judæus or Josephus,⁷ who are the oldest writers of the Jews, or in any of the ancient Christian writers for several hundred

1 Arcanum Punctuationis, lib. 1. c. 4.

3 Arcanum Punctuationis, lib. 1. c. 7.

5 Ibid. lib. 1. c. 8—10.

7 Arcan. Punct. lib. 1. c. 10.

2 Buxtorffii Synagoga Judaica, c. 14.

4 Ibid. lib. 1. c. 5.

6 Ibid. c. 5.

years after Christ. And although among them Origen and Jerome were well skilled in the Hebrew language, yet in none of their writings do they speak the least of them. Origen flourished in the third, and Jerome in the fifth century; and the latter having lived a long while in Judea, and there more especially applied himself to the study of the Hebrew learning, and much conversed with the Jewish Rabbies for his improvement herein, it is not likely that he could have missed making some mention of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the Jews in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that especially, since, in his commentaries, there were so many necessary occasions for his taking notice of them; and it cannot be denied, but that this is a very strong argument against them.

Many more arguments are urged on this side of the question. But the chief strength of what is said for it lying in these I have mentioned, I shall not trouble the reader with the rest, and that especially since some of them will not hold water. For, to instance in one of them, great stress is laid on this to prove the vowel points to be of late date, that their names are thought to be of late date, they being of the Chaldee and not of the Hebrew dialect. But it is certain the Jews had the present names of their months from the Chaldeans, as well as the names of their vowels; and yet it is as certain, that notwithstanding this, the names of these months were in use in the time of Ezra, for they are named in scripture, both in the book of Ezra, and also in that of Nehemiah, the former of which was written by him; and why then might not the names of these vowels have been in Ezra's time too, notwithstanding this objection? And this is all which those on the other side contend for. But the other arguments which I have above recited are of much greater weight. If any one would see all at large that hath been said on this head, Capellus's book, which I have already mentioned, will fully furnish him herewith.

But there have not been wanting learned men of the contrary opinion; and much hath been written for it, especially by the two Buxtorfs, the father and the son. Their arguments, which carry the greatest weight with them, are these which follow:

1. The ancient books Bahir and Zohar,¹ which are said to have been written, the one a little before and the other a little after the time of our Saviour, make express and frequent mention of the vowel points; which argument would be unanswerable against the latter invention of them, could we be sure that these books are as ancient as the Jews say they are. But there are reasons sufficient to convince us² that both of them are of a much later date. There are many particulars in the books themselves which manifestly prove them to be so; and, for above a thousand years after the pretended times of their composure, they were never heard of among the Jews themselves, nor were they ever quoted, or made mention of by any other writer during all that interval; which gives abundant reason to conclude, that till after these thousand years they never had any being; but that a false date of antiquity hath been fraudulently put to them, to recommend them to the world with greater credit. The latter of them hath been printed several times; but the other is still a manuscript. They are both cabalistical books: and the most they are remarkable for, is the obscurity of their style, and the strange, mysterious, and unintelligible stuff contained in them.

2. That whereas it is said, on the other side, that the Masorites of Tiberias invented the vowel points about five hundred years after Christ, this appears very unlikely.³ For the schools which the Jews had in Judea were then wholly dissipated and suppressed, and no learned men there left of sufficient ability for such a performance: for, at that time, all their learned men were removed into the province of Babylon, where they had their universities of Sora, Naherda,

1 Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 9. s. 3. Buxtorfius filius de Punctorum Antiquitate, part. i. c. 5.

2 Vide Arcanum Punctuationis, lib. 2. c. 3. et Buxtorfii Bibliothecam Rabinicam in Bahir et Zohar.

3 Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 5-7. Buxtorfius filius de Antiquitate Punctorum, part. 2. c. 11

and Pumbeditha, and nothing of their learning was then left in Judea that can make it probable that such a work could be done, either at Tiberias, or any where else in that land, in those times. And besides, were the thing ever so likely, there is no authority for it sufficient to support the assertion. Elias Levita indeed saith it, and Aben Ezra, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, is quoted for it; but higher up it cannot be traced. For there is nothing said in any ancient writer either of their being invented by the Masorites at Tiberias, or any where else, after the Talmud; and it is not likely that, if this had been so late an invention, a matter so remarkable, and of such great moment, could have been wholly passed over in silence, without the least mention made of it by any of the Jewish writers. But to all this it is replied,¹ that, in historical matters, it is not to be regarded what the Jews write, or what they omit concerning them. That of all nations in the world, that have pretended to any sort of learning, they have taken the least care to record past transactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it. And it is certain there were Jews eminent in their way of learning at Tiberias in St. Jerome's time: for he tells us he made use of them, and he died not till the year of our Lord 420, which was but eighty years before the time assigned, and it must be acknowledged, that nothing of this can be gainsayed. And it is farther added by those, who thus reply, that they do not positively pin down the invention of these vowel points either to the time or place which Elias Levita assigneth for it; but only say, that it must be after the time of the writings of Jerome, and after the time of the composition of the Talmud, because in neither of these any mention is made of them: and this will necessarily carry it down below the five hundredth year of our Lord; but whether it were then immediately done, or two or three hundred years afterward, or at Tiberias, or elsewhere, they will not take upon them certainly to affirm. That the vowel points were not affixed to the text by Ezra; that they are not of a divine, but only of human original, and first introduced into use after the writing of the Talmud, is all that they positively assert concerning this matter; and that whatsoever is said beyond this, is only guess and conjecture, which doth not at all affect the question; and therefore they will not contend about it.

3 If by the Masorites, who are said to have invented these vowel points, are meant the authors of the present Masorah, which is printed with the great Bibles of Venice and Basil, it is certain they cannot be the inventors of these points.² For a great part of their criticisms is upon the vowel points, which must necessarily prove them to have been long before fixed and settled; for none used to criticise upon their own works. To which it is replied,³ that there were Masorites, from the time of Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, down to the time of Ben Asher and Ben Naphthali, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1030; that some of these invented the points sometime after the making of the Talmud; and that, after that, some of those who succeeded them, perchance two or three hundred years after, made these criticisms and remarks upon them. For the Masorah that is now printed in the Bibles above mentioned, is a collection and abridgement of all the chief remarks and criticisms which those men did make upon the Hebrew text, from their first beginning to the time I have mentioned. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more at large by and by.

4. That when the Hebrew language ceased to be the mother tongue of the Jews (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the Babylonish captivity,) it was scarce possible to teach that language without these vowel points;⁴ and this is the best and strongest argument that is urged on this side for their having been always in use from that time.

1 Capellus in *Arcano Punctuationis*, lib. 2. c. 15.

2 Buxtorfius pater in *Tiberiade*, c. 9. Buxtorfius filius de *Antiquitate Punctorum*, part 2. c. 6.

3 *Arcanum Punctuationis*, lib. 2. c. 10.

4 Buxtorfius de *Antiquitate Punctorum*, part 2. c. 10.

5. That if it be allowed that the present vowel points are no of the same authority with the letters, but are only of a late and human invention, it will weaken the authority of the holy scriptures, and leave the sacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation; which will give too much to the papists, whose main design is to destroy the authority and certainty of the holy scriptures, that thereby they may make room for the traditions of their church, and the decisions of the infallible guide which they pretended to have therein. And to avoid this ill consequence, is, indeed, the most prevailing cause that hath drawn into this opinion most of those learned Protestants that contend for it. But, to answer both these last arguments, and settle the whole of this controversy, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the matter in these following positions.

I. That the vowel points having never been received by the Jews into their synagogues, this seems to be a certain evidence that they were never anciently looked on by them as an authentic part of the holy scripture of the Old Testament, but reckoned only as a human invention added for the easier reading of the text, after the Hebrew ceased from being a vulgar language among them. And the Jews having been, till the time of Christ, the true church of God, and his chosen people,¹ to whom those scriptures and sacred oracles of God were given and committed, through their hands the church of Christ hath received them, and their evidence is that which is to witness and determine unto us what part of them is authentic scripture, and what is not.

II. It is most likely that these vowel points were the invention of the Masorites, a little after the time of Ezra. That they came into use a little after the time of Ezra, seems to be proved by the need that was then of them for the reading and teaching of the Hebrew text. And that they were invented by the Masorites seems most likely, because of the business and profession which these men employed themselves in. For,

1st. These Masorites² were a set of men whose profession it was to write out copies of the Hebrew scriptures, and to criticise upon them, and also to preserve and teach the true readings of them; and what they observed and taught, in order hereto, is by the Jews called the Masorah. But this tradition reached no farther than the readings of the Hebrew scriptures: for, as the Jews held a tradition of the true interpretations of the holy scriptures (which I have already spoken of,) so also did they hold another of the true readings of them, as in the original Hebrew language. And this last they will have, as to the law, to be a constitution of Moses from Mount Sinai, as well as the former. For their doctrine is, that when God gave unto Moses the law in Mount Sinai, he taught him first the true readings of it, and secondly, the true interpretations of it; and that both these were handed down, from generation to generation, by oral tradition only, till at length the readings were written by the accents and vowels, in like manner as the interpretations were by the Mishnah and Gemara. The former they call Masorah, which signifieth tradition, and the other they call cabala, which signifieth reception; but both of them denote the same thing, that is, a knowledge down from generation to generation; in the doing of which, there being tradition on the one hand, and reception on the other, that which relates to the readings of the Hebrew scriptures hath its name from the former, and that which relates to the interpretations of them from the latter. And what they say of this, as to the law, they say also of it as to the prophets, and the rest of the Hebrew scriptures; that is, that the true readings of them, as well as the true interpretations of them, were delivered down by oral tradition from those who were the first penmen of them, to whom, they say, God revealed both at the same time, when he revealed to them the word itself. As those who studied and taught the cabala were called the cabalists, so those who studied and taught the Masorah were called

¹ Rom. iii. 2.

² Elie Levite Masoreth Hammasoreth. Buxtorfius in Tiberiade. Waltoni prolegom. 8.

the Masorites. For although the word cabala be now restrained to signify the mystical interpretations of the scriptures only, and, in the common usage of speech now among the Jews, they alone are called cabalists who give themselves up to these dotages: yet, in the true and genuine meaning of the word, the cabala extends to all manner of traditions which are of the interpretative part of the Hebrew scriptures; and the cabalist is the general name of all those who professed the study and knowledge of them; and they were all those whom, under the names of Tannaim, Amoraim, Seburim, &c. I have already made mention of. And as these cabalists first began a little after the time of Ezra, so also did the Masorites; and their whole business and profession being to study the true readings of the Hebrew text, and to preserve and teach the same, they are justly held the most likely to have invented the vowel points, because the whole use of those points is to serve to this purpose.

And, 2dly, This use of them being absolutely necessary, from the time that the Hebrew language ceased to be vulgarly spoken (as it certainly did in the time of Ezra,) we have sufficient reason from hence to conclude, that soon after that time the use of them must have been introduced: for from this time the Hebrew language being only to be acquired by study and instruction, and that being necessary to be first acquired, before the sacred text could be read, which was written therein; as there was need of such a profession of men to take care hereof, that is, to teach and bring up others to know the language, and also to read the scriptures as written in it; so was there as much need of these vowel points to help them herein, it being hard to conceive how they could do either without them, or some other such marks that might serve them for the same purpose. What the Jews tell us, of preserving the true readings only by tradition and memory, is too absurd to be swallowed by any one; for had there been nothing else but tradition and memory in this case to help them, the loss would have been too great to have been carried by any one's memory, but all must necessarily have dropped in the way and been lost. But the truth is, there is no need of depending only on memory in this case; for to those who thoroughly know the language, the letters alone, with the context, are sufficient to determine the reading, as now they are in all other Hebrew books: for, excepting the Bible, few other books in that language are pointed. All their rabbinical authors,¹ of which there are a great number, are all unpointed; and yet all that understand the languages can read them without points as well as if they had them, yea, and much better too, and not miss the true reading. But the difficulty is as to those who do not understand the language; for how they could be ever taught to read it without vowels, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, is scarce possible to conceive. When all learned it from their cradles, it was no hard matter for those who thus understood the language to learn to read it by the letters only, without the vowels. But when the Hebrew became a dead language, the case was altered: for then, instead of understanding it first in order to read it, they were first to read it in order to understand it; and therefore, having not the previous knowledge of the language to direct them herein, they must necessarily have had some other helps whereby to know with what vowel every syllable was to be pronounced; and to give them this help the vowel points seem certainly to have been invented: and therefore the time of this invention cannot be placed later than the time when they became necessary, that is, when the Hebrew became a dead language, though perchance it was not perfected and brought to that order in which it now is till some ages after. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the reading of the Hebrew language could never have been learned, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, without the help of vowels; but they, who will not allow the points to have been so ancient, tell us,² that the letters Aleph, He, Vau, Yod, which they

¹ All those authors, as originally written, are without points. But the Mishnah and their Machzor have lately had points put to them; but still they are reckoned the best editions that are without them.

² Arcanum Punctuationis, lib. 1. c. 18.

call *matres lectionis*, then served for vowels. But there are a great number of words in the Hebrew way of writing, both in the Bible and in all other books of that language, in which none of these letters are to be found, and scarce any in which some of the syllables are not without them; and how then can these supply the place of vowels, and every where help the reading instead of them, since every where they are not to be found? Besides, there are none of these letters which have not, according as they are placed in different words, the different sounds of every one of the vowels sometime or other annexed to them; and how then can they determine the pronunciation of any one of them? As, for example, the letter Aleph hath not always the pronunciation of the vowel *a*, but sometimes of *e*, sometimes of *i*, sometimes of *o*, and sometimes of *u*, according as it is found in different words; and the same is to be said of all the rest. And, farther, all the other oriental languages have in their alphabets these same letters, which they call *matres lectionis*, as well as the Hebrew, as, for example, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Turkish, the Persian, the Malayan, &c. and yet they have their vowels too to help the reading: neither can we find that they were ever without them; though such as are well versed in any of these languages read them readily without vowels; and all the books, epistles, orders, and public instruments, that are in them, are generally so written. And why then should we think the Hebrew had not such vowels also, especially when, after that language had ceased to be vulgarly spoken, there was such necessity for them? The unpointed words in Hebrew are the same with abbreviations in Latin; and if it be impracticable for any novice to learn the Latin language by books, wherein all the words are so abbreviated, that only two or three letters of them stand for the whole, we may justly infer, that it is as impracticable for any who is a stranger to the Hebrew ever to learn it by books, wherein all the words are unpointed; yea, and much more so: for the abbreviations in Latin are certain, such an abbreviation being always put for such a word, and for none other: but it is otherwise in the abbreviations of the unpointed Hebrew; for in them all the vowels being left out, the remaining letters, which are to stand for the whole, may, as pronounced with different vowels, be different words: as, for example, there are two conjugations in Hebrew, one called Pihel, and the other Puhel; the former is an active, and the other a passive, and both are written throughout all their moods and tenses (except the infinitive) with the same letters, and they, as differently pointed, may be either the one or the other; and although in the reading the context may determine the active from the passive, yet if we do not, by pointed books, first learn what vowels properly belong to the one, and what to the other, how can we know with which to read or pronounce either of them in the unpointed books? And abundance of other such instances may be given in the Hebrew language, wherein the same letters, as differently pointed make different words, and of different significations; and how then can a learner know, what different vowels, and what different pronunciations, belong to these different words, if he be not first taught it by the points, or some other such marks of the same signification: All that can be said against this is, that the Samaritan hath no such vowels but although it be now grown to be a dead language, as well as the Hebrew it is taught and learned without them. To this I answer, that it is true that all the books which we have as yet brought us into these western parts, in the Samaritan character, are written only with the letters, and without any such marks as the Hebrew Bibles now have to denote the vowels, or any other instead of them. But this doth not prove, that they have no such vowels in use among them: multitude of books are brought us out of the east, in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, all written with the letters only without any vowel marks. But this doth not prove that they have none; for it is certain that they all have them and use them, where there is need of them; and therefore it is no evidence but that the Samaritan may have them also, though all the books which we have hitherto seen in it are without them. The sect of the

Samaritans are those only who use this character and language (if we may call it a language, for it is no more than the Hebrew in another character;) and they are now dwindled into a very small number, and those dispersed abroad into several parts of the east. And what their practice may be as to the use of vowel figures in their other writings (though none that have as yet come to our hands have any such,) we have no account of either *pro* or *con*, and therefore we can argue nothing from it. Only we say, that as to this, as well as the Hebrew, and all other such languages in which books are ordinarily written with the letters only; it seems almost impracticable for any one to learn to read those books, after the languages are become dead languages, without some marks put to the letters to denote the vowels with which they are to be pronounced. Without a previous knowledge of the language, it is impossible to be done; and therefore the only way to make it possible, is to learn the language first by rote; and when a perfect knowledge hath been gotten of it this way, then only can it be practicable to learn to read that language by the letters only, without any vowel marks. But this is such a great way about, such a tedious and operose method of learning it, that we must look on those to be a very dull and stupid sort of people, who, being in this case, could find out no other way to help themselves in it; and that especially in the Jews' case, since their neighbours on each side of them (I mean the Syrians and Arabians) had vowel figures, and they might easily from them have either taken the same, or learned to have framed others like them. Though the Greeks in their language have the vowels intermixed with the letters, yet it no sooner became a dead language (I mean the learned Greek, from which the modern doth as much differ as the Chaldee from the Hebrew,) but they found out accents, spirits, and several other marks to help those who were to learn it, which were never in use among them before. And so also there are in the Latin several such marks; as, for example, a mark over the *o* and *e* at the end of adverbs, to distinguish them from nouns ending in those vowels, and the mark over the *a* ablative, to distinguish it from the *a* nominative, &c. none of which marks were ever used while the Latin language was vulgarly spoken, but were invented for the help of those who were to learn it afterward. And is it possible that the Jews only were so stupid and dull, that they alone should find out no such helps, after their language became a dead language, for the easier learning and reading of it, but, on the contrary, should have continued so many hundred years after, not only without any marks for accents, pauses, or stops, but also without any figures, so much as to denote the vowels with which their letters were to be pronounced? The necessity which was in this case for such vowel figures, evidently proves that they must have had them; and that as soon as they needed them, which was as soon as their language became a dead language, and was thenceforth to be learned by books (and not by common converse,) as all other dead languages are. And therefore this happening about the time of Ezra (as hath been already shown,) it must follow, that about that time, or a little after, the use of such vowel figures must have been introduced into the Hebrew language. Whether they were the same vowel points that are now used, or other such-like signs to serve for the same purpose, is not material; and therefore I shall raise no inquiry about it. Only I cannot but say, that since necessity first introduced the use of them, it is most likely, that no more were at first used than there was a necessity for; but that the augmenting of them beyond this to the number of fifteen, proceeded only from the over-nicety of the after Masorites. Three served the Arabs, and five most other nations; and no doubt at first they exceeded not this number among the Jews. And it is most likely that the same profession of men, who thus invented the vowel points, were also the authors of all those other inventions which have been added to the Hebrew text for the easier reading and better understanding of it. The dividing of the law into sections, and the sections into verses, seems to have been one of the first of their works.

Originally every book of the Hebrew Bible was written as in one verse, without any distinction of sections, chapters, verses, or words. But when the public reading of the law was brought into use among the Jews, and some part of it read every Sabbath in their synagogues, it became necessary to divide the whole into fifty-four sections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each Sabbath, and the whole gone over every year, as hath been before observed. And, when the disuse of the Hebrew language among them made it necessary that it should not only be read to them in the original Hebrew, but also interpreted in the Chaldee, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was also a necessity of dividing the sections into verses, that they might be a direction both to the reader and the interpreter where to make their stop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had, verse by verse, gone through the whole section. And in imitation hereof, the like division was afterward made in all the rest of the holy scriptures. And a like necessity about the same time introduced the use of the vowel points, after they were forced to teach the Hebrew language by book, on its ceasing to be any longer vulgarly spoken among the people. And, sometime after, the accents and pauses were invented for the same purpose, that is, for the easier and more distinct reading of the text, for which they are necessary helps, as far as they supply the place of a comma, a colon, or a full stop (which Athnak, Revia, and Silluk do:) but as for the musical use for which only the others were added to the Hebrew text, they are now wholly insignificant, it being long since absolutely forgot for what use they served.

III. These vowel points were for many ages only of private use among the Masorites, whereby they preserved to themselves the true readings of the holy scriptures, and taught them to their scholars. But they were not received into the divinity schools till after the making of the Talmud: for there were two sorts of schools anciently among the Jews, the schools of the Masorites, and the schools of the Rabbies. The former taught only the Hebrew language, and to read the scriptures in it; the others to understand the scriptures, and all the interpretations of them, and were the great doctors of divinity among them, to whom the Masorites were as much inferior as the teachers of grammar schools among us are to the professors of divinity, in our universities. And therefore, as long as these vowel points went no higher than the schools of these Masorites, they were of no regard among their learned men, or taken any notice of by them. And this is the reason that we find no mention of them either in the Talmud, or in the writings of Origen or Jerome. But, some time after the making of the Talmud (in what year or age is uncertain,) the punctuation of the Masorites having been judged by the Jewish doctors to be as useful and necessary a way for the preserving of the traditionary readings of the Hebrew scriptures, as the Mishnah and Gemara had been then found to be for the preserving of the traditional rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of their religion, it was taken into their divinity schools; and it having been there reviewed and corrected by the most learned of their Rabbies, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those authentic readings, which they held to have been delivered down unto them by tradition from Moses and the prophets, who were the first penmen of them, ever since that time the points in the Hebrew scriptures have been by the Jews held of the same authority for the reading of them, as the Mishnah and Gemara for the interpreting of them, and consequently as unalterable as the letters themselves: for they reckon them both of divine original; only with this difference, that the letters, they say, were written by the holy penmen themselves, but the readings, as now marked by the points; were delivered down from them by tradition only. However, they have never received them into their synagogues, but have there still continued the use of the holy scriptures in unpunctuated copies; and so do even to this day, because they so received them from the first holy penmen of them.

IV. All those criticisms in the Masorah that are upon the points, were made

by such Masorites as lived after the points were received into the divinity schools of the Jews. For this profession of men continued from the time of Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue, to that of Ben Asher and Ben Naphthali,¹ who were two famous Masorites, that lived about the year of our Lord 1030, and were the last of them: for they having, after many years' labour spent herein, each of them published a copy of the whole Hebrew text, as correct as they could make it, the eastern Jews have followed that of Ben Naphthali, and the western Jews have followed that of Ben Asher: and all that hath been done ever since, is exactly to copy after them, both as to the points and accents, as well as to the letters, without making any more corrections, or Masoritical criticisms or observations upon either. These Masorites, who were the authors of the Masorah that is now extant, were a monstrous trifling sort of men, whose criticisms and observations went no higher than the numbering of the verses, words, and letters, of every book in the Hebrew Bible, and the marking out which was the middle verse, word, and letter, in each of them, and the making of other such poor and low observations concerning them, as are not worth any man's reading, or taking any notice of, whatever Richard Simon the Frenchman may say to the contrary.

V. These vowel points have been added to the text with the best care of those who best understood the language, and having undergone the review and corrections of many ages, it may be reckoned, that this work hath been done in the perfectest manner that it can be done by man's art, and that none who shall undertake a new punctuation of the whole can do it better. However, since it was done only by man's art, it is no authentic part of the holy scriptures; and therefore these points are not so unalterably fixed to the text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, or the analogy of grammar, or the style of the language, or any thing else, shall give a sufficient reason for it: and that especially, since, how exactly soever they may have been at any time affixed to the text, they are still liable to the mistakes of transcribers and printers, and by reason of their number, the smallness of their figures, and their position under the letters, are more likely to suffer by them than any sort of writing whatsoever.

VI. It doth not from hence follow, that the sacred text will therefore be left to an arbitrary and uncertain reading. For the genuine reading is as certain in the unpointed Hebrew books, as the genuine sense is in the pointed: the former indeed may sometimes be mistaken, or perverted, and so may the latter; and therefore, whether the books be pointed, or unpointed, this doth not alter the case to one who thoroughly knows the language, and will honestly read the same. Ignorant men may indeed mistake the reading, and ill men may pervert it; but those who are knowing and honest can do neither; for, except the Bible, no other Hebrew book is pointed, unless some few of late by modern hands. All their rabbinical authors are unpointed; and all their other books, to which the moderns have in some editions added points, were originally published without them, and so they still are in the best editions: and yet this doth not hinder, but that every one, who understands the Hebrew language, can rightly read them, and rightly understand them. Were I to make my choice, I would desire to have the Bible with points, and all other Hebrew books without them. I would desire the Bible with points, because they tell us how the Jews did anciently read the text. And I would have all other Hebrew books without them, because in such they rather hinder and clog the reading, than help it, to any one that thoroughly knows the language. And all that undertake to point such books, may not always do it according to the true and genuine reading: as we have an instance in the pointed edition of the Mishnah, published in octavo by Manasseh Ben Israel at Amsterdam. And therefore it is much better to be left free to our own apprehensions for the genuine reading, than be confined

¹ Buxtorfius pater in Prefatione ad Tiberiadem. Buxtorfius filius de Antiquitate Punctorum, part 1. c. 11. Zaccutus in Juchasin, Shalsheleth Haccabbala. Zemach David, Elias Levita, &c.

by another man's to that which may not be the genuine reading. indeed, to read without vowels may look very strange to such who are conversant only with the modern European languages, in which often several consonants come together without a vowel, and several vowels without a consonant, and several of both often go to make up one syllable; and therefore, if in them the consonants were only written, it would be hard to find out what may be the word. But it is quite otherwise in the Hebrew; for in that language there is never more than one vowel in one syllable, and in most syllables only one consonant, and in none more than two; and therefore, in most words, the consonants confine us to the vowels, and determine how the word is to be read, and, if not, at least the context doth. It must be acknowledged, that there are several combinations of the same consonants, which, as placed in the same order, are susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words, and of different significations, and therefore, when put alone, are of an uncertain reading. But it is quite otherwise when they are joined in context with other words; for, where the letters joined in the same word do not determine the reading, there the words joined in the same sentence always do. And this is no more than what we find in all other languages, and very often in our own; for we have many equivocal words, which, being put alone, are of an uncertain signification, but are always determined in the context; as, for example, the word *let* in English, when put alone by itself, hath not only two different, but two quite contrary meanings; for it signifies *to permit*, and it signifies also *to hinder*; but it never doth so in the context, but is thereby always so determined, either to the one or to the other, that no one is ever led into a mistake hereby. And the same is to be said of all such words in Hebrew, as, having the same letters, are susceptible of various punctuations. The letters here cannot determine to the punctuation, because they, being in each the same, are indifferent to either. But what the letters cannot do when the word is put alone by itself, that the other words always do with which it is joined in the context. And it is want of attention, or want of apprehension, if any one thoroughly skilled in the Hebrew language makes a mistake herein; which may happen in the reading of any other books whatsoever. And therefore, though the Hebrew Bibles had never been pointed, we need not be sent either to the church of Rome or any where else for the fixing of the readings of it, the letters alone, with the context, being sufficient, when we thoroughly understand the language to determine us thereto.

There is, in the church of St. Dominic in Bononia,¹ a copy of the Hebrew scriptures, kept with a great deal of care, which they pretend to be the original copy written by Ezra himself; and therefore it is there valued at so high a rate, that great sums of money have been borrowed by the Bononians upon the pawn of it, and again repaid for its redemption. It is written in a very fair character, upon a sort of leather, and made up in a roll, according to the ancient manner, but it having the vowel points annexed, and the writing being fresh and fair, without any decay, both these particulars prove the novelty of that copy. But such forgeries are no uncommon things among the papistical sect.

But, though Ezra's government over all Judah and Jerusalem expired with this year, yet his labour to serve the church of God did not here end; for still he went on as a preacher of righteousness, and a skilful scribe of the law of God, to perfect the reformation which he had begun, both in preparing for the people correct editions of the scriptures, and also in bringing all things in church and state to be conformed to the rules thereof. And this he continued to do as long as he lived; and herein he was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next governor; who coming to Jerusalem with the same intention, and the same zeal for promoting of the honour of God, and the welfare of his people in Judah and Jerusalem, as Ezra did, he struck in heartily with him in the

¹ Fini Adriana Flagellum Judæorum, lib. 9. c. 2. Tissardi Ambacæi Grammat. Hebræa. Hottingeri Thesaurus Philologicus, p. 115. 513.

work; so that Ezra went on still to do the same things by the authority of the new governor which he before did by his own. And by their thus joining together in the same holy undertaking, and their mutual assisting each other therein, it exceedingly prospered in their hands, till at length, notwithstanding all manner of oppositions, both from within and from without, it was brought to full perfection, forty-nine years after it had been begun by Ezra. Whether Ezra lived so long or not is uncertain: but what he did not live to do, was completed by the piety and zeal of his successor; with an account of whose transactions I shall begin the next book.

BOOK VI.

An. 445. Artax. 20.—HE who succeeded Ezra in the government of Judah and Jerusalem, was Nehemiah,¹ a very religious and most excellent person: one that was nothing behind his predecessor, saving his learning and great knowledge in the law of God. He came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus,² and, by a commission from him, superseded that of Ezra, and succeeded him in the government of Judah and Jerusalem. And he had in that commission, by an express clause therein inserted, full authority given him to repair the walls and set up the gates of Jerusalem, and to fortify it again in the same manner as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the Babylonians. He was a Jew, whose ancestors had formerly been citizens of Jerusalem; for there, he saith, was the place of his fathers' sepulchres.³ But as to the tribe or family which he was of, no more is said, but only that his father's name was Hachaliah; who seemeth to have been of those Jews, who, having gotten good settlements in the land of their captivity, chose rather to abide in them, than return into their own country, when leave was granted for it. It is most likely, that he was an inhabitant of the city of Shushan; and that it was his dwelling there that gave his son an opportunity of gaining an advancement in the king's palace: for he was one of the cupbearers of King Artaxerxes,⁴ which was a place of great honour and advantage in the Persian court, because of the privilege it gave him of being daily in the king's presence, and the opportunity which he had thereby of gaining his favour, for the obtaining of any petition which he should make to him: and that especially, since the times of his attendance always were when the king was making his heart merry with the wine which he served up unto him; for this is the best opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that shall be desired of them, because they are always then in the best humour of complying. And it was at such a time that he asked the government of Judea,⁵ and obtained it. And by the like advantages of his place, no doubt, it was, that he gained those immense riches which enabled him for so many years,⁶ out of his own private purse only, to live in his government, with that splendour and expense, as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it. And no doubt it was by the favour of Queen Esther, as being of the same nation and people with her, that he obtained so honourable and advantageous a preferment in that court. However, neither the honour and advantage of this place, nor the long settlement of his family out of his country, could make him forget his love for it, or lay aside that zeal which he had for the religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For though he had been born and bred in a strange land, yet he had a great love for Sion, and a heart thoroughly set for the advancing the prosperity of it, and was in all things a very religious observer of the law of his God. And therefore,⁷ when some came from Jerusalem, and told him of the ill state of that city, how the walls of it were still in many places broken

¹ Nehem. ii.

² Ibid. ii. 1. v. 14.

³ Nehem. ii. 3.

⁴ Vide Brisson. *um D Regno Persiae lib. 1. s. 93.*

⁵ Nehem. ii. 1.

⁶ Ibid. v. 14—19.

⁷ Ibid. 1.

down, and the gates of it in the same demolished state as when burned with fire by the Babylonians, and that, by reason hereof, the remnant of the captivity that dwelt there lay open, not only to the incursions and insults of their enemies, but also to the reproach and contempt of their neighbours, as a weak and despicable people; and that they were in both these respects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man, being suitably moved with this representation, applied himself in fasting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earnestly supplicated to him for his people Israel, and the place which he had chosen for his worship among them. And, having thus implored the divine mercy against this evil, he resolved next to make his application to the king for the redressing of it, trusting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto: and therefore, when his turn came next to wait in his office, the king observing his countenance to be sad,¹ which at other times used not so to be, and asking the cause thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the distressed state of his country; and, owning this to be a cause of great grief and sadness unto him, he prayed the king to send him thither to remedy it; and, by the favour of Queen Esther, he had his petition granted unto him: for it being particularly remarked,² in the sacred text, that the queen was sitting by the king, when Nehemiah obtained this grant, it sufficiently intimates that her favour was assisting to him herein. And accordingly a royal decree was issued out for the rebuilding of the walls and gates of Jerusalem, and Nehemiah was sent thither with it, as governor of the province of Judea, to put it in execution. And, to do him the more honour, the king sent a guard of horse with him, under the command of some of the captains of his army, to conduct him in safety to his government. And he wrote letters to all the governors on this side the River Euphrates, to further him in the work on which he was sent; and also gave his order to Asaph, the keeper of his forests in those parts, to allow him as much timber out of them as should be needed for the finishing of it. However, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Samaritans, and other neighbouring nations round, did all they could to hinder him from proceeding therein. And to this they were excited, not only by the ancient and bitter enmity which those people bore to the whole Jewish nation, because of the different manners and different religions which they were of, but most especially at this time, because of their lands: for during the time that the Jews were in captivity, these nations having siezed their lands, were forced to restore them on their return.³ For which reason they did all they could to oppose their resettlement; hoping, that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity, some time or other, of resuming again the prey they had lost. But Nehemiah was not at all discouraged hereat: for having on his arrival at Jerusalem made known to the people the commission with which he was sent, he took a view of the ruins of the old walls, and immediately set about the repairing of them;⁴ dividing the people into several companies, and assigning to each of them the quarter where they were to work; but reserving to himself the reviewal and direction of the whole: in which he laboured so effectually, that all was accomplished by the end of the month Elul,⁵ within the compass of fifty-two days, notwithstanding all manner of opposition that was made against him, both from within and from without. For, from within, several false prophets, and other treacherous persons, endeavoured to create him obstructions; and, from without, Sanballat the Hemonite, Tobias the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian, and several others, gave him all the disturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings, and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but also by open force; so that, while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part stood to their arms to defend them against the assaults of such as had designs against them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready at a signal given, to draw together to any part where the enemy should be discovered

¹ N-hem. ii.
⁵ Nehem. vi.

² Ibid. ii. 6.

³ Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

⁴ Nehem. iii. iv.

to be coming upon them. And by this means they secured themselves against all the attempts and designs of their enemies, till the work was brought to a conclusion. And when they had thus far finished the walls, and set up the gates, a public dedication of them was celebrated with great solemnity by the priests and Levites, and all the people.¹

The burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were forced to undergo, to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great, and such as made many of them faint and groan under it,² and express a despair of being able to perfect it; to revive their drooping spirits, and make them the more easy and ready to proceed in that which was farther to be done,³ care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers, which they then in great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich, taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the centesima for all monies lent them,⁴ that is, one per cent. for every month, which amounted to twelve per cent. for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families; which being a manifest breach of the law of God, given them by Moses (for that forbids all the race of Israel to take usury of any of their brethren,⁵) Nehemiah, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity: in order whereto he called a general assembly of all the people; where, having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted, by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also release all the lands, vineyards, oliveyards, and houses, which had been taken of them upon mortgage on the account hereof.

And thus far Nehemiah having executed the main of the end for which he obtained the favour of the king to be sent to Jerusalem, he appointed Hanani and Hananiah to be governors of the city, and returned again unto him into Persia. For a time had been set him for his return again to court,⁶ when he first obtained to be sent from thence on this commission; which, as expressed in the text, plainly imports a short time, and not that of twelve years (after which he again went unto the king,⁷) as some do interpret it. And his having appointed governors of the city as soon as the walls were built, evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was absent for some time: for, had he still continued at Jerusalem, he would not have needed any deputies to govern the place. And furthermore, the building of the walls of Jerusalem being all for which he prayed his first commission, when this was performed, he seems to have needed a new authority before he could go on to other proceedings which were necessary for the well settling of the affairs of that country. But, on his coming to the king, and having given him an account how all things stood in the province, and what further was needful to be done for the well regulating of it, he soon obtained to be sent back again to take care hereof; and the shortness of his absence seems to have been the cause that there is no notice taken of it in the text, though the particulars I have mentioned seem sufficiently to imply it.

An. 444. Artax. 21.]—Nehemiah being returned from the Persian court with a new commission, forthwith set himself to carry on the reformation of the church and the state of the Jews; which Ezra had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy scribe in all that he attempted herein. The first thing that he did, was to provide for the security of the city, which he had now fortified, by settling rules for the opening and shut-

¹ Nehem. xii.

² Ibid. iv. 10.

³ Ibid. v.

⁴ Ibid. v. 11.

⁵ Exod. xxii. 25. ⁶ Nehem. ii. 6.

⁷ Ibid. xii. 6.

Vide Salmasium de Fœnore Trapezitico

ung of the gates, and keeping watch and ward on the towers and walls. But finding Jerusalem to be but thinly inhabited,¹ and that, to make this burden more easy, there needed more inhabitants to bear their share with them in it, he projected the thorough repeopling of the place. In order whereto, he prevailed first with the rulers and great men of the nation to agree to build them houses there,² and dwell in them; and then others, following their example, offered themselves voluntarily to do the same. And of the rest of the people every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged them to come to Jerusalem, and there build them houses, and settle themselves and families in them. And now the city was fortified, and all that had their dwellings in it were there well secured by walls and gates against the insults of their enemies, and the incursions of thieves and robbers, who before molested them, all willingly complied herewith; by which means the houses, as well as the walls and gates, being again rebuilt, and fully replenished with inhabitants, it soon after this recovered its ancient lustre, and became again a city of great note in those parts. So that Herodotus, who travelled through Judea, a little after this time, doth, in the description which he gives us of it,³ compare it to Sardis, the metropolis of all the Lesser Asia,⁴ as hath been before observed; which manifestly proves, that by the restoring and building of the street and ditch of Jerusalem, mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel, could not be meant this rebuilding of the walls and void places of the city: for what was predicted by that passage was not to be done but in seven weeks of years, that is, forty-nine years. It must be acknowledged, that Herodotus is said by Eusebius⁵ to have publicly read his history at Athens in the last year of the eighty-third Olympiad (that is, four hundred and forty-five years before Christ,) and by others⁶ to have gone the next year after (which is this very year 444, of which we now treat,) with a colony of Athenians and other Greeks into Italy, to inhabit Thurium,⁷ a city then newly built near the place where formerly Sibaris stood; and therefore it may be from hence urged against what I have here said, that Herodotus must, before this time, have ended his travels, which he undertook for the making of this history, since this his history was finished and publicly read at Athens the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the first draught of this history at the time when Eusebius saith, yet he had not completed it till at least thirty-three years after; for therein he makes mention of the Peloponnesian war, and of things done in it,⁸ in the second and also⁹ in the nineteenth year of that war; which last was the thirty-third year after that wherein he is said by Eusebius to have publicly read that history at Athens; and therefore it could not have been fully completed by him till after that year. The truth of the matter appears plainly to have been thus. In the year 445 before Christ, which was the last year of the eighty-third Olympiad, he did read his first draught of this history at Athens, being then thirty-nine years old, but employed all his life after farther to polish and complete it, and did not put his last hand to it till after the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, which was the thirty-third after his first reading it at Athens. The next year after his having read it there, he went thence with the colony to Thurium, that is, in the first year of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, which was¹⁰ the three hundred and tenth of the building of Rome, according to the Varronian account, and¹¹ twelve years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. And, on his settling in that place, he revised what he had publicly read at Athens, from whence it is that he is said by Pliny there to have made this history. And, after his having continued some time at Thurium, he travelled from thence into the east, for the farther completing of this history, and also for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then composing, of Assyria and Babylon: but this last was

1 Nehem. vii. 3, 4.

2 Ibid. xi.

3 Herodot. lib. 3. initio libri.

4 See above, under the year 610

5 In Chronico, sub Olympiade 83.

6 Dionysius Halicarnassensis in Vita Lysiae Oratoris.

Plinius, lib. 12. c. 4.

Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656.

7 Diol. Sic. lib. 12. p. 76—78.

8 Herodot. lib. 7.

9 Ibid. lib. 9.

10 Plinius, lib. 12. c. 4.

11 Dionysius Halicarnassensis in Vita Lysiae Oratoris.

never published,¹ though he refers to it in his other history now extant; the reason, it is supposed, was, that he lived not to finish it, though, by the above mentioned account, it appears he outlived the seventy-second year of his age, and, by other particulars in his history,² it seems most likely that he lived much longer. And, I doubt not, it was in those travels which he undertook from Thurium, that he went through Judea, and there saw Jerusalem, which he calls Cadytis; for that the city, which he describes under that name, could be none other than Jerusalem, I have already shown.

Nehemiah finding it necessary to have the genealogies of the people well examined into, and clearly stated,³ betook himself in the next place to inquire into that matter. And this he did, not only for the sake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what tribe and family they were, they might thereby be directed where to take their possessions; but especially for the sake of the sanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there, either as Levites, which were not of the tribe of Levi, or as priests, which were not of the family of Aaron. And, therefore, for the true settling of this matter, search was made for the old registers; and having among them found a register of the genealogies of those who came up at first from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, he settled this matter according to it, adding such as afterward came up, and expunging others whose families were extinguished; and this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts which we have of these genealogies in Ezra and Nehemiah: for, in the second chapter of Ezra, we have the old register made by Zerubbabel, and in the seventh of Nehemiah, from the sixth verse to the end of the chapter, a copy of it as settled by Nehemiah, with the alterations I have mentioned.

Ezra, having completed his edition of the law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the Chaldean character,⁴ did this year, on the feast of trumpets, publicly read it to the people at Jerusalem. This feast was celebrated on the first of Tisri, the seventh month of the Jews' ecclesiastical year, and the first of their civil year. Their coming out of Egypt having been in the month of Nisan,⁵ from that time the beginning of the year, in all ecclesiastical matters, was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month (which happened about the time of the vernal equinox;) but,⁶ in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains, and such like, they still continued to go by the old form, and began their year from the first of Tisri (which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox,) as all other nations of the east then did (as hath been before observed,) and all instruments and writings, relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil matters among them, were dated according to this year; and⁷ all their jubilees and⁸ sabbatical years began with it: and, therefore, it being reckoned their new-year's day, they celebrated it with a festival. And this festival being solemnized by the sounding of trumpets, from the morning of that day to the end of it, thereby to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new year, it hath from hence been called the feast of trumpets. For the celebrating of this feast,⁹ the people being assembled from all parts of the land at Jerusalem, and understanding that Ezra had finished his revival of the law, and written out a correct copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them. Whereon a scaffold, or large pulpit, being erected in the largest street of the city, where most might stand to hear, Ezra ascended into it, with thirteen others of the principal elders of the people; and having placed six of them on his right hand, and seven on his left, he stood up in the midst of them, and, having blessed the Lord, the great God, he began to read the law out of the Hebrew text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the Levites, whom he had instructed and appointed for this purpose, rendered it period by period into Chaldee, which was then the vulgar language of the peo-

¹ Herodot. lib. 1.

² Vide Usserii Annales sub anno J. P. 4306.

³ Nehem. vii.

⁴ Nehem. viii.

⁵ Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.

⁶ Josephus Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. Talmud in Rosh Hashnah.

⁷ Exod. xii. 2.

⁸ Levit. xxv. 9.

⁹ Ibid. 8, 9. Maimonides de Anno Sabbatico.

¹⁰ Nehem. viii.

ple, and therein gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them understand the same. And thus the holy scribe, with these his assistants, continued from morning till noon, to read and explain unto the people the law of God, in such manner as might best make them to know and understand it. But it being a festival day, when the time of dining approached, Nehemiah and Ezra, and the rest that were assisting to them in thus instructing the people, dismissed them for that time to their dinner, to eat and drink, and rejoice before the Lord, the remaining part of the day, because it was consecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they assembled again in the same place, and Ezra and his assistants went on farther to read and explain to them the law of God, in the same manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, wherein is written the law of the feast of the tabernacles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which was upon them to observe this festival, and shown them that the fifteenth day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager desire in all the people of fulfilling the law of God in this particular. And therefore proclamation was forthwith made through all Judah to give notice of the festival, and to warn all to be present at Jerusalem on the said fifteenth day of that month, for the observing of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time prescribed, and, as they had been instructed from the law of God, prepared booths made of the branches of trees, and kept the festival in them through the whole seven days of its continuance, in such solemn manner as had not been observed before from the days of Joshua to that time. Ezra, taking the advantage of having the people in so great a number thus assembled together, and so well disposed toward the law of God, and the observance of it, went on with his assistants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the same manner as had been done in the two former days; and this they did, day by day, from the first day to the last day of the festival, till they had gone through the whole law. By which the people perceiving in how many things they had transgressed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of them (for till now the law had never been read to them since their return from Babylon,) expressed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their sins, and exceedingly terrified with the fear of God's wrath for the punishment of them. Nehemiah and Ezra finding them in so good a temper, applied themselves to make the best improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God, and the interest of religion: and therefore forthwith proclaimed a fast to be held the next day save one after the festival was ended, that is, on the twenty-fourth day of the same month; to which having called all the people, while the sense of these things was fresh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a public and solemn confession before God of all their sins, and also to enter into a solemn vow and covenant with God to avoid them for the future, and strictly hold themselves fast to the observance of God's laws. The observances which they chiefly obliged themselves to in this covenant were, 1st, Not to make intermarriages with the Gentiles, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themselves; 2dly, To observe the sabbaths and sabbatical years; 3dly, To pay their annual tribute to the temple for the repairing of it, and the finding of all necessities for the carrying on of the public service in it; and, 4thly, To pay the tithes and first-fruits to the priests and Levites. Which particulars, thus especially named in this covenant, show unto us what were the laws of God, which hitherto they had been most neglectful of since their return from their captivity.

And it being their ignorance of the law of God that had led them into these transgressions against it, and this ignorance having been occasioned by their not having it read unto them; for the preventing hereof for the future, they, from this time, got the most learned of the Levites, and other scribes that were

best skilled in the law of God, to read it unto them in every city: which at first they did, no doubt, in the same manner as Ezra had done, that is, by gathering the people together to them in some wide street, or other open place of their city, which was of fittest capacity to receive them. But the inconvenience of this being soon felt, especially in the winter and stormy seasons of the year, for the remedy hereof they erected them houses or tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpose; and this was the original of synagogues among them. That they had no synagogues before the Babylonish captivity is plain, not only from the silence which is of them in all the scriptures of the Old Testament, but also from several passages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in those days. For, as it is a common saying among the Jews,¹ that, where there is no book of the law, there can be no synagogue; so the reason of the thing proves it: for the main service of the synagogue being the reading of the law unto the people, where there was no book of the law to be read, there certainly could be no synagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all Judah before the Babylonish captivity, many texts of scripture tell us. When Jehosaphat sent teachers through all Judah to instruct the people in the law of God, they carried a book of the law with them,² which they needed not to have done, if there had been any copies of the law in those cities to which they went: which certainly there would have been, had there been any synagogues in them; it being the same absurdity to suppose a Jewish synagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to suppose a parish church without a Bible. And, therefore, as this proves the want of the law through all Judah in those times, so doth it also the want of synagogues in them. And when Hilkiah found the law in the temple,³ neither he nor King Josiah needed have been so surprised at it, had books of the law been common in those times. Their behaviour on that occasion sufficiently proves they had never seen it before, which could not be, had there been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no synagogues for them to resort to for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no synagogues among the Jews, till after the Babylonish captivity. And it is most probable, that Ezra's reading to them the law, and the necessity which thereon they perceived there was of having it oftener read among them for their instruction in it, gave them the occasion of erecting them after the captivity, in the manner as I have related; and most learned men are of this opinion;⁴ and some of the Jews themselves say as much.⁵ Concerning these synagogues, I think it proper here to inform the reader, 1st, In what places they were to be erected; 2dly, What was the service to be performed in them; 3dly, What were the times of their assembling for this service; and, 4thly, Who were their ministers to perform it.

I. As to the first, their rule was, that a synagogue was to be erected in every place⁶ where there were ten Batelnin, that is, ten persons of full age, and free condition, always at leisure to attend the service of it: for less than ten such, according to them, did not make a congregation, and without such a congregation present, no part of the synagogue service could be performed; and, therefore, wherever they could always be secure of such a congregation, that is, of ten such persons to be present at the service in all the stated times in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a synagogue. For where ten such persons might always be had at leisure to attend the synagogue in all their religious assemblies, this they reckoned a great city, and here they would have a synagogue to be built, but not otherwise. For I take the rule above mentioned to be restrictive in the negative sense, as well as obligatory in the affirma-

¹ Midrash Esther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54. 2.

² 2 Chron. xvii. 9.

³ 2 Kings xxii.

⁴ Spencer de Legibus Heo. lib. 1. c. 4. s. 10. Vitringa de Synagoga Veteri, lib. 1. part 2. c. 9—12. Relandus in Antiq. Sacr. part 1. c. 10.

⁵ Maimonides in Tephillah.

⁶ Ye. . . n. c. 1. s. 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. See also Lightfoot, in his Harmony, s. 17. and in his Introduction. Exercitationes upon Matt. iv. 23.

tive, and to show where a synagogue ought not to be built as well as where it ought, that is, that no synagogue ought to be built in any place, where there were not such a number of inhabitants, as might give a reasonable presumption that there would be always ten persons at leisure to be present in every synagogue assembly, and that as well on the week days as on the sabbaths, because, without such a number, they could not go on with the synagogue service. At first these synagogues were few, but afterward they became multiplied to a great number, in the same manner as parish churches with us, which they much resembled. So that in our Saviour's time there was no town in Judea, but what had one or more of them. The Jews tell us, that about that time,¹ Tiberias alone, which was a city of Galilee, had twelve of them, and Jerusalem four hundred and eighty;² but herein they are supposed to have spoken hyperbolically, and to have expressed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be understood strictly and literally, what is said by some of these ten Batelnim,³ that they were the stationary men of the synagogue, hired to be always present to make a congregation, must be understood of many of them; for, were their number so multiplied, they could not otherwise in every one of them be always sure of a congregation, especially on the working days of the week, two of which were always solemn synagogue days, as well as the sabbaths. It is Lightfoot's opinion, that these ten Batelnim were the elders and ministers that governed and managed the synagogue service; but this is said without a sufficient foundation to support it.

II. The service to be performed in these synagogue assemblies were prayers, reading the scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

1. For their prayers, they have liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of their synagogue worship. These at first were very few; but since they are increased into a very large bulk, which makes their synagogue service very long and tedious; and the rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplexed and intricate, and encumbered with many rites and ceremonious observances; in all which they equal, if not exceed, both the superstition and also the length of the popish service. The most solemn part of their prayers are those which they call⁴ *Shemoneh Eshreh*; *i. e.* the eighteen prayers. These, they say, were composed and instituted by Ezra and the great synagogue; and to them Rabbi Gamaliel, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, added the nineteenth, against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of apostates and heretics. It is certain these prayers are very ancient; for mention is made of them⁵ in the Mishnah as old settled forms; and no doubt is to be made, but that they were used in our Saviour's time, at least most of them,⁶ if not all the eighteen; and consequently that he joined in them with the rest of the Jews, whenever he went into their synagogues, as⁷ he always did every sabbath-day. And from hence two things may be inferred for the consideration of our dissenters: 1st, That our Saviour disliked not set forms of prayer in public worship; and, 2dly, That he was contented to join with the public in the meanest forms, rather than separate from it. For these eighteen prayers, in comparison of those now used in our church, are very jejune and empty forms; and that the reader may see they are so, I shall here add a translation of them in the same order as they are in the Jewish liturgies, adding the nineteenth prayer to them; which, according to the said order, is the twelfth in number as here recited.

I. "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God; bountifully dispensing benefits; the Creator and Possessor of the universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in

1 Berachoth, f. 8.

2 See Lightfoot's Chorographical Century, c. 38.

3 Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 295.

4 Of these, see Maimonides in Tephillah.

5 In Berachoth, c. 4. s. 3.

6 It must be acknowledged, that some of these prayers seem to have been composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and to have reference to it, especially the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth, and seventeenth; though it is possible some of these might refer to the calamities of the ancients times.

7 Luke iv. 16.

thy love sendest a Redeemer to those who are descended from them for thy name's sake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour, and our Shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the shield of Abraham.

2. "Thou, O Lord, art powerful for ever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save: thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up those that fall; thou curest the sick; thou loosest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to Thee, O thou Lord of might? And who is like unto Thee, O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field? Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life.

3. "Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day. Selah. For a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Blessed art thou, O Lord God most holy.

4. "Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men.

5. "Bring us back, O our Father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts; and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us to thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance.

6. "Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed against thee: for thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, O Lord, most gracious, who multiplieth thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins.

7. "Look, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption, for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

8. "Heal us, O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved; for thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel.

9. "Bless us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hand, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land; and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest thy blessings to the years.

10. "Convocate us together by the sound of the great trumpet to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth into our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel.

11. "Restore unto us our judges as at first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord our King, who lovest righteousness and justice.

12. "Let there be no hope to them who apostatize from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud.

1 This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians, or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the Little, who was one of his scholars.

2 The Roman empire

13. "Upon the pious and the just, and upon the proselytes of justice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God; and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed; for we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just.

14. "Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever; and do this speedily even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.

15. "Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation; for we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.

16. "Hear our voice, O Lord our God, most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers with mercy and favour, and send us not away empty from thy presence, O our King; for thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer.

17. "Be thou well pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers: restore thy worship to² the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt-sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well-pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.

18. "We will give thanks unto thee with praise; for thou art the Lord our God, the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock, and the Rock of our life, the Shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life, which is always in thy hands, and because of our souls, which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders and marvellous loving-kindnesses, which are morning and evening and night continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation, and our help. Selah. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto.

19. "Give peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy, unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us together, as one man with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace. Amen."

Since our Saviour spared not freely to tell the Jews of all the corruption which they had in his time run into, and on all occasions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to use set forms of prayer in his public service, or had it been displeasing to him to be addressed in such mean forms, when much better might have been made; we may be sure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither. But he having

1 The proselytes of justice were such as received the whole Jewish law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proselytes there were, who conformed only to the seven precepts of the sons of Noah; and these were called the proselytes of the gate, because they worshipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner courts.

2 i. e. The Adytum Templi, which in the temple at Jerusalem was the Holy of Holies, into which none ever entered but the high-priest once a year on the great day of expiation. From this place after the Babylonish captivity were wanting the ark, the mercy-seat, the shechinah of the divine presence, and the urim and thummim, which causing an imperfection in their worship in respect of what it was formerly, a restoration of them seems to be that which is prayed for in this place.

never found fault with them for using set forms, but, on the contrary, taught his own disciples a set form to pray by; nor at any time expressed a dislike of the forms then in use, because of the meanness and emptiness of them, but always joined with them in their synagogues in the forms above recited, this may satisfy our dissenters, if any thing can satisfy men so perversely bent after their own ways, that neither our using set forms of prayers in our public worship, nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objections sufficient to justify them in their refusal to join with us in them: for they have the example of Christ in both these thus directly against them. The truth is, whether there be a form or no form, or whether the form be elegantly or meanly composed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our prayers unto God. It is the true and sincere devotion of the heart only that can make them acceptable unto him; for it is this only that gives life and vigour, and true acceptance, to all our religious addresses unto him. Without this, how elegantly and moving soever the prayer may be composed, and with how much seeming fervour and zeal soever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter, and of no validity in the presence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worship, any form of prayer, provided it be of sound words, may be sufficient to make us and our worship acceptable unto him, and obtain mercy, peace, and pardon, from him. For it is not the fineness of speech, or the elegance of expression, but the sincerity of the mind, and the true devotion of the heart only, that God regards in all our prayers which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new jingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the minister in prayer, may have some effect upon the auditors, and often raise, in such of them as are affected this way, a devotion which otherwise they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again, as soon as the engine is removed that raised it, it is none of that true habitual devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addresses unto him. This we ought to bring with us whenever we come into the house of God to worship before him; and with this, in any form which is of sound words, we may pray acceptable unto him, and none can ever do so without it. But whether any form of such sound words can be well preserved in those extemporary effusions of prayer which some delight in, whether this doth not often lead them into indecent, and sometimes into blasphemous expressions, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of religion, it behoves those who are for this way seriously to consider.

But, to return from whence I have digressed,¹ these nineteen prayers were enjoined to be said by all that were of age, of what sex or condition soever, either in public or in private, three times every day, that is, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night. And they were of that esteem, and are so still, among them, that they allow the name of prayer to be proper to the saying of these nineteen prayers only; looking on it by way of eminence to be much more so than the saying of all the rest. And therefore they are, on every synagogue day, offered up in the solemnest manner in all their public assemblies. But these prayers are in their offices, no other than as the Lord's prayer in ours, that is, they are the fundamental and principal part: for besides them they have many other prayers, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which all together make their synagogue service very long. Our Saviour² found fault with their prayers for being too long in his time. Many additions in their liturgies have made them much more so since.

2. The second part of their synagogue service is the reading of the scriptures, which is of three sorts; 1st, The Kiriath Shema; 2d, The reading of the law; and 3d, The reading of the prophets. Of the two latter I have already spoken; and therefore I shall now treat only of the first. It consists in the reading of three portions of scripture.³ The first is from the beginning of the fourth

¹ Maimonides in Tephillah.

² Maimonides in Kiriath Shema

³ Matt. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47.

Vitrina d. Synagoga Vetre, lib. 3. part 2. c. 15

verse of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy to the end of the ninth verse: the second, from the beginning of the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of Deuteronomy to the end of the twenty-first verse: and the third, from the beginning of the thirty-seventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Numbers to the end of the chapter. And because the first of these portions in the Hebrew Bible begins with the word *Shema*, *i. e.* *Hear*, they call all these three together the *Shema*, and the reading of them *Kiriath Shema*, that is, *The reading of the Shema*. This reading of the *Shema* is accompanied with several prayers and benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the saying of the nineteen prayers, the solemnest part of their religious service; and is, in the same manner as that, to be performed according to their ritual every day (that is, either publicly in their synagogue assemblies, or else privately out of them, on those days when there are no such assemblies, or when they cannot be present at them,) only with this difference, that, whereas the nineteen prayers are to be said thrice every day, and by every person of age, without any exception, the reading or repeating of the *Shema* is only to be twice a day, that is, morning and evening, and the males only which are of free condition are obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this *Shema* every morning and evening, because of the words of the law, Deut. vi. 7. "And thou shalt talk of them when thou liest down, and when thou risest up;" and also because of the like words, Deut. xi. 19. The reading or repeating of this *Shema*, in the manner as here related, they think, is of great moment for the preserving of religion among them; as most certainly it must be, because thereby they do twice every day make confession of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

3. The third part of the synagogue service is the expounding of the scriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The first was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the law and the prophets was over. It is plain Christ taught the Jews in their synagogues both these ways. When he came to Nazareth,¹ his own city, he was called out, as a member of that synagogue, to read the *Haphterah*, that is, the section or lesson out of the prophets which was to be read that day. And when he had stood up and read it, he sat down and expounded it, as was the usage of the Jews in both these cases. For, out of reverence to the law and the prophets, they stood up when they did read any portion out of either, and, in regard to themselves as teachers, they sat when they expounded. But in all other synagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did² every sabbath-day wherever he was,) he taught the people in sermons, after the reading of the law and the prophets was over. And so St. Paul³ taught the Jews in their synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia; for there it is expressly said, in the sacred text, that his preaching was after the reading of the law and the prophets was ended.

III. The times of their synagogue service⁴ were three days a week, besides their holidays, whether fasts or festivals; and thrice on every one of those days, that is, in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary synagogue days, in every week, were Monday, Thursday, and Saturday. Saturday was their sabbath, the day set apart among them for religious exercises by divine appointment, and the other two by the appointment of the elders, that so three days might not pass without the public reading of the law among them. The reason which they give for this is taken from their mystical interpretation of the law. For whereas we find it said (Exod. xv. 22,) that the Israelites were in great distress on their travelling three days in the wilderness without water; by water they tell us is there mystically meant the law; and therefore say, that, for this reason, they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it; and consequently, for the avoiding hereof, they have ordained, that it be publicly read in their synagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth:—The whole law, or five books of Moses, being divided into as

¹ Luke iv. 16, 17, &c.

² Ibid. iv. 16.

³ Acts xiii. 15.

⁴ Maimonides in Tephillah

many sections or lessons as there are weeks in the year (as hath been before shown:) on Monday they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way through, and on Thursday proceeded to read the remainder; and on Saturday, which was their solemn sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the sabbath they did read it in the evening as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear twice every week the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, they observed the same order in it. As the synagogue service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the evening sacrifice was still left burning upon the altar. It is certain, that it was anciently among God's people the steady practice of good and religious persons to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find David, and this we find Daniel did. For the former says, (Ps. lv. 17.) "Evening, morning, and at noon, will I pray." And the latter tells us, that notwithstanding the king's decree to the contrary, "he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did afore time." By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no synagogues till after the Babylonish captivity, till then they had not any set forms for their prayers; neither had they any solemn assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the house of prayer: so Isaiah,¹ and so from him our Saviour² calls it; and to this use Solomon consecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening sacrifice: and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as sabbaths, festivals, and fasts, there being additional sacrifices, additions were also made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and the evening service did then begin sooner than on other days. As soon as they did begin,³ the stationary men were present in the court of Israel, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of Israel; and other devout persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called, The court of the women, praying for themselves. But neither of these had any⁴ public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions. And therefore our Saviour⁵ in the parable of the publican and the pharisee, making them to go up both together into the temple to pray, introduceth them there as each making his own prayer for himself. For there all thus prayed, and so continued to do all the while the public sacrifices were offering up, both morning and evening. And⁶ the offering up of incense on the golden altar in the holy place, at every morning and evening service in the temple, was instituted on purpose to offer up unto God the prayers of the people, who were then without praying unto him. And hence it was, that St. Luke tells us,⁷ that, while Zacharias went into the temple to burn incense, "the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense." And for the same reason it is that David prayed,⁸ "Let my prayers be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." And according to this usage

¹ Chap. lvi. 7. ² Matt. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.

³ See Lightfoot's Temple Service.

⁴ If there were any stated forms for this worship, they were only as helps for those who prayed at the temple, which every one offered up for himself without a public minister.

⁵ Luke xviii. 10-13.

⁶ See Lightfoot's Temple Service, c. 9.

⁷ Chap. l. 9, 10.

⁸ Ps. cxli. 2.

is to be explained what we find in the Revelation, viii. 3, 4; for there it is said, "that an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it up with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne; and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand." For the angel here mentioned, is the angel of the covenant, Christ our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and, as our Mediator, constantly offers up our prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this is here set forth by the manner of the typical representation of it in the temple: for as there, at every morning and evening sacrifice, the priest, in virtue of that sacrifice, entering into the holy place, and presenting himself at the golden altar, which stood directly before the mercy-seat (the throne of God's visible presence among them, during the tabernacle and the first temple,) did burn incense thereon, while the people were at their prayers without; thereby, as intercessor to God for them, to offer up their prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them ascend up before him, from out of his hands, as a sweet smelling savour in his presence: so Christ, our true Priest, and most powerful Intercessor, by virtue of that one sacrifice of himself once offered for all, being entered into the holy place, the heaven above, is there continually present before the throne of mercy, to be a constant intercessor for us unto our God; and while we are here in the outer court of his church in this world, offering up our prayers unto our God, he there presents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a sweet smelling savour in his presence. And it being well understood among the Jews, that the offering up of the daily sacrifices, and the burning of incense upon the altar of incense at the time of those sacrifices, was for the rendering of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his presence, they were very careful to make the times of these offerings and the times of their prayers, both at the temple and every where else, to be exactly the same. And therefore, as soon as synagogues were erected among them, the hours of public devotions in them, on their synagogue days, were, as to morning and evening prayers, the same hours in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the temple. And the same hours were also observed in their private prayers, wherever performed. Most good and devout persons that were at Jerusalem chose on those times to go up into the temple, and there offer up their prayers unto God. And thus Peter and John,¹ are said to go up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the evening sacrifice; for the Jews reckoned the hours of the day from six in the morning. Those who were in other places, or, being at Jerusalem, had not leisure to go up to the temple, did then their devotions elsewhere, all thinking themselves obliged daily to say their prayers at those times. If it were a synagogue day, they went into the synagogue, and there prayed with the congregation; and if it were not a synagogue day, they then prayed in private by themselves; and, if they had leisure to go to the synagogue, they chose that for the place to do it in, thinking such a holy place the properest for such a holy exercise, though performed there in their private persons only; but if they had not leisure to go to such a holy place, then they prayed wherever they were at the hour of prayer, though it were in the street or market-place. And for this it was that our Saviour² found fault with them, when he told them, that "they loved to pray standing in their synagogues, and in the corners of the streets," thereby affecting more to be seen of men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper rooms in their houses which were as chapels, particularly set apart and consecrated for this purpose. In such a one Cornelius³ was praying at the ninth hour of the day, that is, at the time of the evening sacrifice, when the angel appeared unto him: and such a one Peter⁴ went up into to pray about the sixth hour of the day, when he

¹ Acts iii. 1.² Matt. vi. 5.³ Acts x. 3, 30.⁴ Acts. x. 9.

had the vision of the great sheet, that is, half an hour past twelve, or there about; for then the evening sacrifice did begin on great and solemn days; and such a one it seems hereby that was; and in such an upper room were the holy apostles¹ assembled together in prayer, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them.

IV. As to the ministration of the synagogue service, it was not confined to the sacerdotal order. They were consecrated only to the service of the temple, which was quite of another nature, as consisting only in the offering up of sacrifices and oblations. At the time, indeed, of the morning and evening sacrifices, the Levites and other singers sung psalms of praise unto God before the altar, and, in the conclusion, the priests blessed the people; which may seem to bear some resemblance to what was done in the synagogue. But in² all other particulars the public synagogue service was wholly different from the public service of the temple. Of what parts it consisted I have already explained: and any one that by learning was qualified for it, of what tribe soever he were, was admitted to the administration. But, that order might be preserved, there were in every synagogue some fixed ministers to take care of the religious duties to be performed in it; and these were, by imposition of hands, solemnly admitted thereto. The first were the elders of the synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. These are, in the scriptures of the New Testament,³ called *ἡγούμενοι*, that is, rulers of the synagogue. How many of these were in every synagogue is no where said. But this is certain, they were more than one; for they are mentioned in scripture⁴ in the plural number in respect of the same synagogue; and, at Corinth,⁵ Crispus and Sosthenes are both said to be chief rulers of the synagogue, though it is not likely that there was more than one synagogue in that city. Next to them (or perchance one of them) was the minister of the synagogue, that officiated in offering up the public prayers to God for the whole congregation, who, because he was the mouth of the congregation, delegated from them as their representative, messenger, or angel, to speak to God in prayer for them, was therefore, in the Hebrew language, called *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, the angel of the church. And hence it is, that the bishops of the seven churches of Asia are, in the Revelation, by a name borrowed from the synagogue, called the angels of those churches. For, as the *Sheliach Zibbor* in the Jewish synagogue was the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God, so also was the bishop the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God in the church of Christ. The bishop, indeed, did not always officiate in his ministry, because in every church there were presbyters under him, who often discharged this duty in his stead. Neither did the *Sheliach Zibbor* always discharge his duty in the synagogue in his own proper person. He was the ordinary minister appointed to this office; but often others were extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, skill, and piety of conversation, qualified for it. And whosoever was thus appointed to this ministry was the *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, the angel of the congregation, for that time; for the proper signification of the word used in the Hebrew language for an angel is a messenger. And therefore, as a messenger from God to the people is an angel of God, so a messenger from the people to God is an angel of the people. In the latter sense only was the name of angel given to the minister of the synagogue: but it belongs to the minister of the Christian church in both senses; for he is not only a messenger of the people to God, in the offering up of the prayers of the congregation to him, but he is also a messenger of God to them, in bringing from him the messages of life, peace, and everlasting salvation, unto them. Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the deacons, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, in Hebrew called *Chaza-*

¹ Acts i. 13. See Mr. Mede, book 2, tract 1.

² Vide Buxtorffii Synagoga Judaica, et Vitringam de Synagoga Vetere.

³ Mark v. 35—37. Luke viii. 41. xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15.

⁵ Acts xviii. 8. 17.

⁴ Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15.

aim, that is, *overseers*, who were also fixed ministers, and, under the rulers of the synagogue, had the charge and oversight of all things in it, kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets, and other holy scriptures, as also the books of their public liturgies, and all other utensils belonging to the synagogue, and brought them forth whenever they were to be used in the public service. And particularly they stood by, and overlooked them that did read the lessons out of the law and the prophets, and corrected them and set them right when they did read amiss, and took the book of them again when they had done. And thus it is said of our Saviour,¹ when he was called out to read the lesson out of the prophets in the synagogue of Nazareth, of which he was a member, that, after he had done, he gave the book again to the minister, that is, the Chazan or deacon of the synagogue. For there was anciently no fixed synagogue, minister for the reading of the lessons; but the rulers of the synagogue, when the time of the reading of those lessons came, called out any member of the congregation for this service that was able to perform it. And it was usually done in this order. A priest was called out first, and next a Levite, if any of these orders were present in the congregation, and after that any other Israelite, till they made up the number of seven. And hence it was anciently, that every section of the law was divided into seven lesser sections, for the sake of these seven readers. And, in some Hebrew Bibles, these lesser sections are marked in the margin; the first with the word *Cohen*, *i. e.* the priest; the second with the word *Levi*, *i. e.* the Levite; the third with the word *Shelishi*, *i. e.* the third; and so the rest, with Hebrew words signifying the numbers following, to the seventh: thereby to show what part was to be read by the priest, what by the Levite, and what by each of the other five, who might be any Israelites of the congregation that were able to read the Hebrew text, of what tribe soever they were. The next fixed officer of the synagogue, after the Chazanim, was the interpreter. His business was to interpret into Chaldee the lessons, as they were read in Hebrew, to the congregation; for which, learning and skill in both languages being requisite, when they found a man fit for the office, they retained him by a salary, and admitted him as a standing minister of the synagogue. When the blessing was to be given, if there were a priest present in the congregation, he always did the office; but if there were no priest then present, the *Sheliach Zibbor*, who did read the prayers gave the blessing also in a form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the reader, for his better understanding of the scriptures, to have laid before him a short scheme of the synagogue worship of the Jews, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at present retain is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter may read Buxtorf's *Synagoga Judaica*, Vtringa de *Synagoga Vetere*, and above all Maimonides, especially in his tracts, *Tephillah*, *Chagigah*, and *Kiriath Shema*.

Those who think synagogues to have been before the Babylonish captivity allege for it what is said in the seventy-fourth Psalm, ver. 8; "They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land." But in the original the words are *col moudhe El*, that is, all the assemblies of God; by which, I acknowledge, must be understood, the places where the people did assemble to worship God. But this doth not infer that those places were synagogues; and there are none of the ancient versions, excepting that of Aquila, that so render this passage. The chief place where the Israelites assembled for the worship of God was the temple at Jerusalem, and, before that was built, the tabernacle; and the open court before the altar was that part in both of them where the people assembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But those that lived at a distance from the tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterward from the temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to resort thither, they built courts like those in which they prayed at the tabernacle and at the temple, therein to offer

¹ Luke iv. 20.

up their prayers unto God, which in after times we find called by the name of *Proseuchæ*. Some of the Latin poets¹ make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is said to have gone to pray, and to have continued therein a whole night;² and in another of them St. Paul taught the people of Philippi.³ They differed from synagogues in several particulars; for, 1st, In synagogues the prayers were offered up in public forms in common for the whole congregation; but in the *proseuchæ* they prayed, as in the temple, every one apart for himself; and so our Saviour⁴ prayed in the *proseuchæ* which he went into. 2dly, The synagogues were covered houses; but the *proseuchæ* were open courts, built, saith Epiphanius,⁵ in the manner of forums, which were open enclosures, where anciently at Rome, and in other cities under democratical governments, the people used to assemble for the transacting of the business and affairs of the public: and such a *proseuchæ*, Epiphanius tells us,⁶ the Samaritans had in his time near Shechem. 3dly, Synagogues were all built within the cities to which they did belong; but the *proseuchæ* without, and mostly in high places, and that in which our Saviour prayed was on a mountain,⁷ which makes it probable that these *proseuchæ* were the same which in the Old Testament are called high places: for these high places are not always condemned in scripture, but then only when they were made use of for idolatrous worship, or in a schismatical way, by erecting altars in them, in opposition to that which was in the place that God had chosen; otherwise they were made use of by prophets and good men,⁸ as several instances hereof in scripture do fully prove. And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the *proseuchæ* had groves in or about them, in the same manner as the high places had. And no doubt the sanctuary of the Lord⁹ in which Joshua did set up his pillar under the oak or oaken grove in Shechem, was such a *proseuchæ*; and it is plain from the text that it had a grove of oaks in it.⁹ And the *proseuchæ* which Philo makes mention of in Alexandria¹⁰ had such groves in or about them; and that at Rome¹¹ in Egeria's grove was of the same sort. And perchance, where the Psalmist¹² makes mention of green olive trees in the house of God, such a *proseuchæ* is there meant. And also such a one anciently was in Mispah,¹³ as the author of the first book of the Maccabees tell us. And all these were *Moadhe El*, and might be understood by that phrase in the Psalmist. It must be acknowledged, that, although some *proseuchæ* were still in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time synagogues being made use of for the same purpose as the *proseuchæ* were formerly, synagogues were then also called by the same name with the *proseuchæ*: and so Josephus and Philo seem to use the word, though it seems from the latter, that some of the synagogues of the Jews in Alexandria were built after the same manner as the ancient *proseuchæ*, with out roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that in Egypt, it never, or very seldom raining, they there stood more in need of open air in their public assemblies, and trees to shelter them from the sun in that hot country, than of roofs over them to shelter them from the weather. And these, Philo¹⁴ complains, the Alexandrians did cut down, when they there rose in a tumult against the Jews that then dwelt with them in that city. And, besides these *proseuchæ*, there were other places to which the Israelites, before the captivity, frequently assembled, upon the account of religion; for they often resorted to the cities of the Levites, to be taught the ritual and other ceremonies of the Mosaic law, and to the schools of the prophets for all other instructions relating to the things of God; and to these last, it is plain from scripture,¹⁵ that they usually resorted on the

1 Juv. Sat. 3.

2 Luke vi. 12. For what our English there renders, *And continued all night in prayer to God*, is, in the original, καὶ ἐν δεικνύσας ἐν τῇ ἱερουζαλὴμ πρὸς θεόν, i. e. *And he continued all night in a proseucha of God*.

3 Acts xvi. For in that chapter, ver. 13. 16, what we render in our English version by the word *prayer* is in the original a *proseucha*, or place of prayer.

4 Luke vi. 12.

5 In Tract. de Messalianis Hæreticis.

6 Ibid.

7 Luke vi. 12.

8 1 Sam. ix. 19. x. 5, &c.

9 Josh. xxiv. 26.

10 For he complains that the Alexandrians, in a tumult which they there made against the Jews, did cut down the trees of their *proseuchæ*. In Legatione ad Cajum Cesarum.

11 Juv. Sat. 3.

12 Ps. lxx. 8.

13 1 Maccab. iiii. 46.

14 In Legatione ad Cajum.

15 9 Kings iv. 23

sabbaths and new moons; and what end could there be of this resort, but for instruction in their duties to God? And therefore these places also, as well as the proseuchæ, were Moadhe El, *i. e.* places of assembling on the account of religion; and consequently of all these may the Psalmist be understood in the places above mentioned. Whether this Psalm, as well as the seventy-ninth, were written prophetically by that Asaph,¹ who lived in the time of David, of the Babylonish captivity (to which it is plain they both relate,) or else by some other after it, as is most probable,² I shall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of is, that nothing which is in either of these Psalms can prove, that there were any such things as synagogues, wherein the scriptures were read, or public prayers offered up unto God, till after the Babylonish captivity.

And if it be examined into, how it came to pass, that the Jews were so prone to idolatry, before the Babylonish captivity, and so strongly and cautiously, even to superstition, fixed against it after that captivity, the true reason hereof will appear to be, that they had the law and the prophets every week constantly read unto them after that captivity, which they had not before. For before that captivity, they having no synagogues for public worship or public instruction, nor any places to resort to for either, unless the temple at Jerusalem, or the cities of the Levites, or to the prophets, when God was pleased to send such among them, for want hereof great ignorance grew among the people; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly forgotten: and therefore, as occasions offered, they were easily drawn into all the superstitions and idolatrous usages of the neighbouring nations that lived round about them, till, at length, for the punishment hereof, God gave them up to a dismal destruction in the Babylonish captivity: but after that captivity, and the return of the Jews from it, synagogues being erected among them in every city, to which they constantly resorted for public worship, and where every week they had the law from the first, and after that from the time of Antiochus's persecution, the prophets also read unto them, and were, by sermons and exhortations there delivered at least every sabbath, instructed in their duty, and excited to the obedience of it; this kept them in a thorough knowledge of God and his laws. And the threats which they found in the prophets against the breakers of them, after these also came to be read among them, deterred them from transgressing against them. So that the law of Moses was never more strictly observed by them, than from the time of Ezra (when synagogues first came into use among them,) to the time of our Saviour; and they would have been unblamable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt traditions of their own devising, whereby at length (as our Saviour³ chargeth them,) they made the law itself of none effect. And as by this method the Jewish religion was preserved in the times mentioned, so also was it by the same that the Christian was so successfully propagated in the first ages of the church, and hath ever since been preserved among us: for as the Jews had their synagogues, in which the law and the prophets were read unto them every sabbath, so the Christians had their churches, in which, from the beginning, all the doctrines and duties of their religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's blessing upon this method chiefly was it, that this holy religion still bore up against all oppressions, and, notwithstanding the ten persecutions, and all other *artifices* and *methods* of cruelty and oppression which hell and heathenism could devise to suppress it, grew up and increased under them; which Julian the Apostate was so sensible of, that when he put all his wits to work, to find out new methods for the restoring of the heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpose, than to employ his philosophers to preach it up every week to the people,⁴ in the same manner as

¹ 1 Chron. xvi. 5. 7. 37.

² Vide Bocharti Hieroz. part 1. lib. 3. c. 29.

³ Matt. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

⁴ Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. in Julianum Apostatum.

the ministers of the gospel did the Christian religion. And had it not pleased God to cut him off before he could put this design in execution, it is to be feared his success herein would in a very great measure have answered what he proposed by it. But to Christians, above all others, this must be of the greatest benefit: for the doctrines of our holy religion having in them the sublimest principles of divine knowledge, and the precepts of it containing all the duties of morality in the highest manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us, for the leading of us to the truest happiness we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have these weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our consciences, for the forming of our lives according to them. And the political state or civil government of every Christian country is no less benefited hereby than the church itself: for as it best conduces to keep up the spirit of religion among us, and to make every man know his duty to God, his neighbour, and himself: so it may be reckoned of all methods the most conducive to preserve peace and good order in the state; for hereby subjects are taught to be obedient to their prince and his laws, children to be dutiful to their parents, servants to be faithful to their masters, and all to be just and charitable, and pay all other duties which in every relation they owe to each other. And, in the faithful discharge of these duties, doth the peace, good order, and happiness, of every community consist. And to be weekly instructed in these duties, and to be weekly excited to the obedience of them, is certainly the properest and the most effectual method to induce men hereto. And it may justly be reckoned, that the good order which is now maintained in this kingdom, is more owing to this method than to any other now in practice among us for this end; and that one good minister, by his weekly preaching and daily good example, sets it more forward than any two of the best justices of the peace can by their exactest diligence in the execution of the laws which they are intrusted with: for these, by the utmost of their coercions, can go no farther than to restrain the outward acts of wickedness; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all those evil inclinations of it from whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that, if this method were once dropped among us, the generality of the people, whatever else may be done to obviate it, would, in seven years' time, relapse into as bad a state of barbarity as was ever in practice among the worst of our Saxon or Danish ancestors. And therefore, supposing there were no such thing in truth and reality as that holy Christian religion which the ministers of the gospel teach (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to say,) yet the service which they do the civil government, in keeping all men to those duties, in the observance of which its peace, good order, and happiness consist, may very well deserve the maintenance which they receive from it.

An. 433. Artax. 32.]—Nehemiah, after he had held the government of Judah twelve years,¹ returned to the Persian court, either recalled thither by the king, or else going thither to solicit a new commission after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in this government, he managed it with great justice,² and supported the dignity of his office, through these whole twelve years, with a very expensive and hospitable magnificence. For there sat at his table, every day, one hundred and fifty of the Jews and rulers, besides strangers who came to Jerusalem from among the heathen nations that were round about them: for as occasions brought them thither, if they were of any quality they were always invited to the governor's house, and there hospitably and splendidly entertained; so that there was provided for him every day, one ox, six choice sheep, and fowls, and wine, and all other things in proportion hereto, which could not but amount to a great expense. Yet all this he bore, through these whole twelve years, out of his own private purse, without burdening the province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance which

¹ Nehem. v. 14. xiii. 6.

² Ibid. v. 14. 19.

before was raised out of it by other governors to support them in their station; which argues his great generosity, as well as his great love and tenderness to the people of his nation, in thus easing them of this burden, and also his vast wealth, in being able so to do. The office which he had been in at court gave him the opportunity of amassing great riches; and he thought he could not better expend them than in the service of his country, and by doing all he could to promote the true interest of it both in church and state; and God prospered him in the work, according to the great zeal with which he laboured in it.

An. 432. Artax. 33.—About this time flourished Meto,¹ the famous Athenian astronomer, who invented the Enneadecateris, or the cycle of nineteen years, which we call the cycle of the moon; the numbers whereof being, by reason of the excellency of their use, written in the ancient calendars in golden letters, from hence, in our present almanacks, that number of this cycle, which accords with the year for which the almanack is made, is called the golden number. For it is still of as great use to the Christians, for the finding out of Easter, and also to the Jews for the fixing of their three great festivals, as it was to the ancient Greeks for the ascertaining of the times of their festivals. And for this last end was it that Meto invented it. For the Greeks, being directed by an oracle to observe all their solemn sacrifices and festivals,² κατὰ τριὰς, *i. e.* according to three; and this being interpreted to mean years, months, and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the course of the sun, and the months and days according to that of the moon, they thought themselves obliged hereby to observe all these solemnities at the same seasons of the year, and on the same month, and on the same day of the month. And therefore endeavours were made to bring all these to meet together,³ that is, to bring the same months, and all the days of them, to fall as near as possible within the same times of the sun's course, that so the same solemnities might always be celebrated within the same seasons of the year, as well as in the same months, and on the same days of them. The difficulty lay in this, that, whereas the year, according to the course of the sun (which is commonly called the solar year,) is made by that revolution of it, which brings it round to the same point in the ecliptic; and the Greeks reckoned their months by those revolutions of the moon which brought it round to the same conjunction with the sun, *i. e.* from one new moon to another, and twelve of these months made their common year (which is commonly called the lunar year:) this lunar year fell eleven days short of the solar. And therefore, their oracle could not be observed in keeping their solemnities to the same seasons of the year without intercalations: for otherwise their solemnities would be anticipated eleven days every year, and, in thirty-three years' space, would be carried backward through all the seasons of the year (as is now done in Turkey, where they use this sort of year:) and to intercalate these eleven days every year would make as great a breach upon the other part of the oracle as to the months and days; for then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month; and, besides, it would make a breach upon the whole scheme of their year: for with them, in the same manner as with the Jews, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up of these lunar months, so as to end exactly with the last day of the last moon, and to begin exactly with the first day of the next moon. It was necessary, therefore, for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the oracle, that the intercalations should be made by months; and to find out such an intercalation of months as would at length bring the solar year and the lunar year to an exact agreement, so that both should begin from the same point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpose; for thus only could the solemnities be always kept to the same seasons of the year, as well as to the same months, and the same days

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 12. p. 305. Ptoleemii Magna Syntaxis, lib. 3. c. 2.

² Geminus in Isagoga, c. 6.

³ Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum. Petavium de Doctrina Temporum, aliosque Chronologos.

of them, and constantly be made to fall within the compass of one lunar month at most, sooner or later, within the same times of the solar year. And therefore, in order hereunto, cycles were to be invented; and, to find out such a cycle of years, wherein, by the intercalation or addition of one or more months, this might be effected, was the great study and endeavour of the astronomers of those times. The first attempt that was made for this purpose was that of the Dieteris, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month: but in two years' time, the excess of the solar year above the lunar being only twenty-two days, and a lunar month making twenty-nine days and a half, this intercalation, instead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the solar, overdid it by seven days and a half; which being a fault that was soon perceived, for the mending of it the Tetræteris was introduced, which was a cycle of four years. Wherein it was thought that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights which was overdone by the like intercalation of the Dieteris. And this was contrived chiefly with a respect to their Olympic games: for they being the chiefest of their solemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this solemnity every fourth year as near as they could to the same time of the solar year in which it was performed the Olympiad before, which regularly ought always to have been begun, according to the original institution of that solemnity, on the first full moon after the summer solstice; and it was thought, that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time. But four solar years exceeding four lunar years forty-three days and a half, the adding one lunar month, or twenty-nine days and a half (of which it consists,) fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days; which fault soon discovering itself, for the amending of it, they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the Octoeteris, or the cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months they thought they brought all to rights: and indeed it came much nearer to it than any of the former cycles; for, by this intercalation, the eight lunar years were brought so near to eight solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day, fourteen hours, and nine minutes: and, therefore, this cycle continued much longer in use than any of the rest. But at length the error, by increasing every year, grew great enough to be also discovered; which produced the invention of several other cycles for the remedying of it: of which this invented by Meto of nineteen years is the perfectest: for it brings the two luminaries to come about to the same points within two hours, one minute, and twenty seconds; so that, after nineteen years, the same new moons and the same full moons do within that space come about again to the same points of time in every year of this cycle in which they happened in the same year of the former cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this, no other cycle can bring them. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years and seven lunar months, by seven intercalations added to them. The years of this cycle in which these intercalations were made, were the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth, according to Petavius; but, according to Mr. Dodwell, they were the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth. Each of these seven intercalated years, consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this cycle among the Greeks being to settle the times of celebrating their solemnities, and that of their Olympiads being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these Olympiads being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, in order to settle the time of their celebration, it was necessary in the first place, to settle the time of the summer solstice; and this Meto observed this year to be on the twenty-first day of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, which, reduced to the Julian year, falls on the 27th of June. And therefore the Greeks having received this cycle, did, from this time forward, celebrate

their Olympiads on the first full moon after the 27th day of our June; and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding; whereas before they began it from the winter solstice; and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer solstice was the beginning of their year, and that first full moon after the said solstice, in every fifth year, was the time of their Olympiads. For that year, in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was, in their computation of time, called the first year of that Olympiad, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the fifth year after they celebrated the next Olympiad, which made the time from one Olympiad to another to be just four years, according to the measure of the years in use at that period.

But this use of the cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the heathen Greeks after that Christianity had gotten the ascendant in the Roman empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use; and that not only by the Christians, but also by the Jews: for by it the Christians, after the council of Nice, settled our Easter; and from them, some few years after, the Jews learned to make the like use of it for the fixing the time of their Passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes, there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

An 431. Artax. 34.—The war between the Athenians and Lacedemonians,¹ called the Peloponnesian war (of which Thucydides and Xenophon² have written the history,) began about the end of the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, which lasted twenty-seven years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties³ sent their ambassadors to King Artaxerxes to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the war.

About the same time, there broke out a most grievous pestilence, which did overrun a great part of the world. It began first in Ethiopia; from thence it came into Lybia and Egypt, and from Egypt it invaded Judea, Phœnicia, and Syria; and from those parts it spread itself through the whole Persian empire: from whence it passed into Greece, and grievously afflicted the Athenian state destroying a great number of their people; and among them died Pericles,⁴ the chiefest and most eminent man of that city, whose wisdom, while he lived, was the main stay and support of that republic, and of whom only it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for forty years together in a popular government. Thucydides hath, in his history,⁵ given us a very full account of this disease, having had thorough experience of it; for he had it himself, and after that, being out of danger of suffering any more by it, he freely visited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had sufficient opportunity of knowing all the symptoms and calamities that attended it. Lucretius hath also given us a poetical description of it; and Hippocrates hath written of it as a physician:⁶ for that great master of the art of physic lived in those times, and was at Athens all the while this distemper raged there. Artaxerxes invited him, with the promise of great rewards, to come into Persia during this plague, to cure those who were infected with it in his armies. But his answer was, that he would not leave the Grecians, his countrymen, in this distress, to give his help to barbarians. There are several epistles still extant at the end of Hippocrates' works, said to be written by Artaxerxes, and by Hystanes, his prefect on the Hellespont; and by Hippocrates himself, about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reasons sufficient to convict them of it. Many instances in the histories of those times do acquaint us, how fond

¹ Thucydides, lib. 2.

² Thucydides gives an account of the first twenty-one years of this war, and Xenophon's *Hellenics* continue the Greek history from thence.

³ Thucydides, lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 7.

⁴ Plutarchus in Pericle. Thucydides, lib. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 310.

⁵ Lib. 2.

⁶ Lib. 3. *picam. s. 3.*

the Persians were of Greek physicians. And Artaxerxes, looking on himself as the greatest of kings, might well enough think he had the best title to have the greatest of physicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greatest of rewards to draw him to him. But Hippocrates, having a mind above the temptations of gold and silver, returned him the answer I have mentioned; which provoked him so far, that he sent to Cos, the city of Hippocrates, and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him Hippocrates, to be punished according to his perverseness; threatening them with the demolition of their city, and utter ruin of the whole island in which it stood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the Coans, in their answer, did let him know that no threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a citizen into his hands. This was before Hippocrates went to Athens: for this plague had ravaged through the Persian empire before it came to that city; and it was not till the next year after this, that the Athenians were infested with it, that is, in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, as Thucydides tells us.

An. 428. Artax. 37.]—Nehemiah, on his return to the Persian court, having tarried there about five years in the execution, as it may be supposed, of his former office, at length obtained of the king to be sent back again to Jerusalem with a new commission. The generality of chronologers, as well as the commentators upon this part of scripture, make this his coming back thither to be much sooner. But, considering the many and great corruptions which he tells us, in the thirteenth chapter of his book, the Jews had run into in his absence, it cannot be conceived how, in less than five years' time, they could have grown up to such a height among them. He had been twelve years reforming what was amiss among them, and Ezra had been doing the same for thirteen years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to such a state and stability, that a little time could not have been sufficient in such a manner to have again unhinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years a doing, than that it should come to pass in so short a time. It is indeed expressed in our English version, that Nehemiah came back again from the Persian court to Jerusalem,¹ "after certain days;" but the Hebrew word *yamim*, which is there rendered *days*, signifieth also years, and is in a great many places of the Hebrew scriptures so used.

About this time, most likely, lived Malachi the prophet. The greatest of the corruptions which he chargeth the Jews with, are the same with those which they had run into in the time of Nehemiah's absence; and therefore it is most probable, that in this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the temple was all finished, and every thing restored therein, before his time: for there are passages in his prophecies which clearly suppose it; and he doth not in them charge the Jews with neglecting the restoring of the temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. But in what time it was after the restoration of the temple that he prophesied, is no where said in scripture; and therefore we can only make our conjectures about it, and I know not where any conjecture can place it with more probability, than in the time where I have said.

Many things having gone wrong among the Jews during the absence of Nehemiah, as have been above mentioned, as soon as he was again settled in the government,² he applied himself, with his usual zeal and diligence, to correct and again set to rights whatsoever was amiss. And that which he first took notice of, as what, by the flagrancy of the offence, as well as by reason of the place where committed, was the most obvious to be resented by so good a man, was a great profanation which had been introduced into the temple for the sake of Tobiah an Ammonite.³ This man, though he had made two alliances with the Jews (for Johanan⁴ his son had married the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berachiah,⁵ who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem under the direction of the governor, and he himself had married the

¹ Nehem. xiii. 6.

² Ibid. xiii.

³ Ibid. xiii. 7—9.

⁴ Ibid. vi. 18.

⁵ Ibid. iii. 4.

daughter of Shecaniah the son of Arah, another great man among the Jews, yet being an Ammonite,¹ he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of Israel; and therefore envying their prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct Nehemiah in all that he did for the good of that people, and confederated with Sanballat, their greatest enemy, to carry on his purpose. However, by reason of the alliances I have mentioned, he had many correspondents among the Jews,² who were favourers of him, and acted insiduously with Nehemiah on his account. But he, being aware of their devices, withstood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at Jerusalem. But when he went from thence to the Persian court, Eliashib the high-priest³ was prevailed with (as being one of those that were of that confederacy and alliance with Tobiah) to allow and provide for him lodgings within the temple itself: in order whereto he removed "the meat offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil (which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the singers and the porters,) and the offerings of the priests," out of the chambers where they used to be laid; and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this heathen stranger. It is doubted by some, whether this Eliashib were Eliashib the high-priest, or only another priest of that name. That which raiseth the doubt is, he is named in the text, where this is related of him, by the title only of priest, and is there said to have the oversight of the chambers of the house of God; from whence it is argued, that he was only chamberlain of the temple, and not the high-priest, who was above such an office. But the oversight of the chambers of the house of God may import the whole government of the temple, which belonged to the high-priest only: and it is not to be conceived, how any one, that was less than an absolute governor of the whole temple, could make so great an innovation in it. Besides, Eliashib the high-priest hath no character in scripture with which such a procedure can be said to be inconsistent. By what is said in the book of Ezra (chap. x. 18,) it appears the pontifical family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in Ezra or Nehemiah, excepting only his putting to his helping hand in the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem. Had he done any thing else worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiss, either in church or state, in the times either of Ezra or Nehemiah, it may be presumed mention would have been made of it in the books written by them. The silence which 's of him in both these books, as to any good act done by him, is a sufficient proof, that there was none such to be recorded of him. For the high-priest being the head of the Jewish church, had he borne any part with these two good men, when they laboured so much to reform that church, it is utterly improbable that it could have been passed over in their writings, wherein they give an account of what was done in that reformation. What Jeshua his grandfather did in concurrence with Zerubbabel the governor, and Haggai and Zechariah the prophets, in the first re-settling of the church and state of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity,⁴ is all recorded in scripture; and had Eliashib done any such thing in concurrence with Ezra and Nehemiah, we may take it for certain it would have been recorded there also. Putting all this together, it appears most likely that it was Eliashib the high-priest who was the author of this great profanation of the house of God. What was done herein, the text tells us, Nehemiah immediately understood, as soon as he came back again to Jerusalem, and he did immediately set himself to reform it. For, overruling what the high-priest had ordered to be done herein, by the authority which he had as governor, he commanded all the household-stuff of Tobiah to be cast out, and the chambers to be again cleansed and restored to their former use.

The reading of the law to the people having been settled by Nehemiah,⁵ so

1 Nehem. ii. iv. v.
Nehem. viii.

2 Ibid. vi. 17—19.

3 Ibid. xlii. 4.

4 Ezra iii. iv. v. Haggai i. ii. Zech. iii.

as to be constantly carried on at certain stated times, ever since it was begun, under his government, by Ezra (perchance from that very beginning on every sabbath-day,) when, in the course of their lessons, they came to the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, where it is commanded, that "a Moabite, or an Ammonite, should not come into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation, for ever;" Nehemiah,¹ taking a handle from hence, separated all the mixed multitude from the rest of the people, that thereby it might be known with whom a true Israelite might lawfully marry. For neither this law, nor any other of the like nature is to be understood to exclude any one, of what nation soever he were, from entering into the congregation as a proselyte, and becoming a member of their church, that would be converted thereto. Neither did any of the Jews ever so interpret it: for they freely received all into their religion that would embrace it, and, immediately on their conversion, admitted them to all the rites, parts, and privileges of it, and treated them in all respect in the same manner as true Israelites, excepting only in the case of marriage. And therefore this phrase in the text,² of "not entering into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation," must be understood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereinto till then; and thus all the Jewish doctors expound it: for their doctrine, as to the case of their marrying with such as were not of their nation, is stated by them in manner as followeth:—

None of the house of Israel of either sex were to enter into marriage with any Gentiles, of what nation soever,³ unless they were first converted to their religion, and became entire proselytes to it. And, when they were become thus thorough proselytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this privilege of making intermarriages with them; for some were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and some only for a limited time. Of the first sort were all of the seven nations of the Canaanites, mentioned in Deut. vi. Of the second sort were the Moabites and the Ammonites, whose males, they hold, were excluded for ever, but not their females: for the Hebrew text naming an Ammonite and a Moabite, in the masculine gender only, they understand it only of the males, and not of the females. And this exception they make for the sake of Ruth; for she, though a Moabitish woman, had been married to two husbands of the house of Israel, the last of which was Boaz, of whom David was descended by her. And of the third sort were the Edomites and the Egyptians,⁴ with whom they might not marry till the third generation. With all others, who were not of the three excepted sorts, they might freely make intermarriages whenever they became thorough proselytes to their religion.⁵ But at present,⁶ it not being to be known, who is an Edomite, who an Ammonite, or a Moabite, or who an Egyptian of the race of the Egyptians then mentioned in the text, by reason of the confusions which have since happened of all nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long since out of date; and that now any Gentile, as soon as proselyted to their religion, may immediately be admitted to make intermarriages with them. In interpreting the exclusion of the Ammonites and Moabites in the text to be for ever, they seem to exceed the prohibition of the law therein delivered; for there (*i. e.* Deut. xxiii. 3.) it is extended only to the tenth generation. The words are, "Even to the tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever." The meaning of which seems plainly to be, that this should be observed as a law for ever, that an Ammonite or a Moabite was not to be admitted into the congregation of Israel, so as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth generation after their becoming proselytes to the Jewish religion. But ten generations, and for ever, being both in the same text, and within the same prohibiting clause, they interpret the former expression by the latter, and will have it, that so long a prohibition as that of ten generations, signifieth there

¹ Chap. xiii. 1.—3.

² Deut. xxii. 3.

³ Maimonides in Issure Biah

⁴ Deut. xxiii. 8.

⁵ A sister of David's married Ithra, an Ishmaelite, by whom she was mother of Amasa, captain of the host of Israel.

⁶ Maimonides in Issure Biah.

in tantamount to for ever; and they ground this chiefly upon the text of Nehemiah, which we are now treating of. For here, in the recital of this law, the prohibition is said to be for ever, without the limitation of ten generations. But the words of Nehemiah are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the law, and seem to intend no more by that recital, than to send us to the place in the original text of the law, where it is to be perfectly found. And in all laws in the world, the words of the original text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the lawgiver, before any quotations of them, by whomsoever made.

Among other corruptions that grew up during the absence of Nehemiah, one especially to be taken notice of was the neglect of the carrying on of the daily service of the house of God in such manner as it ought.¹ For the tithes, which were to maintain the ministers of the temple in their offices and stations, being either embezzled by the high-priest, and other rulers of the temple under him, or else subtracted by the laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the Levites and singers were driven from the temple, every one to his own home, there to seek for a subsistence some other way. This abuse the governor, whose piety led him always to attend the public worship, could not be long without taking notice of; and when he had observed it, and thoroughly informed himself of the cause, he soon provided very effectually for its remedy: for he forthwith made those dues to be again brought into the treasuries of the temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them: whereby a maintenance being again provided for those that attended the service of the house of God, all was there again restored to its pristine order. And he also took care that the sabbath should be duly observed,² and made many good orders for the preventing of the profanation of it, and caused them all to be effectually put in execution. But, though all these things are mentioned in one chapter, they were not all done at one time; but the good man brought them about as occasions were administered, and as he saw opportunities best served for the successful effecting of them.

In this same year in which we suppose Nehemiah came back again to his government of Judea from the Persian court, that is,³ in the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, was born Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher, who came nearest to the truth in divine matters of any of the heathens: for he having, in his travels into the east, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, conversed with the Jews, and gotten some insight into the writings of Moses,⁴ and their other sacred books, he learned many things from them, which others of his profession could not attain unto: and therefore he is said by Numenius⁵ to be none other than Moses speaking Greek; and many of the ancient fathers speak of him to the same purpose.⁶

An. 426. Artax. 39.]—In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war,⁷ the plague broke out again at Athens, and destroyed great numbers of their people. This, with the other plague that happened four years before, having much exhausted that city of its inhabitants, for the better replenishing of it again, a new law was made to allow every man there to marry two wives.⁸ From the time of Cæcrops, who was the first planter of Attica, and the founder of the city of Athens in it, no such thing as polygamy was there ever known, or was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their law and their usage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed, for the cause which I have mentioned; and Socrates the philosopher was one of the first that made use of the privilege of it, being then forty-three years old; for he was born in the last year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad (which was the year 469 before Christ;) for to Xantippe, his former wife, he took another called Myrto; and all the benefit he had by it, was to have two scolds, instead of one, to exercise his patience. As long as they disagreed,⁹ they were continually

1 Nehem. xiii. 10—14. Malachi iii. 8—13.

3 Diogenes Laertius in Vita Platonis.

4 Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristobolus apud Eusebium de Preparatione Evangelica.

5 Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 1. Suidas in Νουαντιος.

6 Vide Menagii Observationes ad tertium Diog. Laertii, Segm. 6.

8 Athenæus, lib. 13. Diog. Laert. in Socrate.

2 Nehem. xiii. 15—23.

7 Thucydides, lib. 2.

9 Diog. Laert. in Socrate.

scolding, brawling, or fighting with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often fell on him with their fists as well as with their tongues, and beat him soundly.¹ And this was a very just punishment upon him, for giving countenance, by his practice, to so unnatural and mischievous a usage. For every where more males than females being born into the world, this sufficiently proves, that God and nature never intended any more than one woman for one man; and they certainly act contrary to the laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the same time. Although the supreme Lawgiver dispensed with the children of Israel in this case, this is no rule for others to act by.

An. 425. Artax. 40.—In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent an ambassador,² called Artaphernes, to the Lacedemonians, with letters written in the Assyrian language; wherein, among other things, he tells them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them, but with messages so differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had sent this Persian to them, to let them know, that if they had any thing to propose to him, they should, on his return, send with him to his court some by whom he might clearly understand what their mind was. But this ambassador being got on in his way as far as Eion, on the River Strymon in Thracia, he was there taken prisoner, about the end of the year, by one of the Admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens; where the Athenians treated him with much kindness and respect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the Persian king.

An. 424. Artax. 41.—And the next year after, as soon as the seas were safely passable, they sent him back in a ship of their own, at the public charges,³ and appointed some of their citizens to go with him as ambassadors from them to the king; but when they were landed at Ephesus, in order to this journey, they there understood that Artaxerxes was lately dead; whereon the ambassadors proceeded no farther, but, having there dismissed Artaphernes, returned again to Athens.

Artaxerxes died within three months after the beginning of the forty-first year of his reign, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Xerxes,⁴ the only son that he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen others, among whom were Sogdianus (by Ctesias, called Secundianus,) Ochus, and Arsites. Xerxes having made himself drunk at one of their festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his bedchamber, Sogdianus took the advantage of it, by the help and treachery of Pharmacyas, one of Xerxes' eunuchs, then to fall upon him, and slew him, after he had reigned only forty-five days, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And, as soon as he was on the throne, he put to death Bagorazus, the faithfullest of his father's eunuchs. Artaxerxes being dead, and his queen, the mother of Xerxes, dying also the same day, Bagorazus undertook the care of their funeral, and carried both their corpses to the accustomed burial-place of the royal family in Persia. But, on his return, Sogdianus being on the throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former quarrel that had been between them in his father's lifetime; in revenge whereof, a little after, taking pretence from something which he found fault with in the management of his father's funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murders, that of his brother Xerxes, and this of the faithful eunuch, having made himself very odious to the army, as well as the nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the throne which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, lest some of his brothers should serve him as he had served Xerxes, and fearing Ochus, whom his father had made governor of Hyrcania, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to court, with intention to rid himself of him, by putting him to death. But Ochus perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences, from time to time, delayed his coming, till at length, having

¹ Porphyrius apud Theodoretum. ² Thucydides, lib. 4. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 319. 322.

got together a powerful army, he marched against him, for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his brother Xerxes; whereon many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of Sogdianus, revolted from him and went over to Ochus, and having put the royal tiara upon his head, declared him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself thus deserted, fell into great fear of the power of his brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends, to come to a treaty with Ochus; who, having hereby gotten him into his power, cast him into ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This was one of the punishments of the Persians,¹ whereby great criminals among them were put to death. The manner of it is described in the thirteenth chapter of the second book of the Maccabees to be thus:—A high tower being filled a great way up with ashes, the criminal was, from the top, thrown down headlong into them, and there had the ashes, by a wheel, continually stirred up and raised about him, till he was suffocated by them and died. And thus this wicked prince with his life lost his empire, after he had held it only six months and fifteen days.

An. 423. Dar. Nothus 1.—Sogdianus being thus despatched, Ochus obtained the kingdom; and as soon as he was settled in it,² he changed his name, taking that of Darius instead of Ochus, and is the same whom historians call Darius Nothus. He reigned nineteen years, and is in Ptolemy's Canon placed as the next immediate successor of Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the method of that Canon, which always reckons to the predecessor the whole last year in which he died, and placeth him as the next successor who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following (as hath been already observed;) and both the reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus making but eight months, and these not reaching to the end of the year in which Artaxerxes died, their reigns, in that Canon, are cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and Darius is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

But it not being the usage of the Persian kings, on their accession to the throne, to displace any of the governors of provinces, unless they were such as they had just reason to mistrust, Nehemiah, during all these revolutions in the empire, continued still in his government of Judea, and went on with the same zeal and vigour to reform it in all things relating either to church or state, and to correct and set all at rights that was amiss in either of them.

An. 422. Dar. Nothus 2.—Arsites, seeing how Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and Ochus Sogdianus, thought to do the same with Ochus. And therefore, though he was his brother by the same mother, as well as by the same father,³ rebelled against him; and Artyphius, the son of Megabyzus, joined with him in this revolt. Ochus, now called Darius, sent against Artyphius, Artasyras one of his generals, while he with another army marched against Arsites. Artyphius vanquished his adversary in two battles by the help of his Grecian mercenaries. But these being bribed over to Artasyras, he lost the third battle; and thereby being reduced to the utmost difficulty, he surrendered, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of Darius, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was dissuaded from it by Parysatis his queen. She was one of the daughters of Artaxerxes his father by another mother, and a very subtle, crafty woman, and whose counsel and advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the present occasion was, to treat Artyphius with all manner of clemency, that by such usage of a rebel servant, he might the better encourage his rebel brother to hope for the same favour, and cast himself upon his mercy; and that, if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he should think fit. Darius following this advice, had that success in it

¹ Concerning the first invention of this punishment, see Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2. Exter. s. 6.
² Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 322. Ptol. Can. ³ Ctesias

which was proposed: for Arsites, being informed with what clemency Artyphius was treated, thought he, as a brother, might be favoured much more; and therefore, coming to terms with the king, yielded himself unto him. But, when he had thus got him into his power, he cast both him and Artyphius into the ashes, and there made them both miserably perish. Darius was much inclined to have spared Arsites; but he was overruled herein by the advice of Parysatis, who pressed it upon him, that he could no otherwise provide for his own safety, out by the death of this rebel. And the force of this argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to consent to it. They being both born of the same mother, this was the cause of the tenderness which he had for him.

He also put to death Pharnacyas the eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of Xerxes; and Monasthenes, another eunuch, who was the chief confidant of Sogdianus, and also concerned with him in his treachery against his brother, was forced to kill himself to avoid the punishment of a much severer death which was intended for him. But all these executions did not set Darius at quiet upon his throne. For many other troubles were raised against him afterward.

An. 414. Dar. Nothus 10.—The chiefest and the most dangerous of them was the rebellion of Pisuthnes,¹ who, being made governor of Lydia, did there set up for himself, and cast off his obedience to the king; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which he placed in an army of mercenary Greeks, whom he had got together into his service, under the command of Lycon an Athenian. Against him Darius sent Tissaphernes with an army to suppress the rebel, and also with a commission to be governor of Lydia in his stead. Tissaphernes, being a very crafty and insidious man, found ways to get within Pisuthnes's Grecian mercenaries, and having, with large gifts, and larger promises, corrupted both them and their general to change sides, they deserted Pisuthnes, and went over to Tissaphernes, whereby Pisuthnes being left too weak any longer to carry on his designs, was persuaded, on promises made him of pardon, to trust to them, and surrender himself; but as soon as he was brought to the king, he caused him to be cast into the ashes, and there perish in the same manner as had been the fate of the other rebels before him. However, this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised in those parts; for Amorgas² his son still continued in arms with the remaining part of his army, and for about two years after infested the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, till at length being taken prisoner by the Peloponnesians at Iasus, a city of Ionia, he was delivered to Tissaphernes, and put to death.

The next disturbance which Darius had,³ was from Artoxares, the chief of the eunuchs. He had three eunuchs, by whose ministry he governed all the affairs of his empire; these were Artoxares, Artibarxanes, and Athous; and, next Parysatis his queen, he placed his greatest confidence in them, and trusted to their counsel and advice above all others, in whatsoever he did, through all the emergencies of the government. By which height of authority Artoxares being intoxicated, from being chief minister, he at length began to dream of making himself chief governor of the empire, and laid designs of cutting off Darius, and seizing the throne for himself. And that his being an eunuch might be no obstacle to him herein, he married a wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no eunuch. But his wife knowing the whole plot, and being perchance weary of a husband whom she found to be truly an eunuch in her bed, whatsoever he pretended to be out of it, discovered all to the king; whereon he was taken into custody, and delivered over into the hands of Parysatis, who caused him to be put to death in such manner as would best satiate her cruelty, in which she exceeded all women living.

But the greatest misfortune that befel Darius during all his reign, was the revolt of Egypt,⁴ which happened in the same year with the revolt of Pisuthnes. For although Darius again mastered the latter of these rebellions, he never could

¹ Ctesias.

² Thucydides, lib. 8.

³ Ctesias.

⁴ Eusebius in Chronico.

the other. But the whole province of Egypt, which was one of the best of the whole Persian empire, was lost unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it also was to his successors, till it was again reduced by Ochus, as will be hereafter related. For the Egyptians being weary of the Persian yoke, Amyrtæus Saites took the advantage of it, and sallied out of his fens, where he had reigned ever since the suppression of Inarus's revolt, and, being joined by the other Egyptians, soon drove the Persians out of the country, and made himself king of all Egypt, and reigned there six years.

About this time happened at Athens the condemnation of Diagoras the Melian. He having settled in that city, and there taught atheism,¹ the Athenians prosecuted him for it. But, by flying out of that country, he escaped the punishment of death, which was intended for him, although not the sentence. For the Athenians, having in his absence condemned him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a talent to whosoever should kill him, wheresoever he should be found. And about twenty years before² they had proceeded against Protagoras, another philosopher, with the like severity, for only doubting of the being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his books, he having written thus:—"Of the gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of human life:" the Athenians would not endure so much as the raising of a doubt about this matter; but, calling in all his books by the common criers of their city, they caused them all publicly to be burnt with infamy, and banished the author out of their territories for ever. Both these had been the scholars of Democritus, the first founder of the atomical philosophy, which is indeed wholly an atheistical scheme. For though it allows the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect; for by denying the power of God to create the world, and the providence of God to govern the world, and the justice of God to judge the world, they do the same in effect as if they had denied his being. But this they durst not openly do, even among the heathens, for fear of punishment; the greater shame is it to us, who, in a Christian state, permit so many impious wretches to do this thing among us, with a free liberty and absolute impunity.

An. 413. Dar. Nothus 11.]—Eliashib, the high-priest of the Jews, died in the eleventh year of Darius Nothus, after he had held that pontificate forty years, and was succeeded in it by Joiada his son.³

An. 412. Dar. Nothus 12.]—At this time Tissaphernes was governor of Lydia and Ionia,⁴ and Pharnabazus of the Hellespont, for King Darius;⁴ who being men of great craft, and also of great application for the prosecuting the interest of their prince, were not wanting to make the best advantage they could of the divisions of the Greeks, for the promoting of the welfare of the Persian empire. The Peloponnesian war had now been carried on between the Lacedemonians and the Athenians to the twentieth year. The policy practised herein by these two Persians was, sometimes to help one, and sometimes the other, that the matter being equally balanced between them, neither might, by suppressing the other, be at leisure to trouble them, who had so long been the common enemy of both. And therefore, at this time, the Athenians seeming to them to have the ascendant over the other in the fortune of the war, especially on the Asian coasts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries which they had sent under the command of Lycon, for the aiding and supporting of Pisuthnes in his revolt, they entered into an alliance with the Lacedemonians against them. This had been treated of with them by Tissaphernes, the former year, but now was, by the consent of both governors, agreed to, whereby the Persians were obliged to furnish the Lacedemonians with large subsidies for the payment of their fleet; and the Lacedemonians, in consideration hereof, yielded.

¹ Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristophanes in Avibus. Hesiychius Milesius.

² Diog. Laert. in Protagora. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

³ Nehem. xii. Josephus, lib. 11. c. 7. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

⁴ Diod. Sic. lib. 13. Ctesias, Thucydidēs, lib. 8. Plutarchus in Aleib.

that the Persian king should have all those countries and cities which he or his ancestors had at any time before the date of the treaty been possessed of. But when this treaty came to be examined in a full assembly of the Lacedemonians, the concessions made in it to the king of Persia were thought too large, as including all the islands of the Egean Sea, and also all those countries which Xerxes had taken possession of on this side the Hellespont; and therefore the ratification of them was denied. And by this time the Athenians wanting the balance on their side to make them bear even with their adversaries, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, upon this provocation, carried over their assistance to them; and although the next year, on an emendation made in the yielding clause, by limiting of it to the Asian provinces, the treaty was ratified and confirmed by the Lacedemonians, yet, by several underhand and indirect practices, they rather assisted the Athenians than them, especially in defrauding their fleet of the subsidies they promised to pay them, and by sending back Alcibiades again to the Athenians, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued, either openly or covertly, sometimes to help one, and sometimes to help the other, in order to weaken and waste both, till Cyrus came to be chief governor of the Asian provinces.

An. 410. Dar. Nothus 14.—Amyrtæus, having settled himself in the kingdom of Egypt, by a total expulsion of the Persians out of that country,¹ made great preparations to follow them into Phœnicia, and had the Arabians in confederacy with him for this purpose. Of which the king of Persia having received advice, the fleet with which he had stipulated to help the Lacedemonians was recalled to defend his own territories. But the war seems not to have broken out there till the year following.

An. 409. Dar. Nothus 15.—In the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus ended the first seven weeks of the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy. For then the restoration of the church and state of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea was fully finished, in that last act of reformation, which is recorded in the thirteenth chapter of Nehemiah, from the twenty-third verse to the end of the chapter. just forty-nine years after it had been first begun by Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. And this reformation was the removal of all unlawful marriages from among the people: for although the law² strictly forbade them to make intermarriages with any foreign nation, either by giving their daughters to them for wives, or by taking their daughters to themselves; yet since their return from the Babylonish captivity, they had given little regard hereto, but took to them wives of all the nations round about them, with whom God had strictly commanded them not to make any alliances. It seems most likely, that, while they were mixed with the strange nations of those countries of the east, into which they were carried captive by the Babylonians, they there first made these strange marriages, and from thence brought with them this forbidden usage on their return. Ezra³ found it spread among them on his first coming to Jerusalem; and although for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet, by the time that Nehemiah came to succeed him,⁴ the corruption was grown up again; and, although he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a covenant with God, and seal it with an oath and a curse upon themselves, strictly to observe the rule of God's law herein for the future, and a little after his last return to his government, he had made another reformation herein,⁵ by separating from Israel all the mixed multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil; but it grew up again, and at length came to such a height,⁶ that the pontifical house, which of all others ought to have been kept the clearest from all such impure commixtures, was polluted therewith. For one of the sons of Joiada the high-priest, whom Josephus calls Manasseh,⁷ had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the law, by such as were most concerned to see

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 335.
⁵ Nehem. xiii. 3.

² Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3.
⁶ Ibid. 23—31.

³ Ezra ix. x. ⁴ Nehem. x. 30.
⁷ Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.

to the observance of it, Nehemiah came in with the utmost stretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken such strange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the country; whereon Manasseh, being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to Samaria, and many others, who, being in the same state with him, were also of the same mind, accompanied him thither, and there settled under the protection of Sanballat, who was the governor of the place.

It may be here objected, that I put the last reformation of Nehemiah too low, and the marriage of Manasseh too high; and therefore it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to clear these two particulars.

As to the first of these, this last act of Nehemiah's reformation, whereby he purged the land of such as would not be obedient to the law of God in the case of their wives, Nehemiah himself tells us, it was while Joiada was high-priest at Jerusalem.¹ But, according to the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*² (which gives us the truest account of the succession of the high-priest of the Jews,³ from the captivity of Babylon to the reign of the Seleucian kings,) Joiada succeeded in the high-priesthood, on the death of Eliashib his father, only four years before this year in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore, higher than this, unless in one of these four years, it cannot be placed within the time of Joiada's high-priesthood. And that which determines me to place it in the fifth year of that priesthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks. For, by that prophecy, from the going forth of the decree to restore and build Jerusalem (that is, to restore and build up again the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem by a thorough reformation of both,) to the end of that reformation, were to be seven of those weeks, that is, forty-nine years. And these forty-nine years beginning in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when this decree was granted to Ezra, they must end in the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus his son, which was the fifth year of the high-priesthood of Joiada; and therefore here this reformation must have had its ending also. And since the expulsion of Manasseh, with such others with him as would not be reformed, is the last act which is mentioned to have been done of this reformation in those very scriptures, which are professedly written to give us an account of the whole of it, what is more reasonable than to infer, that in this act it had its conclusion; and that therefore this act must be there placed where that reformation ended, that is, forty-nine years after it had its beginning, according to the prophecy of Daniel which I have mentioned? And from the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the fifteenth of Darius Nothus were just forty-nine years. If any one shall say, that, in the text of Nehemiah (ch. xiii. 28,) the word *high-priest* is put in opposition with Eliashib, and not with Joiada, and that therefore this last act of Nehemiah's reformation was in the high-priesthood of Eliashib, and not in that of Joiada his son; my answer hereto is, that the Hebrew original cannot bear this interpretation: for it having been the usage of the Jews, as well as of all other nations of the east, for the better distinguishing of persons, to add the name of the father to that of the son, in the same manner as was lately practised by the Welsh, and still is among the Irish, these words in the text, Joiada Ben Eliashib, *i. e.* Joiada the son of Eliashib all together make but one name of the same person, and therefore the word high-priest, which followeth, can be put in apposition with nothing but the whole of it.

As to the second objection, that I place the marriage of Manasseh too high, my answer is, that I place it where the scriptures place it, that is, in the high-priesthood of Joiada. Josephus, indeed, placeth this marriage in the high-priesthood of Jaddua, the grandson of Joiada, and saith, that he who contracted it was the brother of Jaddua, and the son of Johanan. To reconcile this matter,

¹ Nehem. xiii. 28.

² The number of years which the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* ascribes to each high-priest brings down the first of Joiada to that year, which is the eleventh of Darius Nothus in the Canon of Ptolemy.

³ It best agreeth both with the scripture and the profane histories of those times.

some fancy that there were two Sanballats, the first the Sanballat of the holy scriptures, and the other the Sanballat of Josephus; and that there were two marriages contracted by two different persons, sons of two different high-priests of the Jews, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different Sanballats, the first the daughter of the Sanballat of the scriptures, and the other the daughter of the Sanballat of Josephus; and that he that married the first of them was a son of Joiada, but that he that married the second of them was the son of Johanan, and brother of Jaddua. But, as I have shown before, that there could be but one Sanballat, and that the Sanballat of Josephus was the same with the Sanballat of the holy scriptures, but that Josephus, by a mistake in his chronology, placed him in the time of Darius Codomannus, whereas he should have placed him in the time of Darius Nothus; so it must follow from hence, that he was one and the same high-priest's son that married his daughter: for each who is said to have contracted this marriage being the son of a high-priest of the Jews, each marrying the daughter of a Sanballat governor of Samaria, and each being expelled Jerusalem for it, these three characters sufficiently prove both to be the same person. The scriptures indeed give him no name; but Josephus calls him Manasseh, and therefore I call him so too. The question, therefore, being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to be placed in the high-priesthood of Joiada and the reign of Darius Nothus, where the scriptures place it, or else in the high-priesthood of Jaddua and the reign of Darius Codomannus, where Josephus placeth it, I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

The war being carried on between the Egyptians and the Persians,¹ and each contending to enlarge and strengthen their barrier on the borders, it seems most likely that Darius, on this occasion, came in person into Phœnicia; and that then it was that Sanballat, attending him, so far insinuated himself into his favour, as to obtain from him a grant to build on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that at Jerusalem, and to make Manasseh his son-in-law high-priest of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which Josephus, by mistaking the time, attributes to Darius Codomannus and Alexander the Great. And perchance this war might some time after produce that siege of Gaza at which Sanballat died;² for even at this time he must have been a very old man. Gaza being the common inlet between Egypt and Phœnicia, for the passing of each to other, the possession of it was of great importance on either side. If held by the Egyptians, it would be a gate to let them in to ravage Judea, Phœnicia, and Syria; and if by the Persians, it would be a strong barrier to keep them out, and also be a like gate for the passage of the Persian forces into Egypt. And therefore, if Amyrtaeus had now possessed himself of this important post, it concerned the king of Persia to do his utmost to recover it: for, without it, he could neither defend the territories which he had remaining in those parts, nor pass into Egypt to recover what he had there lost; for he that was master of this pass could obstruct the passage either way. And therefore Alexander himself,³ after his victory at Issus, could not pass into Egypt till he had taken it.

Sanballat having built this temple, and made Manasseh high-priest of it, Samaria thenceforth became the common refuge and asylum of the refractory Jews;⁴ so that, if any among them were found guilty of violating the law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the sabbath, or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the Samaritans, and there found reception; by which means it came to pass, that, after some time, the greatest part of that people were made up of apostate Jews, and their descendants. The first of these Samaritans were the Cutheans, and such others of the eastern nations as Esarhaddon planted there after the deportation of the Israelites. But, when these apostate Jews flocked to them, they became a mongrel sort of people,

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 355.

² Joseph. lib. 13. c. 8.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 6. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 2. edit. Blancard. p. 150.

⁵ Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

made up of both. But the mixing of so many Jews among them soon made a change in their religion. For whereas they had hitherto worshipped the God of Israel only in conjunction with their other gods,¹ that is, the gods of those nations of the east from whence they came; after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and the book of the law of Moses was brought to Samaria, and there publicly read to them, they soon left off worshipping their false gods,² and conformed themselves wholly to the worship of the true God, according to the rule which was in that book prescribed to them, and were more exact in it (as some of the Jewish doctors acknowledge³) than the Jews themselves. However, the Jews, looking on them as apostates, hated them above all the nations of the earth, so as to avoid all manner of converse and communication with them.⁴ This hatred first began from the opposition which the Samaritans made against them, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, both in their rebuilding of the temple, and their repairing of the walls of Jerusalem, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterward much increased by this apostacy of Manasseh, and those who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an altar, and a temple, in opposition to theirs at Jerusalem. And all others who at any time after fled from Jerusalem, for the violating of the law, always finding reception among them, this continually farther added to the rancour which the Jews had entertained against them, till at length it grew to that height, that the Jews published a curse and an anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any people: for thereby they forbade all manner of communication with them, declared all the fruits and products of their land, and every thing else of theirs, which was either eaten or drunk among them, to be as swine's flesh, and prohibited all of their nation ever to taste thereof, and also excluded all of that people from being ever received as proselytes to their religion. And, in the last place, proceeded so far, as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the resurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this also were in their power. This curse, they say, was first denounced against them by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, on the opposition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the temple, and by them transmitted to the Jews of Babylon, where it being also ratified and confirmed, it became thereby the act and sentence of the whole Jewish church. This account is given of it in Pirke R. Eliezer,⁵ which is reputed one of the ancientest of their books.⁶ And ever since they say it hath been removed, and also, by adding curse upon curse, continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by Zerubbabel and Jeshua in the manner as related by R. Eliezer. If it were done at all, it was done afterward, when the hatred of the Jews against them was grown to the utmost height from the causes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that for many ages past, the conduct of the Jews toward the Samaritans hath been according to the tenor of this anathema; they constantly refusing all manner of converse or communication with them: and so it was even in our Saviour's time; for why else should the woman of Samaria ask our Saviour, "How is it that thou being a Jew askest drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria?" but that it was even then forbidden among the Jews either to eat or drink any thing of that which was the Samaritans: and the words immediately following are to this purpose; for they tell us, that "the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans." The common name by which they call these people is that of Cutheans, which is a name of so great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to express the utmost of their rancour against any one, they call him Cuthean, in the same manner as

1 2 Kings xvii.

2 Epiphanius Hær. 9. Hottingeri Exercitat. Anti-Moriniane, s. 16.

3 Maimonides in Tractatum Misnicum Beracoth, c. 8. s. 8. Obadias Bartenora in eundem Tractatum, c. 7. s. 1.

4 John iv. 9.

5 Cap. 33. et vide Animadversiones Vorstii ad locum prædictum, p. 226—230. Lightfoot, vol. 1. p. 599.

6 The Jews say this book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, but there being mention made therein of the Saracen empire, it must have been written at least six hundred years after

we often call those whom we detest Jews or Turks; but that of Cuthean imports a much greater degree of detestation among them, than either of the other two does among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the Jews expressed their utmost aversion to our Saviour, they said unto him,¹ "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil;" as if to be a Samaritan, and have a devil, were things of equal reproach. And the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, when he reckons up the nations which were most detestable to the Jews,² names "the foolish people that dwell in Sechem," to be those who were chiefly so. However, the Samaritans themselves will not own their original from those eastern colonies of Esarhaddon, but claim to be descended from the sons of Joseph, and therefore call Jacob their father; and so the woman of Samaria calls him in her discourse with our Saviour.³ But Josephus tells us,⁴ they used to do this only when the Jews were in prosperity. But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppressions, they then disclaimed all relation to them, saying they were of another nation; as was notoriously done by them in the time of Antiochus's persecution.⁵ The particulars in which they and the Jews differ from each other in their religion are these following.

I. The Samaritans receive none other scriptures than the five books of Moses,⁶ rejecting all the other books which are in the Jewish canon. And these five books they still have among them, written in the old Hebrew or Phœnician character, which was in use among them before the Babylonish captivity, and in which both these and all other scriptures were written, till Ezra transcribed them into that of the Chaldeans. And this hath led many learned men into a mistake, as if the Samaritan copy, because written in the old character, were the true authentic copy, and that Ezra's was only a transcript; whereas in truth the Samaritan Pentateuch is no more than a transcript, copied in another character from that of Ezra, with some variations, additions, and transpositions, made therein. That it was copied from that of Ezra, is manifest from two reasons. For, 1st, It hath all the interpolations that Ezra's copy hath; and that he was the author of those interpolations is generally acknowledged: and therefore, had it been ancients than Ezra's copy, it must have been written without them. 2dly, There are a great many variations in the Samaritan copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar letters in the Hebrew alphabet; which letters having no similitude in the Samaritan character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the Samaritan from the Hebrew, and not in transcribing the Hebrew from the Samaritan. It seems from hence to be beyond all doubt, that Manasseh, when he fled to the Samaritans, first brought the law of Moses among them. Esarhaddon indeed⁷ sent to his new colony, which he had planted in Samaria an Israelitish priest, to teach them the way of worshipping God according to the manner of the former inhabitants; but it appears not that he did this by bringing the law of Moses among them, or that they were any otherwise instructed in it, than by tradition, till Manasseh came among them. For had they received the law of Moses from the first, and made that the rule of worship which they paid the God of Israel from the time of the coming of that priest among them, how could they have continued in that gross idolatry of worshipping other gods in conjunction with him, which that law doth so often and so strictly forbid? And yet in this idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim; and therefore it seems clear, that till then they had not a copy of this law, but that, when Manasseh, and so many apostate Jews with him, came over to them, and settled in Samaria, they first brought it among them; and because the old Phœnician character was that only which the Samaritans

¹ John viii. 48.

² Ecclesiast. v. 25, 26.

³ John iv. 12.

⁴ Antiq. lib. 9, c. 24. et lib. 11, c. 8.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

⁶ Hieronymus in Dialogo adversus Luciferianos. Epiphanius. Heres. 9. Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 36. Eutyph. &c.

⁷ 2 Kings xvii. 28.

were accustomed to, they caused this law for their sakes to be written out in that character; and in this they have retained it ever since. This Samaritan Pentateuch was well known to many of the fathers and ancient Christian writers: for it is quoted by Origen, Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, Diodor of Tarsus, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius Gazæus, and others. That which made it so familiar to them, was a Greek translation of it then extant, which now is lost; for as there was a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures made for the use of the Hellenistical Jews, which we call the Septuagint, so also was there a like Greek translation of the Samaritan scriptures (that is, the Pentateuch, which they only allowed for such) made for the use of the Hellenistical Samaritans, especially for those of Alexandria,¹ where the Samaritans dwelt in great numbers, as well as the Jews. Origen, indeed, and Jerome, understood the Hebrew language; and therefore might have consulted the Samaritan text, that being none other than Hebrew in another character. But the rest of those mentioned understanding nothing of it, could no otherwise have any knowledge of this Samaritan Pentateuch, but from the translation of it. And there is also an old scholiast upon the Septuagint that makes frequent mention of it. But this, as well as the other ancient books in which any mention of this Samaritan Pentateuch is to be found, were all written before the end of the sixth century. From that time, for above one thousand years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and in an absolute state of oblivion among all Christians both of the west and east, and hath been no more spoken of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the last century, when Scaliger, having got notice that there was such a Samaritan Pentateuch among those of that sect in the east,² made heavy complaints, that no one would take care to get a copy of it from thence, and bring it among us into these parts. A little after this,³ Archbishop Usher procured several copies of it out of the east; and not long after Sancius Harley, a priest of the oratory of Paris, and afterward bishop of St. Malo's in Brittany,⁴ brought another copy into Europe, and reposit it in the library belonging to that order in Paris. From which copy Morinus, another priest of the same order, published it in the Paris Polyglot. This Sancius Harley had been ambassador from the French king at Constantinople, where, having resided in that quality ten years, he made use of the opportunity which he had there of making a good collection of oriental books, which he brought home with him on his return; and, having awhile after entered himself among the oratorians at Paris, he did put all these books into their library, and among them was this copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which Morinus published.

The Samaritans, besides the Pentateuch in the original Hebrew language, have also⁵ another in the language that was vulgarly spoken among them. For, as the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, degenerated in their language from the Hebrew to the Babylonish dialect; so the Samaritans did the same. Whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of Assyria with them, when they first came to plant in Samaria, or that they first fell into it by conforming themselves to the speech of those Phœnician and Syrian nations who lived next them, and with whom they mostly conversed, or else had it from the mixture of those Jews who revolted to them with Manasseh, we have not light enough to determine. But however it came to pass, after it so happened, the vulgar no longer understood what was written in the Hebrew language. And therefore as the Jews, for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make Chaldee versions of the Scriptures, which they call the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases; so the Samaritans were forced, for the same reason, to do the same thing, and to make a version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar Samaritan, which is called the Samaritan version. And this Samaritan version, as well as the original Samaritan

1 Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. et lib. 13. c. 6.

2 De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 7. p. 669.

3 Waltoni, Prolegom. 9. ad Biblia Polyglotta, Lond. s. 10.

4 Morini Exercitatio prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum, c. 1.

5 Vide Waltonum et Morinum, *ibid.*

text, Morinus published together in the Polyglot above-mentioned. The Samaritan text he printed from Sancius Harley's copy, but the Samaritan version he had from Peter a Valle, a gentleman of Rome, who, having many years travelled over the east, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to Morinus. But that work being precipitated with too much haste, it had passed the press, before such other helps came to him from Perescius, Dr. Comber, dean of Carlisle, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein was afterward rectified in the London Polyglot, in which the Samaritan text, and the Samaritan version, and the Latin translation of both, are published together much more complete and correct than they were before. This Samaritan version is not made like the Chaldee among the Jews, by way of paraphrase, but by an exact rendering of the text word for word, for the most part, without any variation. So that Morinus thought one Latin translation might serve for both; and the London Polyglot hath followed the same method; only where there are any variations, they are marked at the bottom of the page.

As to the variations, additions, and transpositions, whereby the Samaritan copy differs from the Hebrew, they are all enumerated in Hottinger's book against Morinus, and in the collation made of both texts in the last volume of the London Polyglot. It is not so much to be wondered at, that there are these differences between these two copies, as that there should not have been many more, after those who had adhered to the one, and those who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of communication, but had constantly been in the bitterest variance possible with each other for above two thousand years; for so long had passed from the apostacy of Manasseh to the time when these copies were first brought into Europe. After the series of so many ages past, many differences might have happened by the errors of the transcribers; and the most that are between these two copies are of this sort. As to the rest, some are changes designedly made by the Samaritans for the better support of their cause against the Jews; of which sort one that is notoriously such will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are interpolations for the better explication of the text, added either from other parts of scripture, or else by way of paraphrase upon it, to express explicitly what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the first sort are, 1st, The addition which we find in the eighteenth chapter of Exodus, where, between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth verses, is inserted what we have from the ninth to the fourteenth verse of the first of Deuteronomy inclusively: and, 2dly, That which we find in the tenth of Numbers, where, between the tenth and eleventh verses, is inserted all that which we read in the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the first of Deuteronomy; both which insertions are wanting in the Hebrew. And of the other sort are what we find in Gen. iv. 8, and in Exodus xii. 40. In the first of these, after what is said in the Hebrew text, "And Cain spake (or said) to Abel his brother," the Samaritan text adds, "Let us go into the field;" and, in the latter, instead of these words in the Hebrew text, "Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years," the Samaritan text hath it, "Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years." Both these additions, it is manifest, mend the text, and make it more clear and intelligible, and seem to add nothing to the Hebrew copy but what must be understood by the reader to make out the sense thereof. As to the other variations, the most considerable of them are those which we find in the ages of the patriarchs before Abraham, in which the Samaritan computation comes nearer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew, though it differs from both. How these, or the transpositions of verses, or the other alterations and additions which are found in the Samaritan copy, and the differences which from thence arise between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, came about

many conjectures have been offered: but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better light to direct us herein than we can now have, I will trouble the reader with none of them; but shall add only this farther upon this head, that none of these differences can infer, that the Samaritan copy which we now have is not truly that which was anciently in use among them: for most, if not all of those passages which were quoted out of it above one thousand one hundred years since by those writers I have mentioned, as differing from or agreeing with the Hebrew text, and by some of them much earlier, are now to be found in the present Samaritan copies in the same words as quoted by them, and in the same manner differing from or agreeing with that text. There is an old copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch now shown at Shechem (or Naplous, as they call now it,) the head seat of that sect which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For¹ they tell us, that therein are written these words, "I Abishua, the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high-priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the thirteenth year of the children of Israel's entrance into the holy land." But Dr. Huntington, late bishop of Rapho in Ireland, having, while chaplain to the Turkey company at Aleppo, been at Shechem, and there examined this copy upon the spot, found no such words on the manuscript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the Samaritan did in ancient times absolutely reject all the other Scriptures besides the Pentateuch, some do doubt; because it is certain,² from the discourse of the woman of Samaria with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a Messiah that the Jews had; and this they say they could no where clearly have but from the prophets. And it cannot be denied, but that there is some force in this argument. Perchance, although they did read the Pentateuch only in their synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.

II. The second point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews anciently was, and still is, that the Samaritans reject all traditions, and adhere only to the written word itself, and in the observance of that they are acknowledged by the Jews themselves to be more exact than they are; and good reason is there for them so to say: for the Jews often make the law³ of none effect by their traditions; whereas the Samaritans always kept themselves strictly to the written word, and never admitted any such corrupt glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the Sadducees (for they all denied all traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the law only,) hence the Jews have taken a handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the Sadducees also, and⁴ denied with them the resurrection of the dead, which led⁵ Epiphanius and⁶ St. Gregory into the error of asserting this to be their opinion; whereas the resurrection of the dead hath always been a doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them as by the Jews themselves.

III. The third point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews, was about the place of their worship. The words of the woman of Samaria, in the Gospel of St. John, state this matter exactly right. For in her discourse with our Saviour, she saith to him, "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain: but ye (meaning the Jews) say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." The law given by Moses was, that they should perform all their sacrifices and oblations⁷ in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes to put his name there;⁸ and that place was Jerusalem. For⁹ there the temple, by the direction of God himself, was built, and⁹ there God conse-

¹ Waltoni Prolegom. 11. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. s. 17. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Moriniane, s. 37. Basnage's History of the Jews, book 2. c. 2. p. 81.

³ Matt. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

⁶ Moral. in Job, lib. 1. c. 15.

⁸ 1 Chron. xxii.

⁴ Iosephus, Albo, s. 31. serm. 4.

⁷ Deut. xii. 5. 11. 14. 18. 26. xv. 26. xvi. 2. 6. 7. 15. 16. &c.

⁹ 1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1-3.

² John iv. 25.

⁵ Heres. 9.

crated it by the habitation of his Divine presence therein, and there all the tribes of Israel that adhered to the true worship of God offered up their sacrifices, and there the temple was again rebuilt after the Babylonish captivity, and the same service there carried on in a unity and uniformity of worship by all that nation, till Manasseh made the schism that hath been mentioned, and, flying to Samaria, did there set up altar against altar, and temple against temple: for, after he had built that temple on Mount Gerizim, and therein erected an altar in opposition to that at Jerusalem, the Samaritans and apostate Jews who revolted to them would no longer allow Jerusalem to be the place which God had chosen; but contended, that Mount Gerizim was that place, and argued for it in the same manner as the woman of Samaria did unto our Saviour, that is, that their fathers worshipped in that mountain: for they plead, that there Abraham¹ and Jacob² built altars unto God, and, by their offering up of sacrifices on them, consecrated that place above all others to his worship; and that therefore it was appointed by God himself to be the hill³ of blessing, on the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt; and that accordingly Joshua, on his entering the land of Canaan, had caused the blessings of God to be declared thereon, and also that, on his having passed the River Jordan, he built an altar on it of twelve stones, taken out of that river in his passage,⁴ according as God had commanded by Moses: and this they hold to be the very altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain even to this day. But, to make out this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to Mount Gerizim, and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text: for whereas the command of God is (Deut. xxvii. 4,) that they should set up the altar upon Mount Ebal, they have there made a sacrilegious change in the text, and instead of Mount Ebal, have put Mount Gerizim, the better to serve their cause by it. This corruption the Jews loudly charge them with, and the Samaritans do as loudly retort it upon them; and say, that the Jews have corrupted the text in that place, by putting Mount Ebal in their copies, where it should be Mount Gerizim; and bring this argument for it, that Mount Gerizim having been the mountain that was appointed whereon to declare the blessings of God, and Mount Ebal whereon to denounce curses, the mountain of blessing was very proper, and the mountain of cursing very improper, for an altar of God to be built upon. But, notwithstanding this allegation in their behalf, all other copies and translations of the Pentateuch make against them, and prove the corruption to be on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the Scriptures in this place, but have also interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is, in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, where,⁵ after the tenth commandment, they have subjoined by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of the eleventh and twenty-seventh chapters of Deuteronomy to command the erecting of the altar in Mount Gerizim, instead of Mount Ebal, and the offering of sacrifices to God in that place. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of design to serve an ill cause: this gives the less authority to their copy in all other places, where, either by alterations or additions, it differs from that of the Jews.

These two mountains, called Gerizim and Ebal, are in the tribe of Ephraim, near Samaria; and in the valley between them lieth Shechem, now called

¹ Gen. xii. 6, 7. xiii. 4.

² Gen. xxxiii. 20.

³ Deut. xxvii. 12.

⁴ Ibid. 2-7.

⁵ The words added by the Samaritans after the tenth commandment, in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, are as follow:—"And it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up great stones, and plaster them with plaster, and thou shalt write upon these stones all the words of this law. And it shall be, when ye are gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones. Thou shalt not lift up an iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones. And thou shalt there offer burnt-offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This mountain is on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, besides the plains of Moreh, which are over against Shechem

Naplous, which hath been the head seat of the Samaritan sect ever since Alexander expelled them out of Samaria for the death of Andromachus. This place the Jews, in our Saviour's time, by way of reproach, called Sichar; and therefore, we have it so named in St. John's Gospel.¹ It signifieth a drunken city; and the prophet Isaiah having called the Ephraimites (whose dwelling was in those parts) Siccorim,² *i. e.* drunkards, they have this text on their side for the justifying of that name. Near this place was the field which Jacob bought of the children of Hamor,³ and gave unto Joseph his son a little before his death. Therein Joseph's bones were buried, when brought up out of the land of Egypt;⁴ and within the same plot of ground was the well, called Jacob's well,⁵ at which our Saviour sat down, when he discoursed with the woman of Samaria. But, after all the contest that is made between the Samaritans and the Jews about these two mountains,⁶ Jerome is positive, that neither of them were the Gerizim and Ebal of the holy scriptures, but the two mountains so called in them, and on which the blessings and the cursings were proclaimed by the children of Israel, on their first passing over Jordan into the land of Canaan, were two small mountains or hills lying near Jericho, at a great distance from Shechem. And Epiphanius was of the same opinion with Jerome in this matter: and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the best able to pass a true judgment about it. Their arguments for it are, 1st, That the scriptures place these two mountains over against that part of the River Jordan where the children of Israel passed into the land of Canaan, and near Gilgal; but Shechem is at a great distance from both; and, 2dly, That the mountains near Shechem, called Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, are at too great a distance from each other for the people from either of them to hear either the blessings or the cursings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwise as to the hills near Jericho, which they conceive to be the hills by the names of Gerizim and Ebal meant in scripture. But that hill from which Jotham the son of Gideon made his speech to the Shechemites being called 'Gerizim,'⁷ and that certainly lying just over them (for otherwise they could not have heard him from thence,) this clearly makes against this opinion, and evidently prove the Mount Gerizim of the holy scriptures to be that very Mount Gerizim on which the temple of the Samaritans was built.

The Jews accuse the Samaritans of two pieces of idolatry,⁸ which they say were committed by them in this place. The first, that they there worshipped the image of a dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain teraphim, or idol gods, there hid under that mountain. For the first charge, they took the handle from the idolatry of the Assyrians: for that people having worshipped one of their deities (Semiramis, saith Diodorus Siculus)⁹ under the image of a dove, they reproached the Samaritans as worshippers of the like image, because descended from them; and perchance they were so while they worshipped their other gods with the God of Israel, but never afterward. And as to the second charge, it is true, Jacob having found out that Rachel had stolen her father's teraphim, or idol gods, took them from her, and buried them under the oak in Shechem,¹⁰ which they suppose to have been at the foot of the mountain Gerizim; and from hence, because the Samaritans worshipped in that mountain, the Jews suggest, that they worshipped there for the sake of these idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both these charges were malicious calumnies, falsely imputed to them: for, after the time that Manasseh brought the law of Moses among them, and instructed them in it, the Samaritans became as zealous worshippers of the true God, and as great abhorers of all manner of idolatry, as the most rigorous of the Jews themselves, and so continue even to this day.

1 John iv. 5.

2 Isa. xlviii. 1.

3 Gen. xxiii. 19.

4 Josh. xxiv. 32.

5 John iv. 6.

6 V. l. caligari Animadversiones in Eusebii Chron. sub Numero 1681.

7 Judges ix. 7.

8 Talmud in Tractatu Cholin. vide etiam Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. s. 7. et Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianas, s. 16, 17.

9 Lib. 2. p. 66. 76.

10 Gen. xxxv. 2-4.

3 Gen. xxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. Josh. xxiv. 32.

And with this last act of Nehemiah's reformation, and the expulsion of those refractory Jews that would not conform to it, not only the first period of Daniel's seventy weeks, but also the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, ending, I shall here also end this book; and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next

BOOK VII.

An. 408. Dar. Nothus 16.]—Thus far we have had the light of scripture to follow. Henceforth the books of the Maccabees, Philo-Judæus, Josephus, and the Greek and Latin writers, are the only guides which we can have to lead us through the future series of this history, till we come to the times of the gospel of Jesus Christ. How long after this Nehemiah lived at Jerusalem is uncertain; it is most likely, that he continued in his government to the time of his death; but when that happened is no where said: only it may be observed, that at the time where he ends his book, he could not be much less than seventy years old. After him, there seems not to have been any more governors of Judea; but that this country, being added to the prefecture of Syria, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the governor of that province, and that under him the high-priest had the trust of regulating all affairs therein.

While Darius was making war against the Egyptians and the Arabians, the Medes¹ revolted from him; but, being vanquished in battle, they were soon forced again to return to their former allegiance, and for the punishment of their rebellion, submit to a heavier yoke of subjection than they had on them before; as is always the case of revolting subjects when reduced again under the power against which they rebelled.

An. 407. Dar. Nothus 17.]—And, the next year after, Darius seems to have had as good success against the Egyptians: for Amyrtæus being dead (perchance slain in battle,) Herodotus tells us,² his son Pausiris succeeded him in the kingdom, by the favour of the Persians; which argues that, before they granted him this, they had reduced Egypt again under them, otherwise Pausiris could not have been made king of it by their favour.

Darius having thus settled his affairs in Media and Egypt,³ sent Cyrus his younger son to be commander-in-chief of all the provinces of Lesser Asia, giving him authority paramount over all the lieutenants and governors before placed in them. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so large an authority: for having been born after his father's accession to the throne, he could not have been now above sixteen years old. But, being the darling and best-beloved son of Parysatis, who had an absolute ascendant over the old king, her husband, she obtained this commission for him, with an intention, no doubt, to put him into a capacity of contending for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and disturbance of the whole Persian empire, as will be hereafter related.

On his receiving his commission,⁴ he had this chiefly given him in charge by his father, that he should help the Lacedemonians against the Athenians, contrary to the wise measures hitherto observed by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of the Persian provinces in those parts. For their practice hitherto had been, sometimes by helping the one side, and sometimes by helping the other, so to balance the matter between both parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harass and weaken each other by carrying on the war, and neither be at leisure to disturb the Persian empire.

¹ Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Herodot. lib. 9.

² Lib. 3.

³ Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 1. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe, et Lysandro. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 5. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 368.

⁴ Xenoph. ibid. Diodor. Sic. ibid. Thucydides, lib. 2. Justin. ibid. Plutarchus in Lysandro

This order of the king's for a contrary practice soon discovered the weakness of his politics: for the Lacedemonians having, by the help which Cyrus gave them, according to his father's instructions, soon overpowered the Athenians, and gained an absolute conquest over them, they were no sooner at leisure from this war, but they sent first Thimbro, and after him Dercilidas, and at last Agesilaus their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia; where they did the Persians a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole empire, but that the Persians by distributing vast sums of money among the Grecian cities, and the demagogues that governed them, found means to rekindle the war again in Greece; which necessitated the Lacedemonians to recall their forces for their own defence, just when they were going to march into the heart of that empire, and there strike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in neighbouring states to break the balance of power which is between them, so as to put any of them into a capacity of oppressing and overpowering the rest. And this instance also shows that it is no new thing for the managers of public affairs, to barter away their national interest for their private gain, and sell it for money, even to those whom they have most reason always to hate, and always to be aware of.

An. 405. Dar. Nothus 19.—Cyrus, at Sardis,¹ having put to death two noble Persians, who were sons to a sister of Darius, for no other reason, but that they did not, on their meeting of him, wrap up their hands within their sleeves, as was used to be done among the Persians on their meeting of the king: Darius, on complaint made hereof by the parents of the slain, was grievously offended, not only for the death of his two nephews, but also for the presumption of his son in challenging to himself the honour which was due only to the king; and, therefore, not thinking it fit any longer to trust him with that government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was sick, and therefore desired to see him. But, before Cyrus did put himself upon this journey,² he ordered such large subsidies to Lysander, general of the Lacedemonians, as enabled him to pay his fleet, and strengthen it so far, as to put it in that condition, by virtue whereof he gained that memorable victory over the Athenians at the Goats' River in the Hellespont, whereby he absolutely overthrew the Athenian state. For, after this, they being no longer able to defend themselves, he took from them all their cities in Asia, and having besieged Athens itself, forced them to a surrender, on the very hard conditions of dismantling their city, and giving up their fleet; which did put an end to the Athenian power; and vested the government of Greece wholly in the Lacedemonians, after they and the Athenians had contended for it in a very bitter war full twenty-seven years. This was called the Peloponnesian war; and is made very famous by the excellent accounts which are written of it by Thucydides and Xenophon, two of the best historians Greece ever had, their writings having ennobled it in the same manner as Homer's did the war of Troy.

About the time of the ending of this war died Darius Nothus, king of Persia,³ after he had reigned nineteen years. Before his death Cyrus was come to him, and his mother Parysatis the queen, to whom he was the best beloved of all her children, not being content to have made his peace with his father, whom he had greatly offended by his mal-administration in his government, pressed hard upon the old king to have him declared the heir of his crown, upon the same pretence whereby Xerxes had obtained the preference before his elder brothers in the time of Darius Hystaspes, that is, that he was born after his father came to the crown, and the other before. But Darius refusing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to Cyrus only the government of those provinces which he had before, and left his crown to Arsaces his eldest son by the same Parysatis, who, on his ascending the throne, took the name of Artax-

¹ Xenophon Hellenicorum, lib. 2.

² Plutarchus in Lysandro. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. 13.

³ Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Justin. lib. 5. c. 8. 11. Ctesias.

erxes, and is the same to whom the Greeks, for his extraordinary memory, gave the name of Mnemon; *i. e.* the rememberer. When his father lay dying, and he was attending on him at his bed-side, he desired to be instructed by him, by what art it was that he had so happily managed the government, and so long preserved himself in it, to the end that he, by following the same rule, might attain the same success; to which he had this memorable answer given him by the dying king,¹ "That it was by doing in all things that which was just both toward God and man:" a saying worthy to be written up in letters of gold in the palaces of princes, that, having it constantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

An. 404. Artax. 1.]—Cyrus,² being discovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of Artaxerxes in the temple at Pasargada, when he was to come thither, according to the ancient custom; to be inaugurated king, was taken into custody for the treason, and ordered to be put to death for it. But his mother Parysatis was so importunate with Artaxerxes for the saving of his life, that at length, by her means, he obtained his pardon, and was sent again into Lesser Asia, unto the government left him by his father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and also his resentments for the danger of his life which he was put into, he took such courses for the gratifying of these passions, which soon made his brother repent of his clemency toward him.

As soon as Artaxerxes was settled in the throne,³ Statira his queen, who, for her great beauty, was very much beloved by him, made use of her power with him to be revenged on Udiastes for the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. The whole matter had its rise in the reign of Darius, and was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which caused great disturbances in the royal family, and ended very tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The father of Statira was Hidarnes, a noble Persian, governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, the king's eldest son; then called Arsaces, falling in love with her, took her to wife, and Teriteuchmes, her brother, about the same time, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister of Arsaces; by reason of which marriage, on the death of his father, he succeeded him in his government. But having a sister named Roxana, of as great beauty as Statira, and excellently skilled in archery, and the throwing of the dart, he fell desperately in love with her, and, that he might with the greater freedom have the enjoyment of his lust upon her, he resolved to make away with Hamestris, and rebel against the king. Of which wicked designs Darius having notice, engaged Udiastes, a chief confidant of Teriteuchmes, by great rewards and greater promises, to endeavour to prevent both by cutting off Teriteuchmes. This Udiastes, to earn the rewards, readily undertook, and, falling upon Teriteuchmes, slew him, and thereon had the government of his province conferred on him for his reward. Mithridates, the son of Udiastes, being one of Teriteuchmes' guard, and engaged much in friendship and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it, and, in abhorrence of what was done, seized the city Zaris, and there, declaring for the son of Teriteuchmes, rebelled against the king. But Darius having soon mastered this revolt, and shut up Mithridates within his fortress, got all the family of Hidarnes, excepting the son of Teriteuchmes, whom Mithridates protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of Parysatis, to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage of her daughter; who having caused Roxana in the first place to be sawn in two, who was the chief cause of all the mischief, ordered all the rest to be put to death; only, at the earnest entreaty and importunate tears of Arsaces, she spared Statira his beloved wife, contrary to the sentiments of Darius, who told her, that she would afterward have reason to repent of it; and so accordingly it happened. Thus

¹ Athenæus, lib. 12.

² Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon. de Expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Justin. lib. 5. c. 11. Ctesias.

³ Ctesias.

this matter stood at the death of Darius: but Arsaces was no sooner settled on the throne, but Statira prevailed with him to have Udiastes delivered into her hands; whereon she commanded his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her family, and made Mithridates, his son, for the affection which he expressed to it, governor of the province in his stead. But Parysatis, bitterly resenting this fact, in revenge hereof, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long after Statira herself, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us instances of the bitterness of woman's revenge, and also of the exorbitant liberties which such are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedness, who, being put above all restraint of laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleasure to govern themselves by.

An. 403. Artax. 2.—Cyrus, designing a war against his brother,¹ employed Clearchus, a Lacedemonian captain, to raise an army of Greeks for his service, which he listed with a pretence of making war with the Thracians; but they being maintained by Cyrus's money, were kept on foot for the executing of those designs which he was forming against the king. Alcibiades the Athenian,² finding out the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of Pharnabazus, with purpose to go to the Persian court, there to make known to Artaxerxes what was brewing against him. But those who were the partisans of the Lacedemonians at Athens, fearing the great genius of that man, did let them know, that their affairs could not long stand unless he were cut off; whereon they sent to Pharnabazus to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they desired; and in his death the Athenians lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily again recovering by him their former state: for had he got to the Persian court, he would so far have merited the favour of Artaxerxes by the discovery which he intended to make unto him, as, no doubt, he would have gotten his assistance for the restoration of his country, and, with that assistance, a person of his valour, and other great abilities, would have turned the scales, and again set the Athenians as high as ever, and brought the Lacedemonians as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which, the Lacedemonians took the course of having him cut off in the manner as I have mentioned.

An. 402. Artax. 3.—The cities that were under the government of Tissaphernes revolting from him to Cyrus, this produced war between them;³ and Cyrus, under the pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, went more openly to work in getting forces together; and, to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the king against Tissaphernes, and prayed in the humblest manner his favour and protection against him: by which Artaxerxes being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making were against Tissaphernes only, and, not being at all displeased that they should be at variance with each other, took no farther care of the matter, but permitted his brother to go on still to raise more forces, till at length he had got an army on foot, sufficient to put his designs in execution, for the dethroning of him, and the setting up of himself in his stead. And since he had helped the Lacedemonians against the Athenians, and thereby put them into a capacity of gaining those victories over them, whereby they had made themselves masters of Greece, in confidence of the friendship which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his designs unto them, and asked their assistance for the accomplishing of them; which they readily granted, and ordered their fleet to join that under Tamus, Cyrus's admiral, and obey such orders as that prince should give them. But this they did without declaring any thing against Artaxerxes, or pretending to know at all of the designs which Cyrus was carrying on against him. With this caution they thought fit to act while the event of

¹ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

² Plutarchus in Alcibiade. Diodor. Sic. et Xenophon, ibid. Corn. Nepos in Alcibiade.

³ Plutarchus, Xenophon et Diodor. ibid.

the war was uncertain, that, in case Artaxerxes gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his resentments for it.

An. 401. Artax. 4.]—At length Cyrus, having raised all those forces which he thought sufficient for his designs, and mustered them all together,¹ he marched with them directly against his brother. He was followed in this expedition by thirteen thousand Greeks, under the command of Clearchus (which were the flower and main strength of his army,) and by a hundred thousand of other forces, raised from among the barbarians. Artaxerxes, having notice of this from Tissaphernes, who posted to the Persian court to give him information of it, prepared to meet him with a numerous army. Cyrus's greatest difficulty was to pass the Straits of Cilicia, where Siennesis, king of that country, was making ready to stop his progress; and would certainly have effected it, but that Tamus, and the Lacedemonians with their fleet, coming upon the coasts of that country, diverted him to defend his own territories; for a small guard in those narrow passes might be sufficient to impede the march of the greatest army. But after Cyrus had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any farther difficulty or obstruction, till he came to the plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, where Artaxerxes meeting him with an army of nine hundred thousand men, it there came to a decisive battle between them; in which Cyrus, rashly venturing his person too far in the heat of the battle, was unfortunately slain, after his auxiliary Greeks had in a manner gotten the victory for him. This put those Greeks into a great distress; for they were now at a great distance from their own homes, in the heart of the Persian empire, and there surrounded with the numerous forces of a conquering army, and had no way to return again into Greece, but by breaking through them, and forcing their retreat through a vast tract of their enemies' country, which lay between them and home. But their valour and resolutions mastered all these difficulties; for the next day after, having, on consultation together, resolved to attempt their return by the way of Paphlagonia, they immediately set themselves on their march, and, in spite of all oppositions from a numerous army of Persians, which coasted them all the way, made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, all the way through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the Grecian cities on the Euxine Sea, which was the longest and most memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's country. Clearchus first commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, it was afterward conducted chiefly by Xenophon, to whose valour and wisdom it was principally owing that they at length got safely again into Greece. The same Xenophon having written a large account of this expedition, the preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the Greeks from the place of battle after it was lost, and that book being still extant, and published in the English language, I need say no more, than refer the reader to it, for a fuller history of all this matter.

Psammitichus,² who was descended from the ancient Psammitichus that was king of Egypt some ages before, and of whom I have spoken in the first book of this history, reigned over the Egyptians after Pausiris. To him fled Tamus, Cyrus's admiral; for, after the death of that prince, Tissaphernes being sent down into his former government, with an enlargement of power (as having, in reward of the great service which he had done the king in the late war, the same command given him in those parts that Cyrus had,) all the governors of those cities and districts, within the verge of his authority, who had espoused the interest of Cyrus, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, sent their agents to make their peace with him on the best terms they could. Only Tamus, who was the most powerful of them, took another course. He was, by birth, an Egyptian, of the city of Memphis, and, being a person of

¹ Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 5. c. 11.
² Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

great valour, and of great skill in maritime affairs, he was first employed by Tissaphernes in the Persian fleet, and afterward, under Cyrus, became chief commander of it, and also governor of Iona; by which means having amassed great wealth, instead of courting the favour of Tissaphernes, or at all trusting to his clemency, he put his wife, children, and servants, with all else that he had, on board his ships, and made his retreat into his own country, much confiding in the friendship of Psammitichus, which he had merited by many good offices that he had done him while he served the Persians. But the perfidious man, having no regard to former obligations, or the common laws either of humanity or hospitality, as soon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the sake of them, instead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an enemy; and, having slain him, with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only Gaus, one of his sons, staying behind him in Asia, escaped this massacre, and afterward became admiral of the Persian fleet in the Cyprian war; all the rest were barbarously murdered for the sake of what they had. Such horrid wickedness doth the greedy desire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But Providence, no doubt, suffered it not to go unpunished, though we have no account of it: this barbarous murder being the only act that history hath recorded of this prince.

Statira being very troublesome to Parysatis her mother-in-law, in expressing her resentments and reproaches for the countenance which she gave unto Cyrus her younger son against King Artaxerxes, to be revenged for this and other grudges formerly conceived against her,¹ she caused her to be poisoned; which was effected by this stratagem: They supping both together, and a certain bird being served up at table, which was a great rarity among the Persians, it was divided between her and her daughter-in-law by a knife poisoned on one side only; that part which was cut off on the unpoisoned side of the knife was given to Parysatis; and she having eaten it, this encouraged Statira, without any suspicion, to eat the other part which was cut off on the poisoned side of the knife; and she died of it within a few hours after. The loss of this his much-beloved wife greatly afflicted Artaxerxes: and therefore afterward, full discovery having been made how it came to pass, he banished his mother to Babylon for it, and for some years after never saw her; but at length, time having mollified his grief and resentments, he permitted her again to return to court, and from that time she made it her chief business to humour him in every thing, right or wrong, and no more crossed him in any thing whatsoever it was that he had an inclination to do; and by this means she regained her interest with him, and held it to her death. She was a most crafty woman, and of great understanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedness, as what is above related of her doth sufficiently show.

An. 400. Artax. 5.]—Tissaphernes being settled in his government, and with that enlargement of power which I have mentioned,² he began to set hard upon the Grecian cities in those parts; whereon they sent to the Lacedemonians to pray their protection against him; and they being now freed from that long war which they had with the Athenians, gladly laid hold of this occasion of again breaking with the Persians, and sent Timbro into those parts with an army against them; which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces to it which Xenophon brought back from Persia, and such others as were raised out of the Grecian cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it against Tissaphernes, and wore out the time of his government in several military actions in that country, in which he had some few, but not any great successes.

An. 399. Artax. 6.]—But he having kept very bad discipline in his army³ and permitted his soldiers to make great depredations on the allies, complain was made hereof to the Lacedemonians; whereon they sent Dercyllidas to take

¹ Ctesias. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

³ Xenophon et Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

² Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

charge of that war in his stead, who being an able general, as well as a most excellent engineer (which last he was more particularly famous for,) he managed it with better order, and much better success; and Thimbro being called home to answer for what he was accused of, and convicted of it, was sent into banishment for the punishment of his crime.

Dercyllidas, after he had entered on his charge,¹ finding that he was not strong enough to wage war with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus both together, resolved to agree with the one of them, that thereby he might be the better enabled to encounter the other; and therefore, having, according to this scheme, made peace with Tissaphernes, he marched against Pharnabazus with all his forces, and took from him all Æolis, and dispossessed him of several cities besides in those parts; whereon Pharnabazus, fearing that he might invade Phrygia also, where was the chief seat of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, to be secured from his farther insults.

About this time Conon,² by the means of Ctesias, the Cnidian, who was chief physician to Artaxerxes, procured peace from that king for Euagoras of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus. This Euagoras having expelled Abdymon, the Citian, out of that city, where he was governor for the Persian king, set himself up in his stead, and reigned there as king of that place many years. Conon having been one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of the Goats' River, as soon as he saw all was there brought to a desperate point,³ made his escape with nine of the Athenian ships; and, having sent one of them to Athens, to acquaint his citizens with the ill fate of the battle, fled with the rest to this Euagoras, with whom he had contracted a former friendship, and there continuing with him, made use of the interest which he had with the said Ctesias at the Persian court, to do his friend this good office. For Ctesias being chief physician to Artaxerxes (as I have already said,) was much in his favour, and had a great interest with him. He was at first physician to Cyrus his brother,⁴ and followed him to the battle, in which he was slain; where, being taken prisoner, he was made use of to cure Artaxerxes of the wounds received by him in that battle; in which having well succeeded, he was retained as chief physician in ordinary to that king, and lived with him in that quality seventeen years. While he resided at this court, having well informed himself in the histories of those countries, he wrote them in twenty-three books.⁵ The six first of them contained an account of the empire of the Assyrians and Babylonians, from the time of Ninus and Semiramis to that of Cyrus;⁶ the other seventeen were of the affairs of Persia, from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus to the third year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, which was coincident with the year before Christ 398, the very next immediately following after this of which I now write. For here Diodorus Siculus tells us it ended.⁷ And he wrote also a history of India. Out of both these Photius hath written extracts; and these are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often contradicts Herodotus,⁸ and in some things also differs from Xenophon. We find but a poor character of him among the ancients, they generally speaking of him as a fabulous writer;⁹ yet Diodorus Siculus and Trogus Pompeius take most of that from him which they have written of the Assyrian affairs: for he having professed,¹⁰ that all which he wrote was taken out of the royal records of Persia, in which all transactions were, according to a law there ordained for this purpose, faithfully registered, this imposed on many to give him more credit than he deserved. For that there were such royal records in Per-

¹ Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Ctesias. Theopompus in Excerptis Photii, N. 176.

³ Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Plutarchus in Lysandro. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Isocrates in Euagora.

⁴ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.

⁵ Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. Photius, Cod. 92. Suidas in Κτησις.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. et lib. 14. p. 421.

⁷ Lib. 14. p. 421.

⁸ Aristoteles in Hist. Animalium, lib. 8. c. 23. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

⁹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.

¹⁰ Photius, *ibid.*

asia, in which all the affairs and transactions of the government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known; and the books of Ezra and Esther give us a testimony of them.¹ And his appealing to those records for the truth of what he wrote, was the readiest way he could take to gain authority thereto. While he lived in the Persian court, he was employed by the Grecians, as their common solicitor, in most of their businesses which they had there depending; and in this quality Conon made use of him in the affair I have mentioned.

This year the Athenians put Socrates to death for contemning their gods.² He was the father of the moral philosophy of the Greeks, and a very excellent person; but finding the theology of his countrymen too gross for a wise man to follow, he endeavoured to reform it among his scholars; for which being accused, as one that believed not in the gods that the city believed, and corrupted the youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed, being then full seventy years old. But afterward the Athenians repenting of it, did put all to death that had a hand in the prosecution that was made against him.

Dercyllidas, having made the truce with Pharnabazus that is above-mentioned, marched into Bithynia,³ and there took up his winter quarters. While he was there, messengers came to him from Lacedemon, to let him know, that his command was continued for another year; and by them he was also acquainted, that it had been desired by the Grecian cities in the Thracian Chersonesus, that the isthmus of that peninsula might be fortified with a wall, to secure them from the Thracian freebooters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their lands waste, so that they were discouraged from manuring them.

An. 398. Artax. 7.—And therefore having, the next spring, again made a truce with Pharnabazus,⁴ he marched with his army into the Chersonesus or peninsula above-mentioned, and there built the wall which was desired; within which he included eleven Grecian cities; whereby they being secured from all farther ravages of the barbarians; thenceforth safely manured their lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them. On his return into Ionia, after this work was finished, he found that a company of banditti, having fortified the city of Atarna against him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining countries; this necessitated him to sit down in a formal siege before it, which cost him eight months' time before he could reduce it.

Pharnabazus, after this second truce with Dercyllidas,⁵ made a journey to the Persian court, and there accused Tissaphernes to the king, for the peace which he had made with Dercyllidas; blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joined with him, for the driving of those Grecians out of Asia, he had scandalously bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the king's expense, and to the great damage of his affairs. This, no doubt, contributed much to the creating of that suspicion in the king of that great commander of his; which being afterward increased by other causes, at length made him resolve on his ruin. And at the same time consultation being had how the mischiefs which the king suffered from this invasion of the Lacedemonians might be best remedied, Pharnabazus earnestly pressed him forthwith to equip a great fleet, and make Conon, the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ablest commander of his time for a sea war, telling him, that hereby he would make himself master of the seas, and that this would put him in a condition to obstruct the passages of all farther recruits from the Lacedemonians into Asia, which would soon put an end to their power in those parts. And Euagoras, the Cyprian, having at the same time made the same proposal, and offered his assistance in it, Artaxerxes was prevailed upon, by their concurrent advice, to resolve upon what they pro-

¹ Ezra iv. 15. Esther vi. 1.

² Diogenes Laertius in Socrate. Plato in Apologia pro Socrate et in Phaedone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 4. Strabo's History of Philosophy, part 3.

³ Xenophon Hell. lib. 3.

⁴ Ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

⁵ Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 417. Justin. lib. 6. c. 1. Pausanias in Attica. Isocrates in Euagora et in Epistola ad Philippum.

posed; and therefore, having delivered to Pharnabazus five hundred talents out of his treasury, he sent him with orders to get ready such a fleet as he had advised, and to make Conon the admiral of it. And accordingly Conon had his commission, and all hands were set to work on the coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make ready the fleet that was to be put under his command.

An. 397. Artax. 8.]—Dercyllidas, after he had reduced Atarna, and set a strong garrison therein,¹ marched into Caria, where Tissaphernes had the chief seat of his residence. For the Lacedemonians being made believe, that in case he were attacked there, he would, for the saving of that province, yield to all their demands, they sent special orders to Dercyllidas for the making of this expedition, wherein he had liked to have lost all his army; for Pharnabazus having joined Tissaphernes, they marched both after him with a great army, and soon had him at such an advantage, that, had they made use of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces to pieces. Pharnabazus was very earnest for making the assault; but Tissaphernes, having experienced the extraordinary valour of the Grecian troops that followed Cyrus to the battle of Cunaxa, dreaded all Grecians in arms ever since, thinking all of that nation to be of the same valour and resolution with those which he had encountered with at that battle, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but, instead of making use of the opportunity which he had in his hands, of absolutely destroying them, sent heralds to Dercyllidas, to invite him to a parley; in which proposals of peace having been offered on both sides, time was given for each to consult their principals, and in the interim a truce was agreed on between them. And thus Dercyllidas escaped ruin only by the cowardice of his enemy, when there was nothing else that could have delivered him from it.

An. 396. Artax. 9.]—One Herod,² a Syracusian, being in Phœnicia, and seeing a great many ships there anew building, and learning that a great many more were preparing on all the coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make up a fleet of some extraordinary expedition, and supposing it could be only against the Greeks, he went on board the first ship he could meet with that was bound for Greece, and hastening to Lacedemon, informed the Lacedemonians of what was doing in those parts; at which news they being terrified and much confounded, as not knowing what course to take for the preventing of the mischief that was coming upon them, Lysander proposed to them the sending Agesilaus, who was one of their kings, into Asia, that, by making a strong assault there, he might divert the storm, wherever else it was intended. Which advice being approved of,³ Agesilaus was accordingly sent with a great augmentation of forces into Asia, there to take upon him the command which Dercyllidas then had, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigour he could in those parts; and Lysander, with several others of the principal Lacedemonians, to the number of thirty in all, were sent with him, to assist him with their counsel in this expedition. And this whole matter was despatched with that speed and secrecy, that Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obstruct him, he took the field, as soon as he arrived, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and bore all before him wherever he went. Whereon Tissaphernes sending to him, to know for what end he came thither, Agesilaus answered, that it was to restore the Grecian cities in Asia to their liberty: hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, Tissaphernes prayed a truce, till he should send to the king, and receive his instructions what to do herein. And accordingly a truce was agreed and sworn to on both sides. But Tissaphernes, having little regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce, than to send to the king for more forces; and to gain

¹ Diodorus Sic. lib. 14. p. 417. Xenophon Hellen. lib. 3.

² Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Agesilao.

³ Plutarchus in Agesilao et Lysandro. Corn. Nepos in Agesilao. Pausanias in Laconicis. Justin. lib. 6 c. 2. Xenophon, *ibid.*

a respite till they should arrive, was all that he intended by it. For as soon as those auxiliaries were joined him, he sent to Agesilaus, to denounce war against him, unless he immediately left the country; at which the Lacedemonians and confederates then present were very much concerned, as fearing that the forces of Tissaphernes, now augmented with his new auxiliaries, might be too much superior to be withstood by theirs, who scarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But Agesilaus, not being at all moved or dismayed thereat, with a pleasant countenance bid the ambassadors, who came with the message, tell Tissaphernes, that he was very much beholden to him, in that, by his perjury, he had made the gods enemies to himself, and friends to the Grecians. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade Caria; but as soon as he understood that he had thereby drawn all the Persian forces into that province, to defend it against him, he turned short, and marched directly into Phrygia, a province of the government of Pharnabazus, and where he had the chief seat of his residence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a posture to resist him; and therefore overrun a great part of the province without any opposition, till he came to Dascylium, the place of Pharnabazus's usual abode, where some of his horse meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the sea-coast into Ionia, carried with him vast spoils gotten in this expedition, and wintered at Ephesus.

An. 395. Artax. 10.]—Nephereus succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt,¹ the Lacedemonians sent to him to solicit his aid in their war against the Persians; who thereon presented him with one hundred galleys for their sea war, and six hundred thousand bushels of corn for the subsistence of their forces. At this time Pharax, admiral of the Lacedemonians, held the mastery of the seas, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, who hearing at Rhodes, where he put in, that Conon was with forty ships at Caunus, a city of Caria, set sail thither and besieged him in that place. But an army of Persians coming to his succour, Pharax was forced to raise the siege with disadvantage, and return again to Rhodes; whereon Conon, having augmented his fleet to the number of eighty sail, took the seas, and sailed to Doric Chersonesus: but he had not long been there, before he was recalled by the Rhodians; for they, being weary of the Lacedemonians, for some disorders and insolences there committed, drove them thence, and sent for Conon to protect them, and received him with all his fleet into their harbour. While he was there, the ships, which were carrying Nephereus's gift of corn to the Lacedemonians, put in at Rhodes, not knowing of the change of the party which had been there lately made; whereon Conon having seized them all, plentifully furnished both his fleet, and also that city, with the freight they were loaded with. After this, he was reinforced with ninety other ships, which came to him from Phœnicia and Cilicia, whereby he was made much superior to the Lacedemonians, and strong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the mutiny of his soldiers, occasioned for their want of pay, which they, whom the king had intrusted with the care of this matter, fraudulently detained from them.

In the interim,² Agesilaus, coming out of his winter quarters, prepared to invade the Persians in the strongest part of the country which they were possessed of in those parts, and accordingly gave out his orders for his march toward Sardis. Tissaphernes, thinking that this was intended only to deceive him with another feint, like that of the last year, took it that now he really intend for Caria, because he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that province to defend it against him. But Agesilaus, now truly acting as he had given out, led his army in Lydia. Tissaphernes hereon recalled his forces from their former rout. But Caria being a very rugged country, and unfit for horse, he had gone thither only with his foot, leaving his horse behind upon

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438. Justin. lib. 6. c. 2. Orosius, lib. 3.

² Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 439. Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Agesilao.

the borders of that country; and therefore, on their marching back to the relief of Lydia, the horse being much before the foot, Agesilaus took the advantage of falling upon the former, before the latter could come up to their assistance; and thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the Persian camp, he became absolute master of the field; and, having thereon overrun all the country, brought back from thence vast spoils, with which he enriched both himself and all his army.

The loss of this battle¹ very much incensed the king against Tissaphernes, and augmented the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other designs than truly were for his master's interest: and Conon coming at this time to the Persian court, much heightened the king's displeasure, by farther accusations which he there brought against him. For the depriving the soldiers of their pay on board Conon's fleet disabling him from the doing the king any service, and he having often in vain wrote to the court of it,² at length being encouraged thereto by Pharnabazus, and having a commission from him for this purpose, he went himself to the Persian court then at Babylon, and, by means of Tithraustes, captain of the guard, so represented the matter to the king, as procured full redress; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiss in this matter resting on Tissaphernes, this completed his ruin. For the king forthwith sent Tithraustes into the maritime provinces of the Lower Asia,³ with orders to put Tissaphernes to death, and succeed him in his government; which he accordingly executed, and sent his head to the king; of which he made a very acceptable present to his mother, who could never pardon him for the assistance he gave the king against Cyrus her most beloved son. But this very consideration ought to have moved Artaxerxes not to have dealt thus with him, since to that assistance he owed both his life and his crown. But no merit can be sufficient to secure any one, either in his life or fortunes, where arbitrary will and pleasure reign without control, and princes are at a full loose to execute whatsoever their groundless suspicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild caprices, may prompt them to.

As soon as Tissaphernes was cut off,⁴ Tithraustes sent to Agesilaus, that the king having inflicted due punishment upon him that was the cause of the war, he ought to be content with it, and return home, promising, on this condition, to grant full liberty to the Grecian cities in Asia to live according to their own laws, they paying their usual tribute to the king, which was all the Lacedemonians desired when they first began the war. But Agesilaus, thirsting after greater conquests, would not hearken hereto; but, to put off the matter, referred him to the magistrates of Lacedemon, telling him, he could do nothing herein without them. However, for the price of thirty talents paid him by Tithraustes, the storm was diverted from his provinces, and Agesilaus ordered his army to prepare for a march into Phrygia.

But, while he was making ready for this war,⁵ a new commission came to him from Lacedemon, whereby he was made generalissimo, of their fleet, as well as of their armies, and had all their forces in Asia, both by sea and land, put under his command, that, by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater uniformity, for the good of the state. This drew him down to the sea-coast, to take care of the fleet; which, having put in good order, he made Pisander, his wife's brother, admiral of it, and sent it to sea under his command. And in this, it is certain, he was more influenced by private affection to his brother-in-law, or some other by-end of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the public good of the state: for although Pisander were a man of valour and great courage, yet he was, in other respects, no way adequate to that trust, as the event afterward sufficiently proved.

¹ Diodor. *ibid.* Plutarch. in Artaxerxe et Agesilao. Xenophon, *ibid.*

² Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Justin. lib. 6. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438, 439.

³ Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. *ibid.* Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 7. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe et Agesilao

⁴ Xenophon, *ibid.* Plutarchus in Agesilao.

⁵ Pausanias in Laconicis. Xenoph. et Plutarchus, *ibid.*

Agesilaus, having thus settled the sea affairs,¹ pursued his designs of invading Phrygia; where, having taken several cities, and made great wastes and depredations in the province, he passed on into Paphlagonia, being invited thither by Spithridates, a noble Persian, who had revolted from the king: where, having made a league with Cotys, the king of that country, and married the daughter of Spithridates to him, he returned into Phrygia, and taking the city of Dascylium, there wintered in the palace of Pharnabazus, and fed his army with the spoils which he there got from the circumjacent country.

Tithraustes,² seeing that Agesilaus was for carrying on the war in Asia, to divert him from it, sent emissaries into Greece with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in the chief cities, and thereby induce them to rekindle a war in Greece against the Lacedemonians, that so Agesilaus might be called home to defend his own country; which had that effect, that Thebes, Athens, Argus, and Corinth, with other cities of Greece, entering into a confederacy together, raised such a war against the Lacedemonians, as produced all that was intended by Tithraustes in his stratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place. And the putting of the people of the same nation and interest together by the ears, hath elsewhere been found the most successful means to advance the interest of a neighbouring tyrant. And money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion, to prepare men for it.

An. 394. Artax. 11.]—In the beginning of the next spring, Agesilaus being ready to take the field,³ a parley was procured between him and Pharnabazus; at which Pharnabazus having recited the great services which he had done the Lacedemonians in their war with the Athenians, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, especially in the devastations which they made in his palace, park, gardens, and estate, at Dascylium, that were his own proper inheritance: and all this being truths which could not be denied, Agesilaus, and his Lacedemonian council that attended him at the conference, were so confounded at it, that they wanted an answer to excuse the ingratitude which they were charged with. However, to make him the best amends they could, they made him a solemn promise, that they would no more invade him, nor any provinces under his government, as long as there were any else against whom they might prosecute the war which they had with the Persian king: and then immediately withdrew out of those parts, and thereon formed a design of invading the upper provinces of Asia, and carrying the war into the very heart of the Persian empire. But while Agesilaus was projecting this expedition,⁴ there came messengers to him from Lacedemon, to recall him thither. For the Persian money having procured a very strong confederacy of several of the Grecian states and cities against them, they needed him at home to defend his own country; and accordingly he made all the haste thither that he could, complaining, at his departure out of Asia, that the Persians had driven him thence by thirty thousand archers, meaning so many darics, which were pieces of gold that had the impression of an archer upon them. But so small a sum did not do this job; it cost the Persians much more; and they could not have bestowed their money better to their own advantage: for hereby they saved vastly greater expenses, which otherwise they must have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are instances of other crafty princes who, by following the same methods, have gained the same success, and, in the way of bribery and corruption, have done that by hundreds of pounds in the councils of their adversaries, which they could never bring to pass by millions in the open field.

1 Plutarchus in Agesilao. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4.

2 Pausanias in Laconicis et Messenicis. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Agesilao et Artaxerxe.

3 Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4.

4 Plutarchus in Agesilao et Artaxerxe. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4. Cornelius Nepos in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Justin. lib. 6. c. 4.

Conon, on his return from the Persian court,¹ having brought money enough with him to pay the soldiers and mariners of his fleet all their arrears, and supply it with every thing else that was wanting, took Pharnabazus on board with him, and forthwith set sail to seek the enemy; and finding their whole fleet riding near Cnidus, under the command of Pisander, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, having slain Pisander himself in the fight, and taken fifty of his ships; which did put an end to the empire of the Lacedemonians in those parts, and was a prelude to their losing it every where else: for after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows which they received at Leuctra and Mantinea put an absolute period to it. But it is not my purpose to treat of what was done in Greece any farther than as the affairs of Greece interfere with what is the main design of this history.

After this victory,² Conon and Pharnabazus sailed round the isles and maritime coasts of Asia, and took in most of the cities which the Lacedemonians had in those parts; only Sestus and Abydus, two cities in the mouth of the Hellespont, being under the command of Dercyllidas, held out against them; whereon Pharnabazus assaulted them by land, and Conon by sea; but not succeeding in the attempt, Pharnabazus, on the approach of winter, returned home, and Conon was left to take care of the fleet, with orders to recruit and augment it with as many ships from the cities on the Hellespont, as he could get from them against the next spring.

An. 393. Artax. 12.—And Conon having, according to this commission gotten ready a strong fleet of ships by the time appointed,³ Pharnabazus went on board it, and sailing through the islands, landed on Melos, the farthest of them; and having taken in that island, as lying convenient for the invading of Laconia, the country of the Lacedemonians, they from thence made a descent upon its maritime coasts, and having ravaged them all over, loaded their fleet with the spoils which they there got. After this, Pharnabazus being on his return home into his province, Conon obtained of him,⁴ to send him with eighty ships of the fleet, and fifty talents of money, to rebuild the walls of Athens, having made him to understand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the pride of the Lacedemonians, than by this means to put Athens again in a condition to rival their power. And therefore, being arrived at Piræus, the port of Athens, he immediately set about the work; and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be spared from on board the fleet, as well as the people of the city, to set to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the walls of Athens and the walls of the port, with the walls also called the long walls, leading from the former to the latter, and distributed the fifty talents which he had received from Pharnabazus among his citizens; whereby he restored that city again to its pristine state, and may on this account be reckoned as the second founder of it.

The Lacedemonians, being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith despatched Antalcidas, a citizen of theirs, to Tiribazus, then governor for the Persian king of Sardis, to propose terms of peace. And the confederates, on the other hand, on notice hereof, sent their ambassadors thither also, and among them Conon was one from the city of Athens. The terms which Antalcidas proposed were,⁵ that the king should have all the Grecian cities in Asia, and that all the rest, both in the isles and in Greece, should be restored to their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. Which being a peace that would be very advantageous to the king, and very disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Greeks in general, none of the other ambassadors would consent to it; and therefore they all returned without effecting any thing, excepting Conon.

¹ Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4. Justin. lib. 6. c. 3. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Isocrates in Euagora, et in Oratiōe ad Philippum.

² Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441.

³ Xenoph. et Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441.

⁴ Cornel. Nepos in Conone. Plutarch. in Agesilao. Justin. lib. 6. c. 5. Isocrates in Euagora. Xenoph. et Diodor. ibid. Pausanias in Articis.

⁵ Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Agesilao.

For the Lacedemonians bearing an implacable spite to him for what he had done in the restoration of Athens, accused him of purloining the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and also of having designs for the taking of Æolis and Ionia from the Persians, and subjecting them again to the Athenian state; whereon Tiribazus clapped him in chains,¹ and then, going to the Persian court to communicate to the king the proceedings of this treaty, he acquainted him also of the accusation which he had received against Conon: hereon Conon being ordered to be brought to Susa, was there put to death by the king's command.²

An. 392. Artax. 13.]—While Tiribazus was attending the court,³ Struthas was sent down from thence to take care of the maritime coasts of Asia; where finding the great devastations which the Lacedemonians had made in those parts, he conceived from hence such an aversion against them, as carried him wholly over to the Athenian side. Whereon the Lacedemonians sent Thymbro into Asia again to renew the war there; but they not being able at that time to furnish him with strength sufficient for the undertaking, he was soon cut off by the superior power of the Persians, and all his forces broken and dissipated. After him Dephridas came thither to gather up the remains of this army, and carry on the war; and after him others were sent with the same commission. But all their doings in Asia, after the battle of Cnidus, were only as the faint strugglings of a dying power; and therefore they were forced at length to give up all there, when they could no longer hold it, by a treaty of peace, which was very disadvantageous, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the Grecian name.

An. 391. Artax. 14.]—And therefore Artaxerxes, being in a manner almost wholly eased of the Grecian war,⁴ turned his whole power against Euagoras, king of Cyprus, and began a war against him which he had long designed, but was not till now at leisure to prosecute it. How Euagoras seized Salimime, by expelling the Persian governor, and made himself king of that city, and procured, by the means of Conon, to be confirmed herein by Artaxerxes, I have already given an account. But Euagoras, being a man every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time so enlarged his strength and his power, that he made himself in a manner king of the whole island of Cyprus. The Amathusians, the Solians, and the Citians, were those only that held out against him; and Artaxerxes, becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wise prince, first countenanced them herein, and afterward openly embraced their cause, and declared war against Euagoras; in which Isocrates tells us he expended above fifty thousand talents, which may be reckoned at ten millions of our money.

An. 390. Artax. 15.]—The Athenians, notwithstanding the alliance they now had with the Persians, and the benefits they had lately received from them,⁵ would not deny their assistance to Euagoras, who had much befriended them, especially in the kind reception which those who fled with Conon from the battle of the Goats' River had found with him; and perchance their resentments against the king, for the death of that gallant Athenian their restorer, did not a little move them to this resolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped ten ships of war, and sent them to the aid of Euagoras, under the command of Philocrates. But a fleet which the Lacedemonians had at sea, under the command of Telautias, the brother of Agesilaus, falling in with them in the isle of Rhodes, took them all; whereby it came to pass, that those who were enemies to the King of Persia, destroyed those who were going from his friends to make war against him.

An. 389. Artax. 16.]—Achoris succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt, Euagoras drew him, and also the Barceans,⁶ a people of Lybia, into con-

¹ Xenoph. *ibid.* Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 442. Corneli. Nepos in Conone.

² Corneli. Nepos. *ibid.* Isocrates in Panegyrico.

³ Xenoph. *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 447.

⁴ Isocrates in Euagora. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 458.

⁵ Xenoph. *Hellen.* lib. 4.

⁶ Theopompus in Excerptis Photii. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 459.

federacy with him against the Persians; and all of them engaged in conjunction together, to carry on the war with vigour against them.

An. 388. Artax. 17.—Philocrates having miscarried in his attempt of carrying succours to Euagoras, in manner as hath been related, the Athenians sent Chabrias into the same service with another fleet,¹ and a good number of land forces on board of it; who arriving safe in Cyprus, managed the war with that success, that he reduced the whole island under the power of Euagoras, before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own conduct, and also to that of the Athenian arms.

An. 387. Artax. 18.—The Lacedemonians finding themselves hardly pressed by the confederacy of the Grecian cities against them, became desirous of a peace with the Persian king,² appointed Antalcidas again to treat with Tiribazus about it; and resolving to make it on such terms as should necessarily engage that potent monarch on their side, instructed their ambassador accordingly; and having made him admiral of their fleet, under that blind sent him with it into Asia to transact this matter. On his arrival at Ephesus, having appointed Nicolochus his lieutenant to take care of the fleet, he went to Sardis, and there communicated to Tiribazus the commission on which he was sent. But Tiribazus having no powers to enter into such a treaty, instead of sending for orders about it from the Persian court, they both went thither, where, on their arrival, the matter was soon concluded. For Artaxerxes being at that time as much desirous of a peace as the Lacedemonians, that so he might be the better at leisure to prosecute the Cyprian war, which he had then his heart much set upon, greedily accepted of the proposal upon the scheme which Antalcidas offered. And accordingly peace was made thereupon. The terms of it were, that all the Grecian cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus,³ should be under the power of the Persian king; and that all the other cities of Greece, and the isles, as well small as great, should be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own laws, except the islands of Scirus, Lemnus, and Imbrus, which having been anciently subject to the Athenians, should still continue so to be; and that Artaxerxes should join with the Lacedemonians, and all others that accepted of this peace, to make all the rest of Greece submit thereto. Which peace, being ratified under the seal of King Artaxerxes, Tiribazus and Antalcidas returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the cities of Greece. Hereby the Grecian cities in Asia, finding themselves betrayed by the Lacedemonians, were forced to submit; and scarce any other of the Grecian states were pleased therewith, it being very disadvantageous to many of them, and dishonourable to all. The Athenians and Thebans, of all others, were the most dissatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the Persians, now joined with the Lacedemonians their allies to see it executed, were forced for a while to acquiesce therein. And it was not long that the Lacedemonians themselves were well pleased with it; but at this time being pressed on the one hand by the Persians, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the Grecian cities against them, and not being able to withstand both, they had no other way to extricate themselves from the ruin which seemed to threaten them, than by making this peace: for hereby they engaged the Persians into an alliance with them, and, by virtue thereof, made all the confederated cities of Greece desist from that war which they were preparing against them; and by this means they saved themselves from the present danger; but at the same time they betrayed the common interest of Greece, and also their own, as far as it was involved in it. And Antalcidas at last met with his ruin from it; for the Lacedemonians,⁴ after the blow they had received from the The-

¹ Cornelius Nepos in Chabria. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 5.

² Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 5. Plutarchus in Agesilao et Artaxerxe. Isocrates in Panathenæico. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 452, 453. Justin. lib. 6. c. 6.

³ The city of Clazomenæ then stood on an island, but afterward that island was joined to the continent in the same manner as were the islands of Tyros and Pharos. Strabo, lib. 1. p. 58.

⁴ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

ban: at Leuctra, needing the assistance of the Persian power to support them, and being made believe that Antalcidas could do every thing at that court since the making of this peace, sent him thither to solicit for money to help to bear them up in that distress. But King Artaxerxes finding his interest no way concerned in this proposal, as it was in the former, rejected it with scorn and contempt. And therefore being sent away without success, either out of shame for being thus disappointed, or out of fear of the resentments of his fellow-citizens for his failing in this negotiation of what they expected from it, he famished himself, and so put an end to his life. This peace Polybius,¹ Trogus Pompeius,² Diodorus Siculus,³ and Strabo,⁴ tell us, was made in the same year that Rome was taken by the Gauls. It was called, from the author of it, the peace of Antalcidas; but it was not with any honour, but rather with infamy, to his name, because of the prejudice and dishonour which it brought with it to all Greece.

An. 386. Artax. 19.—The Athenians, on their accepting of this peace, were forced to call home Chabrias out of Cyprus; and Artaxerxes,⁵ now freed of all trouble from the Greeks, bent his whole force against Euagoras, king of that island. For having drawn together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred sail, he made Gaus, the son of Tamus (who hath been before spoken of,) admiral of the fleet, and Orontes, one of his sons-in-law, general of the army, and Tiribazus generalissimo over both, and sent them to invade Cyprus: and accordingly they landed this great army on that island, for the reducing of it. Euagoras being pressed with so great a power, strengthened himself for the war the best he could, having drawn into confederacy with him the Egyptians, Lybians, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations, who were then at enmity with the Persians; and with his money, of which he had amassed a vast treasure, he hired a great number of mercenaries out of all places wherever he could get them; which altogether made a very numerous army. And he also got together a considerable fleet of ships. These at first he sent out in parties to intercept the tenders and victuallers, which brought provisions to the Persian army from the continent; which in a few days reduced them to that distress, that the soldiers mutinied and slew many of their officers and commanders for their want of bread. For the remedying of this, their whole fleet was forced to set to sea to fetch provisions from Cilicia; whereby the army being plentifully supplied, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim, Euagoras received a great supply of corn from Egypt, and fifty sail of ships, which, with others that he fitted up at home, making up his fleet to two hundred sail, he adventured with them to engage the whole naval force of the Persians, though in strength and number much superior to him. He had fought a part of the Persian army, and gained the victory, and being flushed with this and some other advantages which he had obtained at land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by sea. But here he had not the same success. In the first onset he had the advantage, and took and destroyed several of their ships. But Gaus at length having brought up his whole fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove Euagoras out of the seas, with the loss of the greatest part of his fleet. With the remainder he escaped to Salamine, where the Persians, after this victory, shut him up in a close siege both by sea and land; and Tiribazus went to the Persian court with the news of this success, and having there obtained two thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned with them farther to carry on the war. During his absence, Euagoras, to relieve himself in the distress he was reduced to, got through the enemy's fleet in the night with ten ships, and sailed for Egypt, leaving Protagoras his son to manage all affairs in his absence. His end in this voyage was, to engage Achoris to join his whole power with him for the raising of this siege.

An. 385. Artax. 20.—But failing in the main of what he there expected, he

1 Lib. 1.

2 Justin. lib. 6. c. 6.

3 Lib. 4.

4 Lib. 6.

5 Diodor. Sic. lib. 15.

was sent back only with some supplies of money,¹ which were far short of what he needed to relieve him in his present distress: and, therefore, being returned to Salamine, and got again into the place, by the favour of the night, in the same manner as he came out, and finding himself deserted by his allies, and destitute of all other helps for the raising of the siege, he sent to Tiribazus to treat of peace; but could be allowed no other terms than to be divested of all that he had in Cyprus, excepting the city of Salamine only, and to hold that of the king, as a servant of his lord, and to pay him tribute for it. However, considering the necessity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of Salamine as a servant under his lord; he desired it might be as a king under a king. But Tiribazus not consenting to this, the war went on. In the mean time Orontes, who commanded the land army, not brooking the superiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being generalissimo, and having the chief conduct of the whole war, and envying also the success which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote secretly calumniating letters to the king, accusing him of having secret designs against the king's interest, and that for this purpose he held private correspondence with the Lacedemonians, and had causelessly procrastinated the war, and admitted a treaty with Euagoras, when it was in his power to have suppressed him by force, and, by courting the affection of the officers and commanders of the army, had engaged them all to him, for the promoting of his hidden purposes: whereon he was taken into custody by order from the king, and sent prisoner to the court, and Orontes had the chief command conferred on him; which was the thing he desired, as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other, as being the king's son-in-law. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, things went very heavily on under his conduct; for all his orders, through this discontent of the soldiery, were very negligently executed, and the enemy recovered courage and strength hereby; so that at length Orontes was forced to renew the treaty with Euagoras, for which he had accused his predecessor, and concluded it upon terms which the other had refused: for he consented that he should hold Salamine of the king of Persia, as king of that city, yielding only tribute to him for it. So peace was made with Euagoras. But this did not put an end to the war in those parts: for Gaus taking ill the unjust usage of Tiribazus,² whose daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him also in the same prosecution, he entered into a confederacy with the Egyptians and the Lacedemonians, and revolted from the king, and a great part, both of the fleet and army, joined with him herein. The Lacedemonians entered gladly into this confederacy, because of the dislike which they now had of the peace of Antalcidas. For, by this time, discerning all the disadvantages of it, especially the ill consequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other Greeks from them, because of the dishonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all of the Grecian name, they would, for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit which they lost by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the Persians. But Gaus, the next year after, when he had brought his matters in some measure to bear, being treacherously slain by some that were under him, and Tachos, who set himself up to carry on the same design, soon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing; and after this the Lacedemonians no more meddled with the Asian affairs.

An. 384. Artax. 21.]—Artaxerxes, having thus finished the Cyprian war,³ led an army of three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse against the Cadusians. But the country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions enough to feed so large an army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof, but that Tiribazus extricated him from this danger. He followed the king in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a prisoner, being in great disgrace because of Orontes's accusation; and having received in

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 3.

² Ib. d.

³ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 462.

formation, that whereas the Cadusians had two kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to Artaxerxes the bringing of them to submission by a treaty; and, having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other, and so ordered the matter, that making each of them believe that the other was treating separately with the king, brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his army. These people¹ inhabited some part of the mountainous country which lies between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, to the north of Media, where they,² having neither seed-time nor harvest, lived mostly upon apples and pears, and other such tree fruits; the land, by reason of its ruggedness and unfertility, not being capable of tillage. And this was that which brought the Persians into such distress when they invaded them, the country not being capable of affording provisions for so great an army. Fuller hath a conceit,³ that these Cadusians were the descendants of the Israelites, of the ten tribes which the kings of Assyria carried captive out of the land of Canaan; but his reason for it being only, that he thinks they were called Cadusians from the Hebrew word Kedushim, which signifieth holy people, this is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that the Colchians and neighbouring nations are said anciently to have used circumcision;⁴ for not far from the Colchians was the country of the Cadusians.

Artaxerxes lost a great number of men in this ill-projected expedition; among others who perished in it was Camissares, by nation a Carian, and a very gallant man. He was governor of Leuco-Syria, a province lying between Cilicia and Cappadocia; and was, on his death, succeeded therein by Datames his son, who was also with Artaxerxes in this expedition, and did him great service in it, for the reward of which he had his father's government conferred on him. He was for valour and military skill the Hannibal of those times. Cornelius Nepos hath given us his life at large; by which it appears no man ever exceeded him in stratagems of war, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But these eminent qualities raised that envy against him in the Persian court, as at last caused his ruin; as it hath been the fate of too many gallant men to have been thus undone by their own merit.

On the king's return to Susa, the service which Tiribazus did him in this expedition,⁵ procured him a fair hearing of his cause; and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent judges appointed by the king for it, he was found innocent and honourably discharged; and Orontes, his accuser, was condemned of calumny, and with disgrace banished the court, and put out of the king's favour for it.

An. 377. Artax. 28.]—Artaxerxes, being now free from all other wars, resolved on the reducing of the Egyptians; they having freed themselves from the yoke of the Persians, and stood out in revolt against them now full thirty-six years; and accordingly he made great preparations for it.⁶ Achoris, foreseeing the storm, provided against it the best he could, having armed not only his own subjects, but drawn also a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries into his service, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian. Pharnabazus, having the care of this war committed to his charge, sent ambassadors to Athens, to make complaint against Chabrias for engaging in this service against the king, threatening them with the loss of the king's friendship, unless he were forthwith recalled. At the same time he demanded Iphicrates, another Athenian, and the ablest general of his time, to be sent to him, and to take on him the command of the mercenary Greeks in the Persian army for this war. The Athenians, at that time much depending on the favour of the

1 Strabo, lib. 11. p. 507, 508, 510, 523, 524.

4 Herodot. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

6 Ibid. lib. 15 p. 471. Corn. Nepos in Chabria et Iphicrate.

2 Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

5 Diodor. Sic. p. 463.

3 Miscell. lib. 2. c. 5

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Persian king, for the support of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other cities of Greece, readily complied with both these demands; for they immediately recalled Chabrias, setting him a day for his return, and at the same time sent Iphicrates into the Persian army, to take on him the charge he was designed for. On his arrival, he having mustered his men, applied himself to exercise them in all the arts of war; in which he made them so expert, that thenceforth, under the name of Iphicratesian soldiers, they became as famous among the Greeks, as formerly the Fabian were among the Romans, for the same reason. And they had time enough, before they entered on action, to grow up hereto, by the instruction that was given them.

An. 376. Artax. 29.]—For the Persians being very slow in their preparations, it was two years after ere the war commenced. In the interim died Achoris, king of Egypt, and was succeeded by Psammuthis in that kingdom,¹ who reigned only one year.

An. 375. Artax. 30.]—After Psammuthis, reigned in Egypt Nephertis,² the last of the Mendesian race in that kingdom; for, after a reign of four months he was succeeded by Nectanabis, the first of the Sebennite race, who reigned twelve years.

Artaxerxes, that he might the easier get Grecian auxiliaries for his Egyptian war, sent ambassadors into Greece to put an end to all war there; requiring that all the different states and cities in that country should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the peace of Antalcidas; and that all garrisons being withdrawn, all should be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own laws. This proposal was readily accepted by all the cities of Greece, excepting the Thebans, who, having then in view the gaining the empire over all, were the only Grecian people that refused to comply herewith.

An. 374. Artax. 31.]—All things being now ready for the Egyptian war,³ the Persian army was all drawn together at Ace; afterward called Ptolemais, and now Acon, in Palestine, and were there mustered to be two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Iphicrates; and their forces by sea were proportionable hereto; for their fleet consisted of three hundred galleys, and two hundred ships; besides a vast number of victuallers and tenders, which followed to furnish both the fleet and army with all things necessary. At the same time the army marched by land, the fleet set also to sea, that so they might the better act in concert with each other, for the carrying on of the war. The first attempt which they made was upon Pelusium. Their design was to besiege it by sea and land; but the Persians having been long in preparing this war, gave Nectanabis time enough to provide for the defence of the place; which he did so effectually, that they could not come at it either by land or sea. And therefore their fleet, instead of making a descent at this place, as was first intended, sailed from thence to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile; for that river then discharged itself into the Mediterranean by seven mouths (though now there are but two,) each of which was guarded by a fortress and a garrison: but the Mendusian mouth not being so well fortified against them as the Pelusian, because they were not here expected, they easily landed at this place, and as easily took the fortress which guarded it, destroying all those who were there set for its defence. After this action, Iphicrates advised that they should immediately have sailed up the Nile to Memphis, the capital of Egypt. And had they followed his advice before the Egyptians had recovered from the consternation which this powerful invasion, and the first success thereof, had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore must have certainly taken it, and with it all Egypt must again have fallen under their power. But the main of the army not being yet come up, Pharnabazus would not engage till he had gotten all his strength together, thinking that then his

¹ Euseb. in Chronico. Syncellus, p. 257.

³ Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478. Corn. Nepos in Iphicrate.

² Euseb. in Chronico.

⁴ That is, Damietta and Rosetta.

power would be invincible, and he must necessarily carry all before him. But Iphicrates, rightly judging that by that time the opportunity would be lost, pressed hard for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But Pharnabazus envying him the honour which would redound to him from hence, should he succeed in the enterprise, would not hearken to the proposal. In the interim, the Egyptians having gotten all their forces together, and put a sufficient guard into Memphis, with the rest took the field, and so harassed the Persians, that they kept them from making any farther progress, till at length the Nile,¹ in its proper season, overflowing all the country, forced them to withdraw again into Phœnicia, with the loss of a great part of their army. And so this expedition, in which were expended such vast sums of treasure, and so much time in preparing for it, all miscarried and came to nothing. This produced great dissensions between the two generals; for Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon Iphicrates; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, on Pharnabazus. But Iphicrates being aware that Pharnabazus would be believed before him at the Persian court, and remembering the case of Conon, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship, and got safely away to Athens. Hereon Pharnabazus sent ambassadors after him, to accuse him of making this expedition into Egypt miscarry; to which the Athenians gave only this answer,—That if he were found guilty of this, they would punish him for it according to his demerit. But it seems they were so far convinced of his innocence as to this matter, that they never called him to a trial for it; and a little while after they made him sole admiral of their whole fleet.

That which made most of the expeditions of the Persians under this empire miscarry, was their slowness in the execution of their designs. For the generals having nothing left to their own discretion, but being in all things strictly tied up to orders, durst not proceed on any emergency without instructions from court; and usually before these could arrive, the opportunity was lost. And this was signally the case in this war. And therefore, Iphicrates perceiving Pharnabazus to be very quick in his resolves, and very slow in the execution of them, and having thereon asked him, how it came to pass that he was so forward in his words, and so backward in his actions,² had the whole truth told him in this memorable answer,—That his words were his own, but his actions wholly depended on his master. And many like instances may be given wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the public have been wholly lost, by too straitly tying up the hands of those who are to execute them.

The same year that these things were done in Egypt,³ Euagoras king of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus, being murdered by one of his eunuchs, Nicocles his son reigned in his stead, and is the same for whose sake two of Isocrates' orations were composed, and they still bear the title of his name. In the first of these is proposed the duty of a king to his subjects; in the second the duty of subjects to their king; for which Nicocles gave him twenty talents,⁴ i. e. three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds of our money.

An. 373. *Arlax.* 32.]—The next year after,⁵ which was the thirty-second of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Joiada the high-priest of the Jews being dead,⁶ Johanan

¹ The nature of this river is, to be six months a rising, and six months a falling; and when it is at the height, it doth for two months together overflow the whole country, and then there is no marching or encamping of an army in any part of it. This is caused by the rains, which for six months together fall in the upper parts of Ethiopia, where the rise of the Nile is. These rains begin to fall in April, and continue till October, and send great floods into the Nile, which beginning to reach Egypt in the May following do there cause this rising or increase of the Nile, which from thence continues to rise higher and higher, till the beginning of October following, and then it again falls in the same gradual manner as it rose, till the April following. The months of the overflow are August and September, and some part of October. It must rise sixteen cubits to make a fertile year; but sometimes it riseth to twenty-three. If it riseth no higher than twelve or thirteen cubits, a famine followeth in that country.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478.

³ Aristoteles Politic. lib. 5. c. 10. Theopompus in Bibliotheca Photii, N. 176.

⁴ Plutarch. in Vita Isocratis.

⁵ Chronicon. Alexandrin.

⁶ Nehem. xii. 22. xiii. 28.

his son, called also Jonathan,¹ succeeded him in his office, and held it thirty-two years.

An. 371. Artax. 34.]—Artaxerxes² again sent ambassadors into Greece, to exhort the states and cities, which were there at war with each other, to lay down their arms, and come to an accord upon the terms of the peace which he had made with Antalcidas. All expressed a readiness to submit hereto, except the Thebans. That which made them at that time dissent was, that by that peace it was provided, that all the cities of Greece should be left to enjoy their own liberties, and be governed according to their own laws. Upon this article, the Lacedemonians pressed the Thebans to set all the cities of Bœotia free, and to rebuild Platea and Thespia, two cities of that country, which they had demolished, and restore them again to the former inhabitants, with the territories appertaining to them. And, on the other side, the Thebans, retorting upon the Lacedemonians the same argument, pressed them to permit all the towns of Laconia to enjoy their liberties, and restore Messena to its ancient owners: for they urged, that the articles of the peace insisted on did as much require the one as the other; and that therefore, if the Lacedemonians would not execute this article on their part, neither would they on theirs. But the Lacedemonians not being sufficiently humbled by the loss of their fleet at Cnidus, would not understand this way of arguing, but, looking on themselves still as much superior to the Thebans, would have them submit to that which they would not do themselves; and therefore sent an army against them to force them to it, which produced the battle at Leuctra,³ in which the Lacedemonians were overthrown, with the loss of Cleombrotus, one of their kings, and above four thousand of their citizens; which was the greatest blow they had received in many ages past: for it brought the Thebans, in pursuit of this victory, into Laconia, which they wasted all over, even home to the city of Lacedemon itself, where they had not seen an enemy in five hundred years before; and it was with difficulty that they preserved this their capital from falling under the same devastation.

An. 370. Artax. 35.]—The Lacedemonians being brought to this distress,⁴ sent Agesilaus into Egypt, and Antalcidas to the Persian court, to solicit for succours. But the Lacedemonians, since their overthrow at Leuctra, becoming contemptible to the Persians, Antalcidas had that ill success in his embassy, as caused him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related.

An. 369. Artax. 36.]—However, this embassy prevailed so far with Artaxerxes, that Philiscus of Abydus⁵ was by his order, the next year after, sent into Greece, to endeavour the composing of the wars, which were there risen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the terms agreed on by Antalcidas. But the Lacedemonians refusing to consent that Massena should enjoy its liberties (to which it had been restored by the Thebans, in their late expedition into Peloponnesus, after the battle of Leuctra,) and the Thebans, refusing to come to peace on any other terms, this embassy ended without any effect; only Philiscus, thinking the Thebans stood upon too high terms, and being much offended thereat, sent to the assistance of the Lacedemonians two thousand mercenaries, which he had raised with the king's money, and so returned.

An. 368. Artax. 37.]—The truth of the case was, the Thebans being elevated with their late success, and much confiding in their two generals, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, (the latter of which was one of the greatest men that ever Greece produced,) aimed now at nothing less than the empire of Greece. And, therefore, to strengthen themselves for the obtaining of it,⁶ they sent Pelopidas and Ismenias, two of the most eminent of their citizens, in an embassy to King Artaxerxes, to secure him on their side. And on the hearing of this, the Athenians sent Timagoras and Leontes, and the other cities of Greece other ambassadors, to take care of their respective interests at that court on this occasion

¹ Nehem. xii. 11.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 483. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 6.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Xenoph. ibid. Plutarch. in Pelopida. Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda et Pelopida.

⁴ Plutarch. in Agesilao et Artaxerxe.

⁵ Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 494.

⁶ Plutarch. in Pelopida et Artaxerxe. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 7.

At their admission to audience, they being required to adore the king, Ismenias, on his entrance into the presence of the king, dropped his ring, and stooping to take it up, thought by this trick to satisfy the ceremonial, and save his honour at the same time. But Timagoras the Athenian, to gain the greater favour with Artaxerxes, directly, without any trick or subterfuge, paid him that ceremony of adoration which was required; for which he was put to death on his return,¹ the Athenians thinking the honour of their whole city sullied by this low act of submission in one of their citizens, though made to the greatest of kings. Pelopidas and Leontes would not submit to the Persian ceremonial in this particular. However, they often had free access to the king, and Pelopidas,² by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble demeanour, at this court, got that ascendancy above all the other ambassadors, both in the king's esteem and favour, that he obtained all that he desired in behalf of his citizens, and returned with full success from his embassy; for he brought back letters from the king under his seal royal, whereby it was required, that the Lacedæmonians should let Messena be free, and that the Athenians should recall their fleet, and that all the other cities of Greece should have the full enjoyment of their liberties; and war was threatened against all that should not comply herewith. The success of this embassy was much to the satisfaction of the Thebans, they thinking hereby most certainly to gain the superiority over all the other cities and states of Greece. For, should the peace be accepted of on these terms, and the Messenians thoroughly restored, the Lacedæmonians would lose one half of their territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and should the other cities of Greece as well small as great, be all set at liberty, and made distinct states, free and independent of each other, this would so divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all must submit to them. And if the peace were not accepted of, then the king being engaged in this case to join with them to force all to it, they thought, by this addition of strength, they should easily overpower all, and thereby gain to themselves the same empire over the rest of Greece, as first the Athenians, and afterward the Lacedæmonians, had for some time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both these particulars: for the cities of Greece, when met together by their delegates to hear the contents of the king's letters, all refused to swear to the peace on those terms; and Artaxerxes, not being at leisure to execute the other part of the treaty, did not, on this refusal of the Grecian cities to come into his measures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatened; and so this whole embassy came to nothing, and the Thebans failed of all that they designed by it. For,

An. 366. Artax. 39.—All that Artaxerxes did hereupon was to send another embassy into Greece,³ about two years after; whereby, although he could not draw all the cities to subscribe to his terms, and swear to the peace upon them, yet he prevailed so far, that all laid down their arms, and submitted to be at quiet with each other on the scheme proposed.

About this time a wicked fact of Johanan,⁴ the high-priest of the Jews, brought a great oppression upon the temple at Jerusalem. For Jeshua his brother having much insinuated himself into the favour of Bagoses, then governor of Syria and Phœnicia for the Persian king, obtained of him a grant of the high-priesthood, with which Johanan had been invested several years, and came with this grant to Jerusalem, to take possession of the office, and depose his brother from it. But Johanan not submitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them; and while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the execution of the office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that Johanan slew Jeshua in the inner court of the temple; which was a very wicked act in itself, but aggravated and rendered much more so by the great profanation which was brought hereby on the holy place where it was

¹ Valerius Maximus, lib. 5. c. 3.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 497.

² Plutarch. in Pelopida. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 7.

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.

committed. Bagoses hearing of this, came in great wrath to Jerusalem, to take an account of the fact; and when, on his going into the temple to see the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindered his entrance (all Gentiles being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither,) he cried out with great indignation,—“What! am I not more pure than the dead carcass of him whom ye have slain in the temple?” Whereon, entering without any farther opposition, and having taken a thorough cognizance of the fact, he imposed a mulct on the temple for the punishment of it, obliging the priests to pay out of the public treasury, for every lamb they offered in the daily sacrifice the sum of fifty drachms, which is about 1*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* of our money. This, if extended only to the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, amounted to thirty-six thousand five hundred drachms for the whole year, which is no more than 1140*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* of our money. But, if it extended also to the extraordinary sacrifices, which were added to the ordinary on solemn days, it will come to about half as much more; for the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, and called the daily sacrifices, were a lamb in the morning,¹ which was called the morning sacrifice, and a lamb in the evening, which was called the evening sacrifice: and these in the whole year came to seven hundred and thirty. But besides these, there were added on every sabbath two lambs more;² on every new moon seven;³ on each of the seven days of the paschal solemnity seven,⁴ besides one more on the second day,⁵ when the wave-sheaf was offered; on the day of Pentecost⁶ sixteen; on the feast of trumpets seven;⁷ on the great day of expiation seven;⁸ on each of the seven days of the feast of tabernacles, fourteen;⁹ and on the eighth day, seven.¹⁰ So that the additional lambs being three hundred and seventy-one, these, if reckoned to the other, make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening sacrifices to be eleven hundred and one. And therefore, if the mulct of fifty drachms a lamb was paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount to fifty-five thousand and fifty drachms, which is of our money 1720*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* But this sum being too small for a national mulct, and far short of what governors of provinces on such occasions are apt to exact from their provincials, it seems probable, that all lambs that were offered in the temple, in any sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the reckoning; and, without this, there will be no sufficient cause for that complaint which Josephus makes hereof; for he speaks of it as such a calamity and grievance upon the Jews, which a payment of 1720*l.* a year upon the whole nation of them could not amount to. Capellus reckons this mulct at sixty talents.¹¹ This proceeds from his laying it at five hundred drachms a lamb instead of fifty; which is a plain mistake of his: for the text of Josephus, in all copies, hath πεντηκοντα fifty, and not πεντακισις five hundred. But whatever this mulct was, the payment of it lasted no longer than seven years. For, on the death of Artaxerxes, the changes and revolutions which then happened in the empire, having made a change of the governor in Syria, he that succeeded Bagoses in that province no farther exacted it.

An. 363. Artax. 42.—A new war having broke out in Greece between the Arcadians and the Elians, and that having produced another among the Arcadians themselves,¹² one party called in the Thebans to their assistance, and the other the Lacedemonians and the Athenians. Hereon the Lacedemonians set forth a great army, under the command of Agesilaus, to help that party which they favoured, and the Thebans another under the command of Epaminondas to support the other party; which produced the famous battle of Mantinea, wherein the Lacedemonians lost the victory, and the Thebans their general Epaminondas, which was the greatest loss of the two; for with him all the vigour of the Theban state expired, and they never more signified any thing

¹ Exod. xxix. 38. Numb. xxviii. 3—8.

² Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.

³ Ibid. xxviii. 11.

⁴ Ibid. xxviii. 16—24.

⁵ Levit. xxiii. 12.

⁶ Ibid. xxiii. 17, 18. Numb. xxviii. 27.

⁷ Numb. xxix. 2.

⁸ Ibid. xxix. 8.

⁹ Ibid. xxix. 12—34.

¹⁰ Ibid. xxix. 36.

¹¹ Historia Sacra et Exotica sub A. M. 3639.

¹² Plutarchus in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 21, 502. Cornel. Nepos in Epaminonda.

after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory by the conduct and valour of this one great man, so they lost it all again with him. These losses being received on both sides, made both weary of the war, and therefore, soon after this battle, both parties, and with them all the rest of the Grecian states, came to a general peace among themselves; and the Messenians, notwithstanding what the Lacedemonians endeavoured to the contrary, were also included in it, according as had been decreed by the king of Persia.

While these things were doing in Greece, Tachos succeeded Nectanebis in the kingdom of Egypt,¹ and gathered together all the strength he could, to defend himself in it against the king of Persia, who still pursued his designs of recovering that kingdom again to his empire, notwithstanding he had so often miscarried in them.

An. 362. Artax. 43.—And, to make himself the stronger against so potent an enemy, he sent into Greece to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the Lacedemonians,² to aid him with a good number of their forces under the command of Agesilaus, for the Lacedemonians, being angry that Artaxerxes had forced him to include the Messenians in the late peace, were glad to lay hold of this occasion to express their resentments for it. And Agesilaus, either out of fondness still to be at the head of armies, or else out of a greedy desire of gaining riches by it, gladly accepted of the employment, though it neither suited his age (which was above eighty,) to be engaged in such an undertaking, nor the dignity of his person thus to become a mercenary, and let himself to hire to a barbarous king. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, Tachos promised him to make him generalissimo of all his forces: but when he was landed in Egypt, and, instead of a great and glorious king, which his great actions had represented him to be, the Egyptians found him a little old man, ill clothed, and of a contemptible presence, and living without pomp and ceremony, they very much despised him; and Tachos would allow him no other command but that of his mercenaries at land, committing to Chabrias the Athenian the charge of his fleet, and reserving to himself the chief command over all. And, when he had joined the Grecian mercenaries to the rest of his army, he marched with his whole strength into Phœnicia, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it should be brought home to him to his own doors; and Agesilaus was forced to attend him thither. But the old Grecian king saw the ill consequence of this resolution, and advised him against it, telling him, that, in the present unsettled state of his kingdom, it was his interest to tarry in Egypt, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his lieutenants. But Tachos contemning his advice in this particular, and slighting him in most things else, this so far alienated Agesilaus from him, that when, in his absence in Phœnicia, the Egyptians revolted from him, and set up Nectanebus his kinsman in his stead, Agesilaus joined with the revolters, and drove Tachos out of his kingdom; who thereon fled to Sidon, and from thence went to the Persian court. Plutarch condemns Agesilaus as guilty of treachery, in thus turning his arms against the person into whose service he was hired. Agesilaus's excuse for it was, that he was sent to aid the Egyptians, and that therefore the Egyptians having armed against Tachos, he could not fight against them, unless he had new instructions from Lacedemon; whereon messengers being sent thither, the orders returned by them were, that Agesilaus should act herein according to what he judged would be best for the interest of his country; whereon Agesilaus going over to Nectanebus, Tachos was forced to make his flight out of Egypt in the manner as hath been related.

An. 361. Artax. 44.—And he was no sooner gone,³ but another from among the Mendesians did set up in his stead, against Nectanebus, and got together an army of one hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus's advice to Nectanebus was, that he should fall on them immediately, before they

¹ Cornel. Nepos et Plutarchus in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504.

² Plutarch. Cornel. Nepos, et Diodor. ibid.

³ Plutarch. in Agesilao. Diod. Sic. lib. 15.

were well formed and disciplined; and they being most of them raw and unexperienced men, they might easily have been dissipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But Nectanebus mistrusting it to be given with an ill design, and growing jealous that Agesilaus intended to betray him, as he had Tachos before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more strength. In the interim his adversary having brought his army into form and order, grew too strong for him; whereon he was forced to coop himself up, with all his forces, in one of his towns; and the other sat down before it to besiege him therein, and began to draw lines of circumvallation about it. Nectanebus, seeing the danger, would then have had Agesilaus engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refused for some time to do; which increased the jealousy of that prince against him. But when the lines were so far drawn round as only to leave a sufficient space for the besieged to draw up their army in it, then Agesilaus told Nectanebus, that this was his only time to fall on; that the lines which the enemy had drawn, secured him from being encompassed; and that the gap, which was still left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his forces to the battle; whereon an engagement ensuing, the besiegers were put to the rout, and after this Agesilaus managed the rest of the war with that success, that he every where vanquished the other king, and at length took him prisoner. And thereon, having settled Nectanebus in full and quiet possession of the kingdom, returned homeward in the ensuing winter; but being in his way driven by contrary winds on the African shore, at a place called the haven of Menelaus, he there sickened and died, being full eighty-four years old.

An. 360. Artax. 45.]—Toward the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes, great disturbances grew in the Persian court, which were occasioned by the contention of his sons,¹ in making parties among the nobility about the succession. For he had one hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, and three by his queen; the names of the latter were Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. For the stiling of these commotions, Artaxerxes declared Darius the eldest of them to be his successor; and for the firmer settling of the matter, allowed him to assume the name of king, and wear the royal tiara even in his life-time.² But this not contenting him, and there being also some disgust about one of the king's concubines which he would have had from him, he formed a design against his father's life, and drew fifty of his brothers into the same conspiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to this by Tiribazus, whose name hath been often above mentioned. Artaxerxes had promised him one of his daughters; but falling in love with her, he had married her himself, and, to make him amends, having promised him another of his daughters, he married this also: such abominable incest was in those times allowed in Persia, by the religion which they then professed. These two disappointments greatly discontenting Tiribazus, and provoking his resentments against the king for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young king to this flagitious act. But the whole being discovered, Darius was cut off in such manner as he deserved, and all his accomplices with him.

An. 359. Artax. 46.]—After the death of Darius,³ the same contention was again revived which was in the Persian court before his being declared king; three of his surviving brothers in the same manner making parties for the succession. These were Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames: the two former being the king's sons by his queen, claimed as the lawful heirs; but the other only by the favour of his father, to-whom he was the most beloved of the three, though born to him only by one of his concubines. But the restless ambition of Ochus prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedest and the worst of means. For Ariaspes being an easy and credulous prince, he terrified him so by menaces, which he su-

¹ Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 10. c. 1, 2.

² This tiara was a turban or cap with the peak upright. For the seven counsellors wore their turban with the peak forward; all others with the peak backward, excepting the king, who wore it always with the peak upright.

³ Ctesias et Plutarch. *ibid.*

borned the eunuchs of the court to bring to him as from his father, that, apprehending himself to be just ready to be used by him in the same manner as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. But Arsames still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being in the opinion of his father, as well as of all others, both for his wisdom and all other accomplishments, the worthiest of the throne, to remove this obstacle, he caused him to be assassinated by Harpates the son of Tiribazus. This loss, added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedness whereby they were caused, so overwhelmed the old king with grief, that, being now ninety-four years old, he had not strength enough to support himself under it, but broke his heart and died. He was a mild and generous prince,¹ and governed with great clemency and justice; and therefore, being honoured and revered through the whole empire, he had a fixed and thorough settled authority in all the parts of it, which Ochus being sensible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwise with him on his succeeding (the death of his two brothers having rendered the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, ill-affected to him,) for the avoiding of the inconveniences which might from hence follow, he dealt with the eunuchs, and all others that were about the dead king,² to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out orders and sealing decrees in his name, as if he had still been alive; in one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's command, to be proclaimed king through the whole empire. And when he had governed in this manner about ten months, thinking now his authority fully established, he owned his father's death, and openly ascending the throne; took the name of Artaxerxes. But by the name of Ochus is he mostly spoken of in history.

An. 358. Ochus 1.]—But this artifice had not that full success which he proposed. For as soon as it was known that the old king was dead, and that Ochus had taken possession of the throne,³ all Lesser Asia, Syria, and Phœnicia, and several other provinces of the empire, refused him their obedience, and fell off from him; which very much distressed him. For hereby one half of the revenues of his crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have sufficed to carry on the war against so many revoltors, had they continued firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, ere those who were the first promoters of it were at a strife which should soonest betray each other, and thereby reconcile themselves to the king. The provinces of Lesser Asia, when they first fell off from him, resolving on a joint confederacy for their mutual defence, chose Orontes governor of Mysia, for their common head, and, having agreed on the raising of twenty thousand mercenaries, to be added to their other forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had received for this purpose a sum sufficient, both for the raising of these forces, and also for the maintaining of them for a year's time, he put the money in his own pocket, and betrayed those to the king that brought it to him from the revolted provinces. And Rheomithres, another prime leader in this revolt in Lesser Asia, being sent from thence into Egypt to gain succours in that kingdom for the carrying on of this rebellion, practised the same treachery; for on his return, with five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, having called together at Leucas, a city in Lesser Asia, several of the prime ringleaders of the revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands, and kept the money for a prey unto himself. And by these means the danger of this formidable revolt, which threatened the Persian empire with absolute ruin, was all blown over, and Ochus became settled in the throne much firmer than he deserved; for he was the cruellest and worst of all that had reigned of that race in Persia, which his actions soon made appear; for he had not been long on the throne ere he filled the palace and all parts of the empire with a

¹ Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 506.
² Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504—506.

³ Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 7.

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great number of murders. That the revolted provinces might have none other of the royal family to set up in his stead; and that there might not be any of them left on any other pretence whatsoever to give him any disturbance,¹ he cut them all off, without having any regard to sex, age, or nearness of blood; for he caused Ocha his own sister, who was also his mother-in-law (for he had married her daughter.) to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles, with one hundred of his sons and grandsons, in an empty-yard, he there caused them by his archers to be all shot to death. This seems to have been the father of Sysigambis the mother of Darius Codomannus. For Quintius Curtius tells us,² that Ochus slew eighty of her brothers, together with their father, in one day. And with the same cruelty he proceeded against all others through the whole empire of whom he had any suspicion, leaving none of the nobility alive whom he thought to be any way ill-affected toward him. Diodorus Siculus placeth this revolt in the last year of Artaxerxes; but he being a prince whose conduct in the government had thoroughly settled him in the esteem and affection of all his people, it is not likely that so great an insurrection against the royal authority should have happened in his days. But Ochus giving reason enough for it, when the next year after he ascended the throne, I have rather chosen here to place it. For his ill dispositions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his brothers to come at the throne, were causes sufficient to make many of the nobility, who had the government of the provinces of the empire, to abhor the man, and refuse their submission to him. And he having the name of Artaxerxes, this might lead Diodorus into the mistake of placing that in the father's reign which was done in the son's. But this revolt was soon again quashed by the means I have mentioned. Only Datames, governor of Cappadocia, having seized also Paphlagonia, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is no where clearly expressed. But, by what is written of him by Cornelius Nepos³ and Polyænus,⁴ it appears he maintained himself in both these provinces in rebellion against the king of Persia a long while: and it was not till the time of Ochus, and some years after he had been king, that he was, by the treachery of Mithridates, one of his confidants, at length cut off.

An. 356. Ochus 3.—In the first year of the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, about the middle of the summer quarter, Alexander the Great, who overthrew the Persian empire, was born at Pella in Macedonia. Plutarch⁵ and Justin⁶ tell us, that, at the time of his birth, King Philip his father had the news that his horse had won the victory in the horse-race at the Olympic games, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of those games. And Arrian⁷ telling us out of Aristobulus (who accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions,) that he died in the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, in the year when Hegesias was archon at Athens (which was the first year of that Olympiad,) after having lived thirty-two years and eight months; these thirty-two years and eight months being reckoned backward from the said first year of the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, and the month Dæsius, in which he died, will lead us directly to the same time for his birth which I have said. But Eusebius⁸ and the Parian⁹ chronicle place it one year later, that is, in the second year of the said one hundred and sixth Olympiad. On the same day on which he was born,¹⁰ the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus was designedly burned by one Eröstratus;¹¹ when he was put upon the rack to make him confess his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that by destroying so excellent a work, he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembered in after-ages. Whereon the common council of Asia made a decree, that no one should ever name him; but this made him so much the more remembered; so remark-

¹ Justin. lib. 10. c. 3. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 8.

² Lib. 10. c. 8.

³ In Vita Datamis.

⁴ Stratagem. lib. 7.

⁵ In Vita Alexandri.

⁶ Lib. 12. c. 16.

⁷ Lib. 7.

⁸ In Chronico, p. 175.

⁹ Marm. Oxon.

¹⁰ Plutarch. in Alexandro. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 2. et de Divinatione, lib. 1.

¹¹ Valerius Maximus, lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus; c. 40.

able and extravagance scarce escaping any of the historians that have written of those times. Artabazus, governor of one of the Asian provinces,¹ being in rebellion against the king, drew Chares the Athenian to join him with such forces as he then commanded in those parts, and, by his assistance, overthrew an army of seventy thousand of the king's forces, which were sent to reduce them; for the reward of which service Artabazus gave unto Chares as much money as paid all his fleet, and the army which he had on board it. This greatly offended the king; and the Athenians being then engaged in a war against the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, who were associated in a revolt against them, threats were given out, that the king, to be revenged of them, was preparing a fleet of three hundred sail to help their enemies in this war: whereon the Athenians not only recalled Chares, but came also to an accommodation with their revolted subjects, that, thereby being freed from all embarrassments at home, they might be in a better posture to defend themselves from all such invasions as might be made upon them from abroad.

An. 354. Ochus 5.—Artabazus therefore being thus deserted by the Athenians,² applied himself to the Thebans; from whom having obtained a band of auxiliaries to the number of five thousand men, under the command of Pammenes, he did, by their assistance, gain two great victories over the king's forces; which redounded much to the honour of the Thebans and their general that commanded in this expedition.

About the same time happened the death of Mausolus king of Caria,³ which was rendered famous by the great grief which Artemisia⁴ (who was both his sister and his wife) expressed hereat. For she having gathered together his ashes, and beaten his bones to powder, took a portion of them every day in her drink, till she had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her body the sepulchre of her dead husband, and in two years' time pined herself to death in sorrowing for him. But before she died she took care for the erecting of that famous monument for him at Halicarnassus,⁵ which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, and from whence all monuments of more than ordinary magnificence are called Mausoleums.

An. 351. Ochus 8.—As Artemisia succeeded Mausolus in the kingdom, so on her death she was succeeded by Idricus her brother,⁶ who married Ada his sister, in the same manner as Mausolus had married Artemisia, it being usual for the Carian kings to marry their sisters, and for those sisters, on the death of their husbands, to succeed them in the kingdom, before their brothers or children.

The Sidonians and other Phœnicians,⁷ being oppressed and ill-used by those whom the king of Persia had set over them, revolted from him, and entered into confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt against him. The Persians had long waged war with Nectanebus, in order to reduce Egypt again under their yoke, and were then preparing a great army to invade him. But there being no other way for them to enter Egypt but through Phœnicia, the revolt of that country happened very opportune for him; and, therefore, to encourage them to stand out in it, he sent Mentor the Rhodian with four thousand of the Grecian mercenaries to their assistance, hoping thereby to make Phœnicia a barrier to Egypt, and there keep the war out of his own country. The Phœnicians, strengthened by these auxiliaries, took the field, and, by their assistance, overthrew the governors of Syria and Cilicia, two of the king's lieutenants that were sent to reduce them, and drove the Persians wholly out of Phœnicia.

The Cyprians, being provoked by the like ill usage, were encouraged by the success of the Phœnicians to revolt also;⁸ and therefore they joined with them and the Egyptians in the same confederacy. Hereon Ochus dispatched his

1 Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 527, 528. 2 Diodor. *ibid.* 3 Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 529. Plin. lib. 36. c. 5. 6.

4 Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. c. 6. Aulus Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18.

5 Cicero Tusc. Quest. lib. 3. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 650. A. Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18. Pausanias in *Arcadica*.

6 Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534. Arrian, de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656.

7 Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 533.

8 *Ibid.* p. 532.

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orders to Idricus king of Caria,¹ to make war upon them; who, having accordingly got ready a fleet, sent it with eight thousand Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Euagoras, to invade that island; who, having there landed, and augmented their army to double its number by other forces which came to them from Syria and Cilicia, besieged Salamine by sea and land. Another Euagoras had formerly reigned in that city, of whom we have above spoken; on his death he was succeeded by Nicocles his son, and this Euagoras² seems to have been the son of Nicocles, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by Protagoras his uncle, was in banishment when this war began, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his crown. And the knowledge which he had of the country, and the party which he might still have in it, made him thought a very proper person to command in this expedition. Cyprus had then nine chief cities,³ and each of them had its king, but subject to the king of Persia. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the Persian yoke, and making themselves each supreme in his own city.

Ochus finding his wars with the Egyptians to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his lieutenants,⁴ resolved thenceforth to lead his forces in person; and therefore, having gotten together an army of three hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horse, marched with them into Phœnicia. Mentor, who was then in Sidon with the Grecian mercenaries, being terrified with the approach of so great an army, sent privately to Ochus to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver Sidon into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his war with Egypt, where, through his knowledge of the country, he was enabled to do him great services. Ochus, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage Mentor in his service. And he accordingly having received such assurances from Ochus as he desired, engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and, by his assistance, delivered Sidon into his hands. The Sidonians, on his approach to lay siege to their city, had designedly burned all their ships, that none might make use of any of them to withdraw from the defence of their country. And therefore, when they found they were betrayed, and that the enemy was within their walls, having no way now left to escape, either by sea or land, they retired into their houses, and, setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of forty thousand men, besides women and children: and Tennes escaped not any better than the rest; for Ochus, after he had thus subdued Sidon, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also; which was a reward the traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his country to destruction; and may all those who practise the like courses meet with the like fate! There were vast riches of gold and silver in Sidon when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, Ochus sold the ashes of the city for great sums of money. The terrible destruction of this city frightening the rest of the Phœnicians, they all submitted, and made their peace with the king upon the best terms they could; and Ochus was the more willing to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the designs which he had upon Egypt.

But, before he marched thither,⁵ he was recruited with ten thousand mercenaries which were sent him out of Greece; for in the beginning of this expedition Ochus had sent thither for auxiliaries. The Athenians and the Lacedæmonians excused themselves, telling the Persian ambassadors that were sent to them for this purpose, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with the king, but could not send him any succours at that time. But the Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Iphicrates, and the Argives three thousand under the command of Nicostratus. The rest came

¹ This being a petty prince, was subject to the king of Persia, and reigned under his protection, and therefore was obliged to obey his orders.

² Vide Isocratem in Nicocle et Euagora, et Usserii *Annales* ... A. M. 3630. et 3654.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 531, &c.

from the Grecian cities of Asia, and all these joined him immediately after his taking of Sidon.

The Jews seem to have been engaged in this war of the Phœnicians against Ochus: for, after he had taken Sidon,¹ he marched into Judea, and besieged and took Jericho, and, making many of the Jews captives, he led part of them with him into Egypt, and sent a great number of others into Hyrcania, and there planted them on those parts of that country which lay on the Caspian Sea.

Ochus at the same time also got rid of the Cyprian war: for having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of Egypt, that he might not be diverted from it by any other embarrassment,² he was content to come to a composition with the nine Cyprian kings; and therefore, having removed their grievances, they all again submitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the government of their respective territories. The greatest difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a composure, was to content Euagoras, who claimed to be restored to his kingdom of Salamine; but he being convicted before Ochus of great crimes there committed, for which he was justly ejected, Protagoras was continued at Salamine, and amends were made Euagoras, by conferring on him the government of another place. But, having there run into the same misdemeanors which he had been guilty of at Salamine, he was ejected thence also; whereon being forced to flee into Cyprus, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

An. 350. Ochus 9.—Cyprus, as well as Phœnicia, being thus wholly reduced, and settled again in peace,³ Ochus set forward for this Egyptian expedition. In his way he lost many of his men at the lake of Serbonis. This lake lay in the entrance into Egypt from Phœnicia, of the extent of about thirty miles in length. The south wind blowing the sand of the desert upon it, made a crust upon the surface of the water, that in appearance looked like firm land; but if any went upon it, they were soon swallowed up and lost. And thus it happened to as many of Ochus's men as for want of good guides marched on upon it. And there are instances of whole armies which have been thus lost in that place. On his arrival in Egypt, he planted his camp near Pelusium, and from thence sent out three detachments to invade the country, setting a Grecian and a Persian in joint commission over each of them. Over the first he put Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia; over the second Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes; and over the third Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of his eunuchs; to each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the army about himself, in the place where he had first encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the distresses and prosecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, Nectanebus having sufficient notice from these preparations against him, to provide for his defence, had gotten together an army of one hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were mercenaries, out of Greece, and twenty thousand out of Lybia, and the rest Egyptians. With some of these he garrisoned his towns on the borders, and with the rest guarded those passes through which the enemy was to enter into the country. The first of Ochus's detachments, under the command of Lachares, sat down before Pelusium, which was garrisoned with five thousand Greeks. While this siege was carrying on, Nicostratus, having put his detachment on board a squadron of the Persian fleet of eighty ships that attended him, sailed up, through one of the channels of the Nile, into the heart of the country, and, having there landed his forces, strongly encamped them in a place convenient for it. Whereon all the soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons taking the alarm, gathered together under the command of Clinius, a Grecian of the island of Cos, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce battle between them, in which Clinius, with about five thousand of his men, being slain, and all the rest dissipated and broken, this in

1 Solinus, c. 25. Syncellus ex Africano, p. 256. Orosius, lib. 31. c. 7. Joseph. ex Hecataeo, lib. 1. contra Apionem. Euseb. in Chron.

2 Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534.

3 Ibid. p. 534, 535.

a manner determined the whole fate of the war. For hereon Nectanebus, fearing lest Nicostratus should sail up the river with his victorious force, and take Memphis the metropolis of his kingdom, he hastened thither for its defence, leaving those passes into his country open, which it was his chief interest to have defended. When the Grecians who garrisoned Pelusium heard of this retreat; they gave all for lost, and therefore, coming to a parley with Lachares, agreed upon terms of being safely conveyed into Greece, with all that belonged to them, to yield the town to him. And Mentor, with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted and left open, marched through them, and without any opposition, took in all that part of the country. For having given it out through all his camp, that Ochus had given orders graciously to receive such as should yield unto him, but utterly to destroy all those that should stand out, in the same manner as he had destroyed the Sidonians, he permitted all his captives to escape, that they might carry the report of it all over the country; who accordingly returning to their respective cities, and dispersing every where what they had heard was ordered by Ochus, and the brutal cruelty of the man making it believed, this so frightened the garrisons through all the country, that, in every city, both Greeks and Egyptians were at strife which of them should first yield to the invader: which Nectanebus perceiving, despaired of any longer being able to defend himself; and therefore gathering together all the treasure he could get into his hands, fled with it into Ethiopia, and never again returned. And this was the last Egyptian that ever reigned in this country, it having been ever since enslaved to strangers, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel,¹ which hath been already taken notice of. Ochus having thus made an absolute conquest of Egypt, he dismantled their chief cities, and plundered their temples, and then returned in triumph to Babylon, loaded with vast treasures of gold and silver, and other spoils gotten in this war, leaving Pherendates, one of his nobles, governor of the country. And here Manetho² endeth his commentaries which he wrote of the Egyptian affairs. He was a priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, and wrote in the Greek language a history of all the several dynasties of Egypt,³ from the beginning of that kingdom to this time, which is often quoted by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and others, an epitome whereof is preserved in Syncellus. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; for to him he dedicates his book.

The chief cause of Nectanebus's losing of his kingdom was his over-confidence in himself.⁴ He had gained his kingdom by the assistance of Agesilaus, and had preserved himself in it by the prudence and valour of Diaphantus an Athenian, and Lamius a Spartan, who managing his wars and commanding his armies for him made him victorious against the Persians in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himself now sufficient to conduct his own affairs, and therefore dismissing those by whose help he had hitherto subsisted, he was now ruined for want of it.

An. 349. Ochus 10.—Ochus having thus mastered this war, and recovered Phœnicia and Egypt again to his crown, he nobly rewarded the service of Mentor the Rhodian.⁵ The other Greeks he had sent back into their own country, with ample rewards, before he left Egypt; but the success of the whole expedition being chiefly owing to Mentor, he not only gave him one hundred talents, with many other valuable gifts, but also made him governor of the Asiatic coasts, and committed to his charge the management of the war which he still had with some of the provinces that had there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and made him generalissimo of all his forces in those parts. Mentor having thus gained so great a share in the favour of Ochus, he made use of it to reconcile unto him Memnon his brother, and Artabazus who had married their sister; for they had both been in a war against him. Of the

¹ Chap. xxix. ver. 14, 15.

⁴ Diodo. Sic. lib. 16. p. 535.

² Syncellus, p. 256.

³ Vide Vossius de Historicis Græcis, c. 14.

⁵ Idem, lib. 16. p. 537.

revolt of Artabazus, and the several victories which he had gained over the king's forces, I have already spoken; but he being at length overpowered, took refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had joined with him in those wars, was forced to bear with him the same banishment. After this reconciliation they both became very serviceable to Ochus, his successors of that race, especially Memnon, who was a person of the greatest valour and military skill of any of his time. And Mentor was not wanting in answering that confidence which the king had placed in him: for, when settled in his province, he soon restored the king's authority in those parts, and made all that had revolted again submit to him. Some he circumvented by stratagem and military skill, and others he subdued by open force, and so wisely managed all his advantages, that at length he reduced all again under their former yoke, and thoroughly re-established the king's affairs in all those provinces.

An. 348. Ochus. 11.]—In the first year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, died Plato,¹ the famous Athenian philosopher. The most eminent of his scholars was Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic philosophy. He was by birth of Stagira,² a small city on the River Strymon, in the northern confines of Macedonia. He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad (which was the year before Christ 384.) At the age of seventeen he came to Athens, and became one of the scholars of Plato, and heard him till his death. Speusippus succeeding Plato in his school, Aristotle went into Asia, to Hermias the eunuch, who was king of Atarna, a city of Mysia, and having married his niece, lived with him three years; till at length Hermias, being circumvented and drawn into a snare by Mentor the Rhodian, who commanded for Ochus in those parts, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Persian court, where he was put to death. Hereon Aristotle fled to Mitylene, and from thence went into Macedonia, and became preceptor to Alexander the Great, with whom he tarried eight years. After this he returned to Athens, and there taught the Peripatetic philosophy in the Lyceum twelve years. But being accused of holding some notions contrary to the religion there established, and not daring to venture himself on a new trial, for fear of Socrates' fate, he withdrew to Chalcis, a town in Eubœa, and there died about two years after, being then sixty-three years old. While he lived with Hermias in Asia, he there fell acquainted with a Jew of wonderful wisdom,³ temperance, and goodness, who came thither from the upper parts of Asia upon some business which he had on those maritime coasts, and, having frequent conversation with him, learned much from him. This Josephus tells us, from a book written by Clearchus, who was one of the chiefest of Aristotle's scholars. And from what he then learned from this Jew, it is most likely, proceeded what Aristobulus,⁴ and out of him Clemens Alexandrinus, have observed of Aristotle's philosophy, that is, that it contains many things which agree with what is written by Moses and the prophets in the scriptures of the Old Testament.

An. 347. Ochus 12.]—Ochus, after he had subdued Egypt, and reduced again all the revolted provinces, gave himself wholly up to his ease, spending the rest of his life in luxury, laziness, and pleasure;⁵ and left the administration of his affairs wholly to his ministers; the chiefest of which were Bagoas his favourite eunuch, and Mentor the Rhodian, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the Upper Asia, and the latter those of the Lower.

An. 341. Ochus 18.]—Johanan, high-priest of the Jews, died in the eighteenth year of Ochus, after he had been in that office thirty-two years,⁶ and was succeeded by Jaddua his son, who held it twenty years.⁷

An. 338. Ochus 21.]—Ochus died after he had reigned twenty-one years,⁸

1 Diogenes Laertius in Platone. Dionysius Halicarnesseus in Epistola and Annæum de Demosthene. Athenæus, lib. 5. c. 13.

2 Diog. Laer. in Aristotele. See also Mr. Stanley's Account of the Life of Aristotle, in his History of Philosophy.

3 Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apion.

6 Chronicon Alexandr.

4 In libro quinto Stromatum.

7 Joseph. Antig. lib. 11. c. 7.

5 Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537

8 Can. Ptol.

being poisoned by Bagoas the eunuch.¹ This eunuch being an Egyptian by birth, had a love for his country, and a zeal for his country religion, and thought to have influenced Ochus in favour of both, on the conquest of that kingdom; but not being able to overrule the brutal ferocity of that prince, those acts were done in respect of each of them, which he deeply resented ever after. For Ochus, on his conquering of Egypt, not only dismantled their cities, robbed the inhabitants, and plundered their temples (as hath been already mentioned,) but also carried away all their public records² (which were repositied and kept with great sacredness in their temples,) and, in contempt of their religion, slew their god Apis, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshipped under that name. For Ochus being as remarkable for his sloth and stupid inactivity,³ as he was for his cruelty, the Egyptians, for this reason, nicknamed him the Ass, which angered him so far, that he caused their Apis to be taken out of the temple where he was kept, and made him to be sacrificed to an ass, and then ordered his cook to dress up the flesh of the slain beast to be eaten by his attendants. All this greatly offended Bagoas. The records he afterward redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back again to their former archives. But the affront offered his religion he most resented; and it is said, that it was chiefly in revenge of this that he poisoned him. And his revenge did not rest here; but having caused another body to be buried instead of his,⁴ he kept the true carcass, and in revenge of his having caused the flesh of their Apis to be eaten by his attendants, he cut his flesh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by cats, and made of his bones handles for swords. And, no doubt, when he did all this, there were other causes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old resentments, and creating new ones, provoked the traitor to all this villany against his master and benefactor, which he executed upon him.

An. 337. Arses 1.]—After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, who had now the whole power of the empire in his hands,⁵ made Arses, the youngest of his sons, king in his stead, and put all the rest to death; thinking that, by thus removing all rivals, he might best secure to himself the authority which he had usurped; for the name of king was all that he allowed to Arses; the power and authority of the government he wholly reserved to himself.

Philip, king of Macedon,⁶ having overthrown the Thebans and Athenians in a great battle, at Chæronea, made himself thereby in a manner lord of all Greece; and, therefore,⁷ calling together at Corinth an assembly of all the Grecian cities and states, he there caused himself to be chosen captain-general of all Greece, for the carrying on of a war against the Persians, and made every city to be taxed at a certain number of men, which each of them was to send and maintain in this expedition.

An. 336. Arses 2.]—And the next year after,⁸ he sent Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, three of his chiefest captains, into Asia to begin the war, purposing soon after to follow in person with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the Persian empire. But when he was just ready to set forward on this expedition, he was slain at home,⁹ while he was celebrating the marriage of Cleopatra, his daughter, with Alexander king of Epirus. Patsanias, a young noble Macedonian, and one of his guards, having had his body forced and sodomitically abused, by Attalus, the chief of the king's confidants, he had often complained to Philip of the injury; but finding no redress, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury, upon him that refused to do him justice for it, and slew him as he was passing in great pomp to the theatre to finish the solemnities whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It is¹⁰ observed by Diodorus, that, in this solemnity, the images of the twelve gods and goddesses

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564. ² Idem. lib. 16. p. 537.

³ Seyerus Sulpitius, lib. 2. ⁴ *Æliani Var. Hist.* lib. 4. c. 8. ⁵ *Suidas in Ὄξεσ.*

⁶ *Æliani Var. Hist.* lib. 6. c. 8. ⁷ Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

⁸ Plutarch. in *Demosthene et Phocione.* ⁹ Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 535. ¹⁰ Justin. lib. 9. c. 3.

⁷ Justin. lib. 9. c. 5. ⁸ Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537.

⁹ Justin. lib. 9. c. 5. ¹⁰ Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 538, 539.

⁸ Justin. et Diodor. *ibid.*

¹⁰ Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 538.

being carried before him into the theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dressed in the same pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the honour of a god; but he being slain as soon as this image entered the theatre, this very signally proved him to be a mortal. After his death he was succeeded by Alexander his son, being then twenty years old.

About the same time, Arses king of Persia¹ was slain by the like treachery, but not for so just a cause. For Bagoas, finding that Arses began to be apprised of all his villanies and treasons, and was taking measures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came beforehand with him, and cut off him, and all his family.

An. 335. Darius 1.—After Bagoas had thus made the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, he placed on it Darius,² the third of that name that reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomannus; that of Darius he took afterward when he came to be king. He is said not to be of the royal family, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal seed, as descended from Darius Nothus; for that Darius had a son called Ostanès, of whom mention is made in Plutarch,³ and he had a son called Arsanes,⁴ who marrying Sysigambis, his sister, was by her the father of Codomannus. This Ostanès, Ochus⁵ put to death on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons. How Codomannus came to escape this slaughter is no where said; only it is to be observed, that in the former part of Ochus's reign, he made a very poor figure; for he was then no more than an Astanda,⁶ that is, one of the public posts, or couriers that carried the royal despatches through the empire. If we suppose him to have been the chiefest of them, in the same manner as there is a postmaster in England, and a chaous-bashee at Constantinople, over all the rest of that order and employment (which is the highest interpretation the word will bear,) this will be but a low office for one of the royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which Ochus had with the Cadusians, toward the latter end of his reign, a bold champion of that nation having challenged the whole Persian army to find him a man to fight a single combat with him,⁷ and Codomannus having accepted the challenge after all others had refused, and slain the Cadusian, for the reward of this action he was made governor of Armenia, and from thence, after the death of Arses, by the means of Bagoas, ascended the throne in the manner as I have mentioned. But he had not been long on it, ere Bagoas finding that he was not one that would answer his purpose, in permitting him to govern all in his name (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement,) resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion for him. But Darius being apprised of the design,⁸ when the potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himself, and so got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, and thereby became thoroughly settled in the kingdom, without any farther difficulty. The character given of him is, that he was for his stature and make of his body the goodliest person in the whole Persian empire, and of the greatest personal valour of any in it, and of a disposition mild and generous; but having the good fortune of Alexander to encounter with, he could not stand against it. And he had been scarce warm on the throne before he found this enemy preparing to dismount him from it.

For Alexander, soon after his father's death,⁹ having called the general council of all the states and free cities of Greece to meet again at Corinth, there prevailed with them to be chosen his successor in the same general command which they had conferred on him before his death, for a war against the Persians; and all, excepting the Lacedemonians, consented hereto. But the war which Alexander had with the Illyrians and Triballians, calling him north so far as the River Danube, in his absence, the Athenians, Thebans, and some other cities,

1 Idem, lib. 17. p. 564.

2 Idem, *ibid.*

3 In Artaxerxe.

4 Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

5 Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 5.

6 Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexandri, et in Vita ejusdem.

7 Diodor. *ibid.* Justin. lib. 10. c. 3.

8 Diodor. *ibid.*

9 Justin. lib. 11. c. 2. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

agreed to revoke this decree made in his favour, and entered into a confederacy against him. But Alexander, returning conqueror from his northern wars, soon brake this league: for passing the Straits of Thermopylæ with his victorious army,¹ he terrified the Athenians into a submission; and several other cities, following their example, made their peace with him; only the Thebans stood out. Whereon Alexander, laying siege to their city, took it by storm, and absolutely destroyed it, slaying ninety thousand of the inhabitants, and selling the rest to the number of thirty thousand more, into slavery. The severity of which execution spread such a terror of his arms over all Greece, as brought all to submit. So that, in a second council which he called at Corinth, he was again chosen captain-general of all Greece against the Persians, by a universal suffrage, and every city consented to its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war.

An. 334. Darius 2.—Hereon Alexander returned into Macedonia, and having by the next spring there gotten his forces together, marched with them to Sestus,² and there passed the Hellespont into Asia. The army which he led thither, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. And with so small an army he attempted, and also accomplished, the conquest of the whole Persian empire, and added India also to this acquisition. But that which was most remarkable in this undertaking was, that he set out on it only with seventy talents,³ which was scarce sufficient to furnish the army with necessaries for thirty days: for the rest he wholly cast himself upon Providence, and Providence did not fail him herein: for, within a few days after, having encountered the Persian army at the river Granicus, he gained a great victory over them, though they were above five times his number, which put him in possession, not only of Darius's treasure at Sardis, but also of all the provinces of Lesser Asia: for immediately all the Grecian cities in those parts declared for him, and, after that, several of the provinces made their submission to him, and those which did not were subdued by force; and in these transactions was spent the remaining part of the year.

Before he went into winter-quarters,⁴ he ordered all of his army that had married that year to return into Macedonia, and spend the winter with their wives, and return again in the spring, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the Jewish law (Deut. xxiv. 5,) and being without any instance of the like to be found in the usages of any other nation, it is most likely Aristotle learned it from the Jew he so much conversed with while in Asia, and approving of it as a most equitable usage, communicated it to Alexander, while he was his scholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practising it at this time.

An. 333. Darius 3.—The next year after in the beginning of the spring,⁵ he reduced Phrygia under his obedience, and after that Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and settled all these provinces under the government of such of his followers as he thought fit to appoint.

In the interim, Darius was not wanting to prepare for his defence.⁶ The advice which Memnon the Rhodian then gave him, was to carry the war into Macedonia; and a wiser course could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in: for he would be sure there to have the Lacedemonians, and several other of the Grecian states who maligned the Macedonian power, to join with him; which would soon have brought back Alexander out of Asia, to defend his own country. Darius being made fully sensible of the reasonableness of this advice, resolved to follow it, and therefore committed the execution of it to its author, making Memnon admiral of his fleet, and captain-general of all his forces that were appointed for this expedition; and he

¹ Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 566, &c.

² Arrian. lib. 1. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

³ At the highest reckoning it comes to no more than 14,437*l*. of our money.

⁵ Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

⁴ Arrian. lib. 1.

⁶ Ibid.

could not have made a better choice; for he was the wisest man and the ablest general that Darius had of his side, and for some years had very faithfully adhered to the Persian interest, and was one of their generals at the battle of Granicus; and, had he been hearkened to by the other generals, the misfortune which there happened would have been avoided: for his advice was, not then to have hazarded battle, but to have desolated the country through which the Macedonians were to march; and, had this been followed, Alexander would have been forced soon to have returned for want of provisions to support his army. But the rashness and folly of the other generals overbearing what he wisely offered, that defeat ensued which opened the way to the ruin of the Persian empire. However, he did not desert Darius's interest on the misfortune of that day; but having gathered up the remains of the Persian army, retreated with them first to Miletus, and from thence to Halicarnassus, and, lastly, to the isle of Cos, where Darius's commission and the Persian fleet meeting him he set himself on the executing of the design committed to his charge; in order where-to he took in Chios and all Lesbos, except Mitylene, purposing next to pass into Eubœa, and from thence to have made Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war. But that city holding out a siege, he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruin of that design, and the ruin of the Persian empire was the consequence of it. For Darius having no other general of valour and wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it. And therefore having nothing now to depend upon for his defence but his eastern armies,¹ he drew them altogether at Babylon, to the number, saith Plutarch, of six hundred thousand men, and marched from thence to meet the enemy; which Alexander hearing of, made haste through Cilicia to take possession of the straits which led from that country into Syria, purposing there to expect and fight the Persian army: for within those straits there not being room any where to draw up above thirty thousand men in battle array, the Macedonians could there bring all their men to fight, and the Persians scarce the twentieth part of theirs; and therefore, should it there come to a battle, they would have no advantage of their numbers. Some of the Greeks who followed Darius, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the plains of Mesopotamia, and there expect the enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the battle; but the flattery of the courtiers, and his adverse fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice: for he was made believe that Alexander was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him, while entangled in those straits, lest otherwise he should escape his hands. This drew Darius to fight in those straits, where, being able to extend his front no longer than the Macedonians, by reason of the mountains which enclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the valour of the Macedonians soon breaking the first line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole Persian army into disorder; and the Macedonians pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward upon those that fled, this increased the confusion, till at length their whole army was driven to a rout; and the crowd which was made in the flight of so numerous an army through those narrow passes being very great, the greatest number that fell that day were of such as were trampled to death by their own men as they pressed to escape. Darius, who fought in the first line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight; but all his camp, bag and baggage, with his mother, wife and children (which, according to the usage of the Persian kings, were carried with him in the campaign,) fell into the enemy's hands, and above one hundred thousand Persians were left dead upon the field of battle. This battle was fought at Issus in Cilicia, toward the latter end of the year, about the beginning

¹ Plut. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

of our November: and the immediate consequence of it to the advantage of Alexander was, that it settled all the provinces behind him in their subjection to him, and added all Syria to his former acquisitions, the capital whereof was Damascus. Thither Darius, before the battle, had sent his treasure and most of his valuable moveables, with his concubines, and the greatest number of the court ladies that followed the camp, under a guard to protect them. All these, with the town, the governor, as soon as he heard of the flight of Darius, betrayed unto Alexander, and Parmenio was sent to take possession of the place; where, besides a vast treasure in money and plate, he found three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, and a great many other ladies, that were the wives or daughters of the principal nobility of Persia, whom he made all captives. And among them was Barsena, the widow of Memnon, who being a lady of great beauty, as soon as she came into the sight of Alexander, she made a captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and taking her into his bed, had a son by her, called Hercules, who at the age of seventeen, being called for by the Macedonians to be their king, was murdered by the treachery of Cassander and Polysperchon to prevent it.

While Parmenio took in Damascus and Cœle-Syria,¹ Alexander marched with the main of his army along the sea-coasts toward Phœnicia. As he advanced, all yielded to him, and none more readily than the Sidonians. Eighteen years before, Ochus had miserably destroyed that city, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into Persia, those who by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped that massacre, returned and again built their city. But ever after detesting the Persians for their cruelty to it, they were glad of this occasion of shaking off their yoke, and therefore were of the first in those parts that sent to Alexander on his march that way to make their submission to him. But when he came to Tyre, he there found a stop. As he approached their territories, the Tyrians sent ambassadors to him with presents to himself, and provisions for his army: but being rather desirous to have peace with him as a friend, than willing to submit to him as a master, when he would have entered their city, they denied him admittance; which Alexander, now flushed with so many victories, not being able to bear, resolved to force them by a siege, and they, on the other hand, resolved to stand it out against him. What encouraged them to this resolution, was the strength of the place, and the confidence which they had in the assistance promised them by their allies. For the city then stood on an island, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, and was fortified with a strong wall drawn round it, upon the brink of the sea, of one hundred and fifty feet in height; and the Carthaginians, who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had engaged to send them succours in the siege. And what gave them this confidence for the war, gave Alexander no less trouble in mastering the difficulties which he found in it; for the city being so situated (as I have said,) he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an assault, but by carrying a bank from the continent through the sea to the island on which the city stood.

An. 332. Darius 4.]—And therefore having resolved at any rate to take the city, he resolved on the making of such a bank to approach it, which he accomplished, with unwearied labour, in seven months' time, and, by means thereof, at length took the city. Had he here suffered a baffle, it would have conduced much to the sinking of his credit, and this might have lessened his success every where else in the future progress of his affairs; of which being thoroughly sensible, he spared no pains to surmount this obstacle, and by assiduous application, at last carried his point. To make this bank or causey, the town of Old Tyre, which lay on the continent, furnished him with stones and rubbish (for he pulled it all down for this purpose,) and Mour. Libanus, which

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian. lib. 2. Josephus, lib. 11. c. 8. Justin. lib. 11.

is so famous in scripture for its cedars, being near, supplied him with timber for the work. And by this means having carried home his causey from the continent to the island, he there stormed the town and took it. And that bank or causey is there still remaining even to this day,¹ and of the very same length as anciently described, that is, of half a mile; whereby what was formerly an island at that distance from the shore was thenceforth made a peninsula, and so it hath ever since continued.

The Carthaginians having troubles at home, the Tyrians could not have from them that assistance which was promised; however, they fainted not in their resolutions of standing to their defence, and therefore, when Alexander sent to them ambassadors with terms of peace they threw them into the sea, and went on with the war. But many of them, for fear of the worst, sent their wives and children to Carthage. They had in their city a brazen statue or colossus of Apollo, of a great height. This formerly belonged to the city of Gela in Sicily: the Carthaginians having taken Gela in the year 405,² sent it to Tyre, their mother city, where it was set up and worshipped by the Tyrians. During this siege, a fancy taking them, upon a dream which some one among them had to this purpose, that Apollo was about to leave them, and go over to Alexander, for the preventing hereof, they chained this statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their god from going from them. To such ridiculous imaginations and superstitions was the religion of those times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their false gods, the oracles of the true God having destined them to destruction, this became their fate. For although what is predicted of the destruction of Tyre by Isaiah, chap. xxiii. and by Ezekiel, chap. xxvi.—xxviii. was in part verified in the destruction of that city by Nebuchadnezzar, yet there are several particulars in these prophecies which seem applicable to this only. For Nebuchadnezzar's devastation reached no further than Old Tyre; those that were in the island escaped that ruin. But the desolation of both is plainly threatened in some parts of these prophecies, that is, of that which stood on the island as well as that which was on the continent; and this Alexander only effected. Old Tyre he wholly demolished to make his causey to the New; by the means of which, having taken that new town, he burnt it down to the ground, and destroyed or enslaved all the inhabitants: eight thousand he slew in the sackage of the town, and two thousand of those he took prisoners he caused to be crucified. Those who were before sent to Carthage escaped this ruin, and a great number were saved by the Sidonians,³ and secretly conveyed away in their ships, on the taking of the place; all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were sold for slaves. The cruelty to the two thousand who were crucified, was unworthy of a generous conqueror. This Alexander did to gratify his rage, for being so long detained before the place, and there so valiantly resisted; but afterward, to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of just revenge upon them, for their murdering their masters, and that, being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment proper for them. This depended upon an old story: for some ages before,⁴ the slaves of Tyre having made a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night (save only Strato, whom his slave secretly saved,) and marrying their mistresses, continued masters of the town; and from them the present Tyrians being descended, Alexander pretended thus to revenge on them the murder committed by their progenitors some ages before; and, to make it look the more plausible, he saved all the family of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt, and, among them, Azelmelic their king, who was of it, and continued the crown still to him and his family, after he had again re peopled the place: for, having thus ridded it of its former inhabitants, he planted it anew with colonies drawn

1 See Maundrel's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 48—50.

2 Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 390.

3 The number of those who were thus saved, Curtius tells us, were fifteen thousand.

4 Justin. lib. 18. c. 3.

from the neighbouring places, and from thence would be esteemed the founder of that city, though in truth he was the cruel destroyer of it.

On his taking this city he unchained Apollo, rendered thanks to him for his intentions of coming over to him, sacrificed to Hercules, and did a great many other superstitious follies, which were reckoned as acts of religion in those days, and then marched toward Jerusalem.

For the Tyrians, being wholly given to merchandize, and neglecting husbandry, were mostly supplied with provisions by their neighbours; and Galilee,¹ Samaria, and Judea, being the countries from which they were chiefly furnished Alexander, when he sat down before Tyre, was forced to seek for his provisions from the same quarters; and, therefore, sent out his commissaries to require the inhabitants to submit to him, and furnish him with all necessaries for the support of his army. The Jews pleaded their oath to Darius;² by which thinking themselves obliged not to own any new master, so long as he lived, would not obey his commands. This exceedingly angered Alexander, who in the flush of his late victories thinking all ought to submit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. *And therefore, as soon as he had done with Tyre, he marched against Jerusalem, with intention to punish the Jews as severely as he had the Tyrians, for not obeying his commands. In this distress, Jaddua the high-priest, who had then the immediate government of that people under the Persians, being in great perplexity, and all Jerusalem with him, they had no other course to take, but to fling themselves upon God's protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger; and, therefore, in order hereto, they made their devout addresses unto him with sacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God, being moved to compassion toward them, directed Jaddua; in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the priests attending him in their proper habits, and all the people in white garments. Jaddua, in obedience hereto, the next day went forth in the manner directed, with the priests and people ranged as in a sacred procession, and all habited as the vision commanded, and advancing to a place called Sapha³ (an eminence without Jerusalem, which commanded a prospect of all the country round, as well as of the city and temple of Jerusalem,) there waited the coming of Alexander, and, on his approach, met him in this pompous and solemn manner. As soon as the king saw the high-priest in this manner coming toward him, he was struck with a profound awe at the spectacle, and, hastening forward, bowed down to him, and saluted him with a religious veneration, to the great surprise of all that attended him, especially of the Syrians and Phœnicians, who expected nothing less than that Alexander should have destroyed this people as he had the Tyrians; and they came thither with an eager desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the execution. While all stood amazed at this behaviour, which was so much contrary to their expectations, Parmenio asked the king the reason of it, and how it came to pass, that he, whom all adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high-priest; to which he answered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was. For that, when he was at Dio in Macedonia, and there deliberating with himself how he should carry on his war against the Persians, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very person, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to lay aside all thoughtfulness and diffidence about this matter, and pass boldly over into Asia, promising him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the empire of the Persians; and that therefore, on his seeing this person, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his shape and countenance, that he was the very same that appeared to him at Dio, he assured himself from hence, that he made the present war under the conduct of God, and should certainly, by his

¹ Acts xii. 20.

² Josephus, lib. 1. c. 8.

³ It was so called from the Hebrew Zapha, which signifieth to see as from a watch tower, or any other eminence.

assistance, conquer Darius, and overthrow the Persian empire, and succeed in all things concerning it according to his desire; and that therefore, in the person of this his high-priest, he paid adoration unto him. Hereon, turning again to Jaddua, he kindly embraced him, and entered Jerusalem with him in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices to God in the temple; where Jaddua having shown him the prophecies of Daniel,¹ which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king, he went from thence with the greater assurance of success in his farther carrying on of the war, not doubting, but that he was the person meant by those prophecies. All which particulars rendering him kindly affected to the Jews, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bid them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the freedom of their country, laws, and religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying any tribute, because in that year, according to their law, they neither sowed nor reaped, Alexander readily granted them all this request; which brought another very troublesome solicitation upon him.

For he was scarce gone out of Jerusalem, but he was accosted by the Samaritans,² who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him, that he would honour also their city and temple with his presence. These are Josephus's words; and they plainly prove, that the temple which they invited Alexander to must have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him, while he was at the siege of Tyre, as he elsewhere by mistake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him while at that siege, the first foundations of it could scarce have been laid by this time. For the siege of Tyre lasted only seven months, and immediately from the taking of it he came to Jerusalem. The same Josephus indeed tells us, that Alexander from Tyre went immediately to Gaza, and did not, till after two months more spent in the taking of that city, come to Jerusalem. But herein he must be again mistaken:³ for Jerusalem lying in the way from Tyre to Gaza, it is by no means likely, that Alexander should from Tyre go directly to Gaza, then passing by Jerusalem, and after return three or four days' march with all his army back again to that city; or that he should at all think it safe to begin the siege of Gaza, while such a city as Jerusalem was left untaken behind him: and moreover, all that write of the life and actions of Alexander, tells us, that from the taking of Gaza, he went directly into Egypt. And, therefore, taking it for certain, that his progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from thence to Gaza, I have related it in this order. However, supposing it were otherwise, there would hereby be only two months more added to the seven above mentioned for the building of this temple, the siege of Gaza lasting no longer; and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that such a temple could be built in nine months as in seven. When the Jews refused to obey that summons, which Alexander sent them from Tyre to submit to him,⁴ these Samaritans readily complied with it, and, to ingratiate themselves the more with him, sent eight thousand of their men to assist him in that siege; and, valuing themselves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the Jews, and therefore, finding how well the Jews had fared, thought they might obtain at least the same, if not much greater grants from him; and, in order hereto, made this procession to invite him to their city, and the eight thousand Samaritans that were in Alexander's army joined with them herein. Alexander answered them kindly, telling them, that he was hastening into Egypt, and had not then time to spare; but that when he should come back again, he would comply with their desires as far as his affairs would permit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying tribute on the seventh year. Hereon Alexander asked them,

¹ That is, what is written in Daniel of the ram and he-goat, (chap. viii.) where that he-goat is interpreted to be the king of Grecia, who should conquer the Medes and Persians (ver. 21.) and also what is written by the same prophet of the said Grecian king (chap. xi. 3.) For both these prophecies foretold the destruction of the Persian empire by a Grecian king.

² Josephus, lib. 1. c. 8.

³ Vide Usseii *Annales* sub Anno Mundi 3873.

⁴ Josephus, lib. 1. c. 8.

whether they were Jews? for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they answered, that they were Hebrews, who, observing the same law as the Jews did, neither reaped nor sowed in that year, and he having, for this reason granted the Jews this immunity, they desired of him, that, having the same plea for it, they might have the same grant also. Alexander, not being then at leisure to make full inquiry into this matter, referred this also to his return, telling them, that then he would fully inform himself as to what they proposed, and would do therein what should be reasonable, and then marched on to Gaza.

On his arrival at that city,¹ he found it strongly garrisoned under one of Darius's eunuchs, named Betis, who being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his master, defended it to the utmost; and it being the inlet into Egypt, Alexander could not pass thither till he had taken it. This necessitated him to set down before it; and notwithstanding that the utmost of military skill, and the utmost of vigour and application, was made use of in the assailing of the place, yet it cost Alexander and all his army two months' time before they could master it. The stop which this did put to his intended march into Egypt, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked his anger to that degree, that, on his taking the place, he treated the commander and all else that he found in it with inexcusable cruelty. For having slain ten thousand of the men, he sold all the rest with their wives and children into slavery; and when Betis was brought to him (whom they took alive in that assault wherein they carried the place,) instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn through them, and caused him thereby to be tied to the hinder part of a chariot, and dragged round the city till he died, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who, as Homer has it, thus dragged Hector round the walls of Troy. But that was a barbarous act in the example, and much more so in the imitation: for it was only Hector's dead carcass that Achilles dragged round Troy; but Alexander thus treated Betis while alive, and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cause, but that he faithfully and valiantly served his master in the post committed to his charge: which was deserving of a reward even from an enemy, rather than of so cruel a punishment; and Alexander would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of Homer, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror having the *Iliads* of this poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he slept, and read in them on all leisure opportunities, and therefore, finding Achilles to be the great hero of that poem, he thought every thing said of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readiest way to make him an hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire which he had of making his name in like manner to be celebrated in after ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings. But, in reality, were all his actions duly estimated, he could deserve no other character than that of the great cut-throat of the age in which he lived. But the folly of mankind, and the error of historians, is such, that they usually make the actions of war, bloodshed, and conquest, the subject of their highest encomiums, and those their most celebrated heroes that most excel therein. In a righteous cause, and the just defence of a man's country, all actions of valour are indeed just reasons of praise; but in all other cases, victory and conquest are no more than murder and rapine; and every one is to be detested, as the greatest enemy to mankind, that is most active herein. Those only are true heroes, who most benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but such as oppress it with the slaughter of men, the desolation of countries, the burning of cities, and the other calamities which attend war are the scourges of God, the *Attilas* of the age in which they live, and the greatest plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never sent

¹ Josephus, lib. 1. c. 8. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 6. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. l. 17.

into the world but for the punishment of it; and therefore ought, as such, to be prayed against, and detested by all mankind. To make these the subject of praise and panegyric, is to lay ill examples before princes, as if such oppressions of mankind were the truest ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late prince, who, having broke through treaties, leagues, and oaths, to rob his neighbours of their territories, gave no other reason for the war, but that it was for his glory. And it is too plain, that the like vain and false notions of gaining glory in this way, is that grand impulse upon the minds of princes, which moves them to most of those destructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the world is so often disturbed, and such great mischiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

As soon as Alexander had finished the siege of Gaza, and settled a garrison there,¹ he marched directly for Egypt, and on the seventh day after arrived at Pelusium, where he was met by great numbers of Egyptians, who thither flocked to him to own him for their sovereign, and make their submission to him; for their hatred to the Persians was such, that they were glad of any new comer that would deliver them from that insolence and indignity with which they treated them and their religion. For how bad soever any religion may be (and a worse than that of the Egyptians could scarce any where be contrived,) yet as long as it is their national religion, no nation will bear affront and indignity to be offered to it; and nothing usually provokes a people more than such a treatment. Ochus had slain their god Apis in a manner of indignity, the most affronting that could be offered to them, or their religion; and the Persians whom he left to govern the country carried on the humour of treating them in the same manner; which raised their indignation against them to so great a height, that when Amyntas came thither a little before but with a handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him, for the driving of the Persians out of the country. This Amyntas having revolted from Alexander to Darius, was one of the commanders of the mercenary Greeks at the battle of Issus,² from whence having brought off four thousand of his men, he got to Tripoli in Syria, and having seized as many of the ships which he found there as would serve his purpose, he burned the rest, and sailed thence, first to Cyprus, and then to Pelusium in Egypt, and siezed that place: for, coming thither under pretence of a commission from Darius to be governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces the former governor, who was slain at Issus, he, by this means, got quiet admission thither; but as soon as he had made himself master of that strong fortress, he declared his intentions of seizing Egypt for himself, and driving the Persians thence; and great numbers of the Egyptians, out of hatred to the Persians, readily joined with him for this purpose; whereon he marched directly for Memphis, the capital of that kingdom, and in the first battle which he had with the Persians, he got the victory, and shut them up within the walls of that city. But after this success, Amyntas permitting his soldiers to straggle for the plundering of the country, the Persians took the advantage of sallying upon them, while thus scattered, and cut them all off to a man, and Amyntas with them. However, this did not quell the aversion which the Egyptians bore the Persians, but rather increased it. So that, when Alexander entered that country, he found the people universally disposed to receive him with open arms; and therefore, he had no sooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the country, and make their submission to him. For he coming thither with a victorious army, was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not so well promise themselves from Amyntas; and, therefore, on his approach, they immediately, without reserve, all declared for him: whereon Mezaeus, who commanded at Memphis for Darius, seeing it in vain to struggle against such a power, submitted also, and opening the gates of that city to the conqueror,

1 Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro.
2 Arrian. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 537, 538.

yielded up all to him; whereby, without any farther opposition, he became forth with master of the whole country.

From Memphis he projected a journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, which was situated among the sands and deserts of Libya, at the distance of two hundred miles from Egypt. For Ham¹ the son of Noah, as he was the first planter of Egypt and Libya after the flood, so he became, in the idolatrous ages that after followed, the great god of those countries; and there being an island of about five miles' breadth of firm land among those deserts of sand, they there built a temple to him. He was the same whom the Greeks called Jupiter, and the Egyptians Ammon; and hence it is, that the city in Egypt which the scriptures call No Ammon² (that is, the city of Ham or Ammon,) is by the Greeks called Diospolis (that is, the city of Jupiter.) Aftentimes did put the Egyptian name and the Greek name both together, and called him Jupiter Hammon. Alexander's journey to this temple was upon a design very foolish and vain-glorious, and, according to the religion of those times, altogether as impious. For finding in Homer, and other fables of ancient times, that most of their heroes were described as sons of some god or other, and aiming to be celebrated a hero, as well as they, he would be thought the son of a god also, and, having chosen Jupiter Hammon to be his father in this farce, he sent messengers before,³ to corrupt the priests, to cause him to be declared the son of that god by their oracle, when he should come to consult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that declaration.

In his way thither,⁴ observing a place over against the island of Pharos on the sea-coast, which he thought a very convenient place for a new city, he there built Alexandria, which thenceforth became the capital of that kingdom: for it having a very convenient port, and the Mediterranean before it, and the Nile and the Red Sea behind it, by virtue of these advantages it drew to it the trade both of the East and the West, and thereby soon grew up to be one of the most flourishing cities of the world. But trade having taken another current in these latter ages, on the finding out of the way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, it is now degenerated into a poor village,⁵ by the Turks called Scanderia, remarkable for nothing else but that it still shows some of the ruins of what it anciently was. Alexander, in the building of this city, made use of Democritus for his architect,⁶ whose name had been made famous in that art by his rebuilding the temple of Diana at Ephesus, which had been burned by Erostratus; and having, by his advice, drawn a plan of the city, and set out its walls, gates, and streets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on his journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon. It was from thence at the distance of one thousand six hundred furlongs (that is, two hundred of our miles,) and most of the way was through sandy deserts; in which he did run two great hazards, the first, of being overwhelmed by the sands, and the other, of perishing for want of water. By the former, Cambyzes lost an army of fifty thousand men in these deserts (as hath been above related,) and by the latter he had like to have been lost himself, and all with him, but that they were miraculously relieved by a shower of rain, when they were just ready to faint to death for want of it. And, indeed, all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a series of bold, rash, and dangerous actions, in which he must have perished an hundred times over; had not Providence in as miraculous a manner as now preserved him through all of them, for the bringing to pass of those events which he was designed for. Having, on his coming to the temple, there paid his devotions, and received from the oracle the declaration of his being Jupiter's son, which he went thither for, he returned in great triumph with that title, and thenceforth in all his letters, orders and decrees, styled himself King Alex-

1 Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 1.

2 Jer. xlvii. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

3 Justin. lib. 11. c. 11. Orosius, lib. 3. c. 16.

4 Arrian. lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 590.

5 See Thevenot's Travels, part. 1. book 2. c. 1. 2.

6 Plin. lib. 5. c. 10. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22. c. 16. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 641. Solinus, c. 32. 40.

ander, son of Jupiter Ammon, giving it out that this god begot him on Olympias his mother in the shape of a serpent. But while he prided himself in the honour which he vainly assumed hereon, every body else despised him for the folly of it; however he persisted in it, did many acts of violence and cruelty to make it pass upon others, and suffered it to grow upon him with his prosperity so far, as at length to affect the being thought a god himself, till in the conclusion, when Providence had no more for him to do, his death showed him to be a mortal like other men.

In his return he came again to Alexandria; and took care to people his new city with colonies drawn thither from many other places,¹ among which were many of the Jews, to whom he gave great privileges,² not only allowing them the use of their own laws and religion, but also admitting them equally into the same franchises and liberties with the Macedonians themselves whom he planted there; and then, departing from thence, he returned to Memphis, and wintered in that place.

It is remarked by Varro, that, at the time that Alexander built Alexandria in Egypt, the use of the papyrus for writing on was first found out in that country. The papyrus,³ in its proper signification, is a sort of great bulrush growing in the marshes of Egypt near the Nile. It runs up in a triangular stalk to the height of about fifteen feet, and is usually a foot and a half in circumference, and sometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next several films or inner skins, one within another, and naturally partable from each other. These, when separated, and flaked from the stalk, made the paper which the ancients used, and which from the name of the tree that bore it, they called also papyrus. The manner how it was fitted for use may be seen in the 11th and 12th chapters of the 13th book of Pliny's Natural History, and the book entitled *De Papyro*, which Guilandinus hath written by way of comment upon them. But the clearest and best account hereof is given us by Salmasius, in his comment on the life of Firmus in Vopiscus, who was one of the writers of the *Historia Augusta*. From this papyrus it is, that what we now make use of to write upon hath also the name of *paper*,⁴ though of quite another nature from the ancient papyrus of the Egyptians. Many other devices were made use of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. Pliny tells us,⁵ that the ancientest way of writing was upon the leaves of the palm tree. Afterward they made use of the inner bark of a tree for this purpose:⁶ which inner bark being in Latin called *Liber*, and in Greek *βιβλος*; from hence a book hath ever since, in the Latin language, been called *Liber*, and in the Greek *βιβλος*, because their books anciently consisted of leaves made of such inner barks. And the Chinese still make use of such inner barks, or rinds of trees, to write upon, as some of their books brought into Europe plainly show. Another way made use of among the Greeks and Romans, and which was as ancient as Homer (for he makes mention of it in his poems,) was to write on tables of wood covered over with wax.⁷ On these they wrote with a bodkin or style of iron, with which they engraved their letters on the wax; and hence it is that the different way of men's writings or compositions are called different styles. This way was mostly made use of in the writing of letters or epistles; hence such epistles are in Latin called *Tabellæ*,⁸ and the carriers of them *Tabellarii*.⁷ When their epistles were thus written, they tied the tables together with a thread or string, setting their seal upon the knot, and so sent them to the party to whom they were directed, who, cutting the string, opened and read them. But, on the invention of the Egyptian papyrus for this use,⁸ all the other ways of writing were soon superseded; no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this. And therefore, when Ptolemy Philadelphus,⁹ king of

1 Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

2 Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2. et de Bello Judaico. lib. 2. c. 36.

3 Plin. lib. 12. c. 13. Guilandinus de Papyro. Pancirol. part 2. tit. 13. Salmuth in eundem. Parkinson s. Herbal. tribe 13. c. 39.

4 Vide Vossii Etymologicon, in voce *Papyrus*.

5 Lib. 13. c. 11.

6 Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Liber*.

7 Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Tabula*.

8 Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*.

9 Plin. lib. 13. c. 11.

Egypt, set up to make a great library, and to gather all sorts of books into it, he caused them to be all copied out on this sort of paper. And it was exported also for the use of other countries, till Eumenes, king of Pergamus, endeavouring to erect a library at Pergamus, which should outdo that at Alexandria, occasioned a prohibition to be put upon the exportation of that commodity. For the Ptolemy,¹ that then reigned in Egypt not liking that his library should be outdone by any other, to put a stop to Eumenes' emulation in this particular, forbade the carrying any more *paper* out of Egypt, thinking that, without it, he could no farther multiply his books. This put Eumenes upon the invention of making books of parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out such of the works of learned men, as he afterward put into his library; and hence it is,² that parchment is called Pergamena in Latin; that is, from the city of Pergamus in Lesser Asia, where it was first used for this purpose among the Greeks. For that Eumenes, on this occasion, first invented the making of parchment cannot be true: for in Isaiah,³ Jeremiah,⁴ Ezekiel,⁵ and other parts of the holy scriptures, many ages before the time of Eumenes, we find mention made of rolls of writing; and who can doubt but that these rolls were of parchment? And it must be acknowledged that the authentic copy of the law, which Hilkiah found in the temple⁶ and sent to king Josiah, was of this material; none other used for writing, excepting parchment only, being of so durable a nature, as to last from Moses' time till then (which was eight hundred and thirty years.) And it is said by Diodorus Siculus,⁷ that the Persians of old wrote all their records on skins. And Herodotus⁸ tells us of sheep-skins and goat-skins made use of in writing by the ancient Ionians, many hundreds of years before Eumenes' time. And can any one think, that these skins were not dressed and prepared for this use, in the same manner as parchments were in the aftertimes, though perchance not so artificially? It is possible Eumenes might have found out a better way of dressing them for this use at Pergamus; and perchance it thenceforth became the chief trade of the place to make them; and either of these is reason enough, from Pergamus, to call them Pergamenæ. These were found so useful for records and books, by reason of their durableness, that most of the ancient manuscripts we now have are written in them. But, from the time that noble art of printing hath been invented, the paper which is made of the paste of linen rags is that which hath been generally made use of, both in writing and in printing, as being the most convenient for both; and the use of parchment hath been most appropriated to records, registers, and instruments of law, for which, by reason of its durableness, it is most fit. The invention of making this sort of paper Mr. Ray puts very late: for he tells us, in his *Herbal*,⁹ that it was not known in Germany till the year of our Lord 1470; that then, two men, named Antony and Michael, brought this art first to Basil, out of Galicia in Spain, and that from thence it was learned and brought into use by the rest of the Germans. But there must be a mistake in this; there being both printed books, as well as manuscripts, of this sort of paper, which are certainly ancients than the year 1470. There is extant a book called *Catholicon*,¹⁰ written by Jacobus de Janua, a monk, printed on paper at Mentz in Germany, Anno 1460; and therefore the Germans must have had the use of this sort of paper long before the time that Mr. Ray saith. And there are manuscripts written on this sort of paper that are much ancients, as may be especially evidenced in several registers within this realm, where the dates of the instruments or acts registered prove the time. There is, in the bishop's registry at Norwich, a register book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just one hundred years before the time that Mr. Ray saith the use of it begun in Germany.

1 Flin. lib. 13. c. 11.

4 Chap. xxxvi.

8 Herodot. lib. 5.

2 Vide Vessil Etymologicon in voce Pergamena.

5 Chap. li. 9. iii. 1.—3.

9 Lib. 22. c. 2

6 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

3 Chap. vii. 1

7 Lib. 2. p. 84.

10 This book is in the library collected by Dr. John Moor, late bishop of Ely. See the Oxford Catalogue of the Manuscripts of England and Ireland, tom. 2 part 1. p. 379.

And I have seen a registration of some acts of John Cranden, prior of Ely, made upon paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of King Edward II., that is, Anno Domini 1320. This invention seems to have been brought out of the east; for most of the old manuscripts in Arabic, and the other oriental languages which we have from thence, are written in this sort of paper; and some of them are certainly much ancients than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the paste of silk, as well as of linen. It is most likely, the Saracens of Spain first brought it out of the east into that country; of which Galicia being a province, it might from thence, according to Mr. Ray, have been first brought into Germany; but it must have been much earlier than the time he says.

Ptolemy the astronomer being an Egyptian, and a native of Alexandria, begins the reign of Alexander over the east from the building of this city. And here ends the reign of Darius and the Persian empire; and therefore I will here also end this book.

BOOK VIII.

An. 331. Alex. 1.]—ALEXANDER, while he wintered at Memphis, settled the affairs of Egypt. The military command he intrusted only with his Macedonians,¹ dividing the country into several districts, under each of which he placed lieutenants, independent of each other, not thinking it safe to commit the whole military power of that large and populous country into one man's hands. But the civil government he placed wholly in Doloaspes, an Egyptian: for his intentions being, that the country should still be governed by its own laws and usages, he thought a native, who was best acquainted with them, the properest for this charge. And that the finishing of his new city Alexandria² (so called from his name) might be carried on with the more expedition and success, he appointed Cleomenes to be his supervisor in that work, who continued many years in this charge; and hence it is, that in Justin³ he is said to be the founder of that city. He was of Naucratis,⁴ a Grecian city in Egypt, there built by a colony of the Milesians in times long before past.⁵ Alexander did also set him over the tribute of Arabia; but, being a very wicked man, he abused both these trusts, to the great oppression of all that were under him, till at length he received the just reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death: for Ptolemy, after he had possessed himself of Egypt, finding him plotting against him for the interest of Perdiccas,⁶ caused him to be executed for it. There is extant a letter of Alexander's to him of a very odd nature: for therein commanding him, on the death of Hephestion, to build two temples to that favourite, one in Alexandria, and the other in the island of Pharos adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiseth him such a pardon as the pope often gives to his deluded votaries, that is,⁷ of all his evil deeds, past, present, and to come. But this did not save him from the just vengeance which Providence at length, by the hand of Ptolemy, brought upon him for all his wicked and unjust actions.

When Alexander had thus disposed of all matters in Egypt, the spring drawing on, he hastened toward the east to find out Darius. In the way,⁸ on his returning to Palestine, he had an account from thence which very much displeased him. On his going from that country into Egypt, he had made Andromachus, a special favourite of his, governor of Syria and Palestine; on whose coming to Samaria, to settle some matters there, the Samaritans mutinied against him, and rising in a tumult, set fire to the house in which he was, and burned him to death. This, it is supposed, they did out of a rage and discontent that

1 Arrian. lib. 3. 2 Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

3 Justin. lib. 13. c. 4.

4 Arrian. lib. 3.

5 Strabo, lib. 17. p. 891.

6 Pausanias in Attica.

7 Arrian. lib. 7.

8 Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

Eusebii Chron. p. 177. Cedrenus

those privileges should be denied them which were granted to their enemies the Jews; whereas, by their services to Alexander, especially at the siege of Tyre, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who had then denied him their assistance. Alexander, being exceedingly exasperated hereby against that people, as the fact sufficiently deserved, caused all that had acted any part in this murder to be put to death, and drove all the rest out of the city of Samaria, planting there, instead of them, a colony of his Macedonians, and giving their other territories to the Jews.¹ Those that survived this calamity retired to Shechem, under Mount Gerizim; and from this time that place became the head seat of this people, and the metropolis of the Samaritan sect, and so continues even to this day. And whereas eight thousand Samaritans had joined him at Tyre, and followed his camp ever since, that they might not, on their return, revive this mutinous temper of their countrymen, to the creating of new disturbances,² he sent them into Thebias, the remotest province of Egypt, and settled them on such lands as he there caused to be divided unto them.

On Alexander's return into Phœnicia,³ he stayed some time at Tyre, that he might there settle the affairs of those countries which he was to leave behind him before he did set forward to acquire more. And, when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole army to Thapsacus, and having there passed the Euphrates, directed his course toward the Tigris, in quest of the enemy. Darius, in the interim, having solicited Alexander for peace these several times, and finding, by his answers, that none was to be expected from him but on the terms of yielding to him the whole empire, applied himself to provide for another battle, in order whereto he got together at Babylon a numerous army, it being by one half bigger than that with which he fought at Issus,⁴ and from thence took the field with it, and marched toward Nineveh. Thither Alexander followed after him, and having passed the Tigris, got up with him at a small village called Gaugamela; where it came to a decisive battle between them; in which Alexander, with fifty thousand men (for that was the utmost of his number at that battle,) vanquished the vast army of the Persians which was above twenty times as big, and this in an open plain country, without having the advantage of straits to secure his flanks, as in the battle of Issus; and hereby the fate of the Persian empire was determined; for none after this could to any purpose make head against him, but all were forced to submit to the conqueror; and he thenceforth became absolute lord of that empire in the utmost extent in which it was ever possessed by any of the Persian kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which in the prophecies of Daniel was foretold concerning him.⁵ This battle happened in the month of October, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battle of Issus two years before; and the place where it was fought was Gaugamela in Assyria; but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battle from so contemptible a place, but called it the battle of Arbela, because that was the next town of any note, though it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck.

Darius, after this defeat,⁶ fled into the Media, intending from thence, and the rest of the northern provinces of his empire, to draw together other forces for the farther trial of his fortune in another battle. Alexander pursued him as far as Arbela; but, before his arrival thither, he was, by the quickness of his flight, got out of his reach. However, he there took his treasure, and his royal equipage and furniture, which was of vast value, and then returned to his camp; where, having allowed his army such time of rest as was necessary for their refreshment after the fatigue of the battle, he marched towards Babylon. Ma-

1 Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2.

2 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

3 Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

4 Darius had in this battle about one million one hundred thousand men.

5 Dan. vii. 6. viii. 5—7. 20. 21. x. 20. xi. 3.

6 Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

zæus was governor of that city and the province belonging to it, and had been one of Darius's generals in the late battle; where, after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the scattered forces of the Persians as he could, he retreated with them to that place. But, on Alexander's approach with his victorious army, he had not the courage to stand out against him: but going forth to meet him, surrendered himself and all under his charge to him; and Bagaphanes, the governor of the castle where the greatest part of Darius's treasure was kept, did the same; and both acted herein as if they were at strife which of them should be most forward to cast off their old master and receive the new. After thirty days tarrying in that city, he continued Mazæus, for the reward of his treachery, in the government of the province; but, placing a Macedonian in the command of the castle, he took Bagaphanes along with him, and marched to Susa, and from thence, after the taking of that city, to Persepolis, the capital of the empire, carrying victory with him over all the provinces and places in the way. Arriving at Persepolis about the middle of December, he gave the city to be sacked by his army, reserving only the castle and palace to himself. Hence followed a vast slaughter upon the inhabitants, and all other barbarities which in this case used to be acted by soldiers, let loose to their rage and licentiousness. This city being the metropolis of the Persian empire, and that which of all others bore the greatest enmity to Greece, he did this, he said to execute the revenge of Greece upon it. After the cruelty of this execution was over, leaving Parmenio and Craterus in the place with the greatest part of his forces, he made a range with the rest over the neighbouring countries, and having reduced them all to a submission to him, returned again to Persepolis after thirty days, and there took up his winter quarters.

An. 330. Alex. 2.—While Alexander lay at this place,¹ he gave himself much to feasting and drinking, for joy of his victories, and the great conquests he had made. In one of his feasts, wherein he entertained his chief commanders, he invited also their misses to accompany them; one of which was Thais, a famous Athenian courtesan, and then miss to Ptolemy, who was afterward king of Egypt. This woman, in the heat of their carousals, proposed to Alexander the burning down of the city and palace of Persepolis, for the revenging of Greece upon the Persians, especially for the burning of Athens by Xerxes. The whole company being drunk, the proposal was received with a general applause; and Alexander himself, in the heat of his wine, running into the same humour, immediately took a torch, and all the rest of the company doing the same, they all went thus armed with him at their head, and, setting fire to the city and palace, burned both to the ground; which Alexander, when he came again to his senses, exceedingly repented of; but then it was too late to help it. Thus, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, was destroyed, by this drunken king, one of the finest palaces in the world. That this at Persepolis was such, the ruins of it sufficiently shew, which are still remaining even to this day,² at a place called Chehel-Mina:, near Shiras, in Persia. The name signifieth,³ in the Persian language, forty pillars, and the place is so called, because such a number of pillars, as well as other stately ruins of this palace, are there still remaining even to this day.

In the interim, Darius being fled to Ecbatana in Media, there gathered together as many of his broken forces as fled that way, and endeavoured⁴ all he could to raise others to add to them, for the making up of another army. But Alexander having, by the beginning of the spring, settled all his affairs in Persia, made after him into Media. Of this Darius having received intelligence, left Ecbatana, with intentions to march into Bactria, there to strengthen and augment his army with new recruits. But he had not gone far ere he altered his purpose: for, fearing lest Alexander should overtake him before he could reach

¹ Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 11.

² See the Travels of Herbert, Thevenot, and Chardin.

³ Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 113.

⁴ Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Curtius, lib. 5.

Bactria, he stopped his march, and resolved to stand the brunt of another battle, with the forces then about him, which amounted to about forty thousand men, horse and foot. But while he was preparing for it, Bessus governor of Bactria, and Nabarzanes another Persian nobleman, confederated with him in the treason, seized the poor unfortunate prince, and making him their prisoner, put him in chains, and then, shutting him up in a close cart, fled with him toward Bactria, purposing, if Alexander pursued after them, to purchase their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but, if he did not pursue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and seize his kingdom, and renew the war. Alexander, on his coming to Ecbatana, found Darius was gone from thence about eight days before: however, he pursued hard after him for eleven days together, till he came to Rages, a city of Media, often mentioned in Tobit,¹ and which was the place where Nebuchodonosor, king of Assyria, is said, in the book of Judith,² to have slain Arphaxad, king of Media. Here finding that it was in vain to pursue after Darius any farther, he stayed in this place several days for the refreshing of his army, and for the settling of the affairs of Media. Of which having made Oxidates, a noble Persian, governor, he marched into Parthia; where, having received intelligence of Darius's case, and what danger he was in from those traitors who had made him their prisoner, he put himself again upon the pursuit after him with part of his army, leaving the rest, under the command of Craterus, to follow after him; and, after several days' hard march, he at last came up with the traitors: whereon they would have persuaded Darius to mount on horseback for his more speedy flight with them; but he refusing thus to do, they gave him several mortal wounds, and left him dying in his cart. Philistratus, one of Alexander's soldiers, found him in this condition; but he expired before Alexander himself came up to him. When he saw his corpse, he could not forbear shedding of tears at so melancholy a spectacle; and, having cast his cloak over it, he commanded it to be wrapped up therein, and carried to Sysigambis at Susa (where he had left her with the other captive ladies,) to be buried by her with a royal funeral, in the burying place of the kings of Persia, and allowed the expenses necessary for it. And this was the end of this great king, and also of the empire over which he reigned, after it had lasted, from the first of Cyrus, two hundred and nine years. After this fact, Nabarzanes fled into Hyrcania, and Bessus into Bactria, and there he declared himself king by the name of Artaxerxes.

Alexander³ was not stayed by the death of Darius from still pursuing after the traitor Bessus; but, finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into Parthia; and there having regulated his affairs in the army, as well as in the province, he marched into Hyrcania, and received that country under his subjection. After that he subdued the Mardans, Arians, Drangians, Aracausians, and several other nations, over which he flew with victory, swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days, one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius, of near forty miles a day, for eleven days together. So that, by the speed of his marches, he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before; he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard, with four wings; for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is in another place of those prophecies, compared to a he-goat,⁵ coming from the west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as

¹ Chap. i. 14. iv. 1.

² Plutarch in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. Arrian. Q. Curtius, et Justin. *ibid.*

³ Dan. vii. 6.

⁴ Chap. i. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 5.

if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verify the prophecy.

While Alexander was among the Drangians,¹ a discovery was made of a conspiracy formed against his life, of which Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of the chief commanders in his army, and principal confidants, being found to be the head, was put to death for it, with all his accomplices. And whether Alexander thought Parmenio to have been in the plot also, or feared his revenge for the death of his son, he sent to Ecbatana, where he had left him with part of his forces, to guard his treasure which he had there laid up, and caused him to be put to death also; which brought great envy upon him, this old commander having been his chief assistant in conducting his armies to most of those victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this, Alexander, notwithstanding the approach of winter, marched still forward to the north, and subdued all in his way, carrying on his conquests as far as Mount Caucasus, where having built a city, which from his name he called also Alexandria, as he had several others, he there terminated his actions of this year.

An. 329. Alex. 3.—Early the next spring,² he made after Bessus; and having driven him out of Bactria, and settled that province under his obedience, he followed him into Sogdiana, the country now called Cowaresmia whither he was retired. This province being separated from Bactria by the River Oxus, which was large and deep, Bessus's chief confidence was in the impassableness of it: for, having taken away or destroyed all the shipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought Alexander could not possibly get over it to pursue him any farther. But no difficulty being insurmountable to that conqueror, he found means, by stuffed skins, and such other devices, to get his army all over; whereon Bessus's followers, despairing of this case, seized his person, and delivered him bound to Alexander, who gave him into the hands of Oxatres, the brother of Darius, to be punished by him as he should think fit, for the treason he had been guilty of in murdering his king. For, after the death of Darius, this Oxatres surrendered himself to Alexander, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And Oxatres having thus gotten the traitor into his hands, made him die such a death as his treason deserved.

Sogdiana breeding a great number of horses, Alexander came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his cavalry:³ for, by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either killed or spoiled most of the horses of his army. But, notwithstanding, he had not such quick success in his conquests here as in other provinces; for he had not now to do with the effeminate Persians and Babylonians, but with the Sogdians, Dahans, and Massagets, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be subdued. And therefore this province found him a full year's work before he could bring it into thorough subjection to him. It lay upon the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, between the River Oxus on the south, and the River Oxartes on the north; the last of these Quintus Curtius and Arrian call Tanais, very erroneously: for the River Tanais is much more to the west, and dischargeth itself not into the Caspian, but into the Euxine Sea, and is the same which we now call the Don. Pliny⁴ takes notice of this mistake; and tells us it proceeded from Alexander's soldiers calling it so, and that in his time it was called Silys. The capital of this province was Maracanda, a great city of near ten miles in compass, and is the same which, being now called Samarcand, is the chief city of the Usbeck Tartars. While Alexander lay there with his army, toward the beginning of winter,⁵ he basely, in a drunken fury, murdered Clitus, one of the best of his friends, which afterward he condemned himself for, as much as every body else; for it was a very vile action, and the greatest blot of his life

1 Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 6. c. 7—9, &c.

2 Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 7.

3 Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Arrian. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

4 Lib. 6. c. 16.

5 Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 1. Arrian. lib. 4.

After he had thoroughly subdued the Sogdians, and reduced such of the Bactrians as had revolted from him, he took up his winter quarters in Nautaca, and there gave his army rest and refreshment for three months.

An. 328. Alex. 4.]—While he lay there, being wholly at ease from the fatigues of war, he fell in love with Roxana,¹ the daughter of Oxyathres, a noble Persian, who was among the captive ladies in his camp, and took her to wife. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and also one of the most wicked, as afterward by her actions, especially in the murder of Darius's daughters, she sufficiently made appear. That Alexander's marrying this lady might be made no objection against him among his Macedonians, he encouraged as many of their leaders and prime men as he found inclined that way to do the same, and take them wives in like manner from among the Persian ladies. So that most of the time that he spent in these quarters was taken up in making such marriages, and in nuptial feastings upon them.

But while these things were a doing in the camp, Alexander's head was busy in projecting an expedition into India;² his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprize was all an excess of vanity and folly. He had read in the old Grecian fables, that Bacchus and Hercules, two of Jupiter's sons, had made this expedition into India, and he would fain, in emulation of them, do the same: for having been declared Jupiter's son as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in any thing, and he had flatterers enough about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine honours to be paid to him, and commanded that all that were admitted to make addresses unto him should adore him, as formerly they had the Persian kings. All his old friends disliked this conduct in him, and none more than Callisthenes the philosopher. He was a kinsman of Aristotle,³ Alexander's master, and had been sent by him to attend this young conqueror on his first entering on the Persian war, and had accompanied him through all his expeditions ever since; and, being a very wise and grave man, was thought the properest person to advise and direct him against those excesses which the heat of his youth might carry him into. And this being the whole end for which he was sent to attend him, he could not but express his dislike of this folly. But Alexander not being able to bear the freedom with which he expressed himself in this matter, caused him to be put to death for it; which, next the death of Clitus, is that which, of all his other actions, bore hardest upon his reputation; and indeed, if duly estimated, it was by much the worst of the two; for he was in the heat of wine, and also highly provoked by saucy and abusive language, when he slew Clitus; but Callisthenes did put to death deliberately and designedly, and for no other reason, but that he expressed his dislike of those follies which he was sent on purpose by his instructions and advice to correct in him.

But before he went on his Indian expedition,⁴ he very providentially took care to secure all in quiet behind him; and, therefore, while he lay in those quarters at Nautaca, he removed several of the governors of provinces who had oppressed their provincials, and remedied all the grievances they had been guilty of toward them, that none might have any just cause in his absence to create disturbances, or make any risings against him or his authority in any part of the empire. And the better to provide against all such, as well as for the more successful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he caused thirty thousand young men of the sons of the principal men of the conquered countries to be listed for the augmenting of his army, that, having them with him in this expedition, they might be hostages with him for the good behaviour of their relations, as well as useful to him in the war.

¹ Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 4. Arrian. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

² Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 5. 9, 10. &c. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin lib. 12. c. 7.

³ Laertius in Vita Aristotelis. Plutarch. in Alexandro et Sylla.

⁴ Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 5.

On his marching into India,¹ his army, with these augmentations, consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, Grecians and Persians, besides fifteen thousand which he left with Amyntas in Bactria, to keep those parts in quiet. Many nations on this side the River Indus were then reckoned to be of India; and in subduing of those was this whole year employed. Some of them he conquered by force,² and some he received by submission. But none pleased him more than those that welcomed him as the third son of Jupiter that had come among them, meaning Bacchus and Hercules for the other two; so far was he intoxicated with the vain conceit of being thought the son of that imaginary god. Among those whom he subdued by force were the Assacans. But Cleophis, the queen of that nation, being a very beautiful woman, redeemed her kingdom, by prostituting her body to his lust; whereby she incurred that infamy and contempt among the Indians, that they afterward called her by no other name than that of the royal whore. By this concubinage she had a son, whom, from the name of his father, she called Alexander, who afterward reigned in those parts; and, if Paulus Venetus may be believed, there were in a certain province of India, which he calls Balascai, kings of his race reigning there even to his time.

An. 327. Alex. 5.]—Early the next spring,³ he passed the River Indus, over a bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from thence marched forward to the River Hydaspes. Between these two rivers lay the kingdom of Taxiles, who submitted to him. But beyond the Hydaspes lay the kingdom of Porus, a prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great army to impede his farther progress. This, on Alexander's passing that river, produced a fierce battle between them; wherein, after a fight of eight hours, Porus's army was vanquished with great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner; but the magnanimity and generosity of his carriage under his misfortune so took with Alexander, that he again restored to him his kingdom, and also augmented it. For, after this, having passed the River Acesinis, which terminated Porus's kingdom on the east, and taken all the territory that lay between that and the River Hydraotes, he added this also to Porus's dominions. After this, passing the Hydraotes, he marched to Hyphasis, and would gladly have passed that river also, and gone on to the Ganges. But his soldiers being weary of following him any farther in these expeditions of knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his farther progress. And therefore, having on the banks of that river erected twelve large altars, for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the Hydaspes; where having, at the place where he vanquished Porus, built a city which he called Nicæa, in memory of that victory, and another not far from it which he called Bucephala, in memory of his horse Bucephalus, which there died, he ordered his fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his passing down that river into the Indus, and the southern parts of India, purposing to carry on his arms and conquests that way as far as the ocean, and then to return to Babylon.

An. 326. Alex. 9.]—This fleet he had ordered to be prepared from his first passing the Indus,⁴ and it had been ever since making ready for him in the several places that he had appointed; which, when it was all brought together, amounted to two thousand vessels of all sorts. The chief command hereof he gave to Nearchus, and then, putting his army on board, he sailed down the Hydaspes into the Acesinis, and through that into the Indus: for the first of these fell into the second, and the second into the third. In his way, he had to do with two very valiant nations, the Oxidracians and the Mallians. The former of these inhabited where the Hydaspes fell into the Acesinis, and the other where the Acesinis fell into the Indus. Both these he forced into a submission, though not without great difficulty. And, while he besieged one of

¹ Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 5.

² Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

³ Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 5.

⁴ Arrian. lib. 6. Q. Curtius, lib. 9. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

the cities of the Mallians, he was very near losing his life: for, being the first that scaled the walls, he rashly leaped into the city, before any others were at hand to second him, and was there almost wounded to death, ere any of his followers could get in to rescue him. Thence he sailed down the Indus as far as the ocean, conquering all the nations in his way on both sides that river. When he had passed the mouth of the Indus into the Southern Ocean, and had now carried his conquests to the utmost boundaries of the earth on that side, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he proposed; and therefore returning back to land, when he had given such orders as he thought fit for the settling of his Indian conquests, he sent Nearchus, with that part of the fleet which was fittest for the voyage, back again into the ocean, ordering him to sail that way to the Persian gulf, and up through that into the Euphrates, and meet him at Babylon; and then he with his army marched over land toward the same place.

An. 325. Alex. 7.—The way that he took in his march thither, was through the southern provinces of Persia; a great part of which being a very barren country, and full of sandy deserts, he suffered very much in his passage through it, both for want of water as well as of provisions: and the scorching heat of the climate added to the calamity, which grew so great, that it destroyed a great part of his army. And to this it was chiefly owing, that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he first carried with him into India. When he arrived in the province of Carmania (the same which, retaining its ancient name, is still called Kerman,) he marched in a bacchanalian procession for seven days together through that province, in way of triumph for his Indian conquests. For it seems he had heard that Bacchus returned in this manner after his like expedition into that country: for he much affected to imitate Bacchus and Hercules in all this expedition: and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that excessive drunkenness which he gave himself up unto.

Nearchus, having coasted along all the countries, from the Indus to the mouth of the Persian gulf, arrived at the isle of Harmusia (now called Ormus;) where, hearing that Alexander was within five days' journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what discoveries and observations he had made in it; with which, being exceedingly delighted, he sent him back again to complete his first orders, and sail up the Euphrates to Babylon, as he had appointed.

While Alexander was in Carmania, he had many complaints made to him of the oppressions exercised by his lieutenants, and other officers in the provinces, during his absence in India; for, reckoning that he would never come back again, several of them did let themselves loose to rapine, tyranny, and all manner of cruelty and oppression. All these he caused to be put to death for the expiation of their crimes, and with them six hundred of the soldiers who had been their instruments in these enormities; and he exercised the same severity upon all other of his officers whom he after that found in the same abuses; which conducted very much to the making of his government acceptable to the conquered provinces.

Being exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that Nearchus had made with his fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, he resolved upon more sea adventures, purposing no less, than from the Persian gulf to sail round Arabia and Africa, and return by the mouth of the straits (then called Hercules's Pillars, now the Straits of Gibraltar,) into the Mediterranean Sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed at the command of Necho king of Egypt (of which an account hath been above given.) In order hereto, he sent his commands to his lieutenants in Mesopotamia and Syria, for a fleet of ships, fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the Euphrates, especially at Thapsacus, ordering geat

quantities of timber to be cut down on Mount Libanus, and carried thither for this purpose. This shows the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as all others of them, were quashed by his death.

On his coming to Pasargada, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre of Cyrus, who was there buried. For since he was last there (which was a little after his taking of Persepolis,) it had been broken up and robbed. The Magians who had the keeping of the sepulchre and several others were put to the torture, for the finding out of the authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length by the malice of Bagoas, a beloved eunuch of Alexander's, the whole guilt was charged upon Orsines, the governor of the province. This Bagoas was a very beautiful young eunuch: Nabarzanes, who conspired with Bessus in the imprisonment, and afterward in the death of Darius, presented him unto Alexander for the service of his lust; and by this present saved his life; so acceptable was the catamite to him for this vile use! and, by being thus frequently used by him, he grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble Persian to his revenge, contrary to all honour, justice, and gratitude: for he had very much served him, especially in that province; for Phrasaortes, the governor of it, dying while Alexander was in India, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of Alexander, to the time of his arrival thither; and, on his entering the province, met him in the most honourable manner, and being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousands of talents. But when he presented the rest of Alexander's friends and favourites, taking no notice of Bagoas, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, "That he paid his respects to the king's friends, not to his catamites;" this so angered the eunuch, that to work his revenge he contrived, that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of Cyrus was turned upon the governor of the province; and having suborned false witnesses to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with Alexander to put him to death, in the manner as I have said; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his actions.

From Pasargada he marched to Persepolis, where he lamented his folly in having burned that city; from thence he passed on toward Susa. In his way thither he met Nearchus with his fleet: for Nearchus,¹ according to his orders, had sailed up the Persian gulf into the Euphrates; but there, hearing Alexander was on his march toward Susa, he sailed back again to the mouth of the Pisitigris, and from thence up that river to a bridge which Alexander was to pass. And there the land army and the sea army meeting, they both joined together. For which Alexander offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to his gods, and made great rejoicings in his camp, and high honours were there given to Nearchus, for his successful conduct of the fleet, in bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.

When Alexander came to Susa, where he had left all the captive ladies at his last being there, he took to wife Statira,² the eldest of Darius's daughters, and gave the younger, called Drypetis, to Hephestion, his chief favourite, and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about one hundred, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime nobility of the Persian empire, he hoped, by these marriages, to make such a union of the Grecians and Persians together, as should

¹ Arrianus de Rebus Indicis.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro, et in Libro de Fortuna Alexandri. Arrian. lib. 7, where, by mistake, this daughter of Darius is called Barsina. For Barsina was the concubine, not the wife of Alexander, and the daughter of Artabazus, not of Darius. She was first married to Memnon, and, after his death, being taken into the bed of Alexander, she had a son by him called Hercules.

render them both as one nation under his empire. And, for five days together, these nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and all manner of feasting and rejoicing. All the dowries of these ladies Alexander paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as had best deserved of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the soldiers of his army; which last article alone amounted to ten thousand talents, Justin and Arrian say twenty thousand. On these and other such occasions he expended vast sums, which were all supplied him out of the immense treasures of Darius: for out of them he laid up, in his treasury at Ecbatana only,¹ one hundred and ninety thousand talents, besides what he had at Babylon, and in other treasuries through the empire.

These nuptial solemnities being over, he left the main of his army under the conduct of Hephestion,² and with the rest went on board the fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the Eulæus (in Daniel called the Ulai³) on which Susa stood, and sailed down that river into the Persian gulf, and from thence passed up the Tigris to the city Opis, where Hephestion met him with the rest of the army. On his coming to that place, he caused it to be proclaimed through the whole army,⁴ that all those Macedonians, who by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the camp, should have full liberty to return into Greece, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes. This he intended as a kindness to them; but, it being taken by another handle, as if he were weary of his Macedonians, and dismissed them only to make room for the new recruits which he had lately raised out of the conquered countries, to be taken into the army in their stead, they fell into a mutiny, and desired all to be dismissed; telling him, that since he despised his soldiers, by whom he had gained all his victories, he and his father Hammon might alone wage his wars for the future; they would serve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary god for his father, how much soever he valued himself upon it, was made his reproach on this, as well as on all other occasions by every body else. This mutinous humour, though it broke not out till on this occasion, had been long a breeding among them. They disliked his affecting the Persian manners and habit, his marrying a Persian lady, and his causing so many of his followers to do the same. But that which disgusted them most was, his ingrafting the new recruits which he made out of the conquered countries into the Macedonian militia, and the advancing of many Persians to places of honour and trust, both in the army and in the provinces, equally with the Macedonians: for he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and engross all his favours, and therefore were grievously discontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the Persians with them: and these discontents being heightened by every step which he made for the effecting of this union, at length broke out into a mutiny on the occasion mentioned. Whereon he having punished some of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the rest, he retired into his tent, and there shut himself up for two days; after that, on the third, he called together his Asiatic soldiers, excluding the Macedonians, and spoke very kindly to them, assured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, choosing his guards out of them, and advancing several of them to places of honour and trust, without taking any farther notice of the mutineers; which soon brought them to a better temper; for, seeing themselves thus kept at a distance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his tent with tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in hum-

¹ Justin. lib. 12. c. 1. This amounts to above thirty-five millions and a half of our money, according to the lowest calculation; but, according to Dr. Bernard's computation, it comes to near forty millions.

² Arrian. lib. 7.

³ Chap. viii. 2. 16.

⁴ Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 2.

ble supplication for his pardon and favour: this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his presence, and be reconciled unto them; and from this time they no more mutinied against him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

From Opis he marched by several stations to Ecbatana in Media. While he was there, he lost his favourite Hephestion; for, having drank too hard, he contracted a fever by it, and of that he died. For Alexander, having long given himself up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking sometimes whole days and nights with them: and it is said, that in one of these drunken bouts at which he was present, the excess was carried on so far,² that forty persons died of it. The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his funeral was solemnized with extravagant honours, as well as expenses, and also with as extravagant cruelty: for he caused his physician to be crucified, for no other reason, but that he could not make a man immortal, who, by all manner of excesses, did the utmost he could to kill himself. And this cruelty was the more signal, in that the patient himself baffled all that the physician prescribed for his recovery; for when, to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for remedies to take place for the cure of it, the physician had directed an abstinence from all flesh meats and wine, he refused to be restrained from either, but took both in such quantities, as soon put it beyond the power of physic to give him any relief; and thus, by the cause of his distemper, and by wilfully disappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murderer; and yet the poor physician, who could help neither, was forced to answer for all. And many instances may be given, of such irrational and unjust actions, where will and pleasure rule without restraint, which often, upon reflection, bring the authors themselves to the bitterness of regret, and too late repentance; and may be sufficient to let all such see, that it is the interest of princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by such just laws as may hinder them from doing such irrational and unjust things, as often passion and humour, when let loose from all restraint, may carry men into.

An. 324. Alex. 8.]—Alexander, to divert his grief after this loss,³ led his army against the Cossæans, (a warlike nation in the mountains of Media, which none of the Persian kings could ever bring into subjection to them,) and having, in a war of forty days, wholly subdued them, he passed the Tigris, and marched toward Babylon. On his approach near that place, the Magians and other prognosticators sent advice to him not to come thither, several signs portending, that his entering that city would prove fatal unto him. But contemning all these, he marched with his whole army into that place, where he found ambassadors from all quarters of the world waiting his coming thither; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return such answers to every one of them as would send them away from his presence best pleased with him.

While he continued at Babylon (which was near the space of a whole year,) he projected many designs; one was the circumnavigation of Africa; another for the making of a full discovery of the Caspian Sea, and of all the nations round it; and for both these he had provided fleets; another was to conquer the Arabians; and a fourth, to make war against the Carthaginians, and carry on his conquests to the Pillars of Hercules, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that hero of the Grecian poets. And besides all these, he had many designs for the improving of Babylon. For finding it not only in its greatness, but also in the abundance which it was supplied with of all things necessary, either for the support or pleasures of life, to exceed all other places of the east, he resolved there to fix the seat of his empire; and, therefore, projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the country about it, suffered by Cyrus's breaking down the banks of the Euphrates at the head of the canal called Pallacopa, I have above shown

1 Plut. in Alex. Arrian. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

2 Athen. lib. 10. c. 12. Plut. in Alex. *Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 2. c. 41.*

3 Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 7. Plut. in Alex.

This he did set himself to remedy in the first place; whereby he would have recovered a whole province, which was drowned by the overflowings of the river in that place, and also have made the river itself much more navigable, and consequently much more profitable to the Babylonians, by turning the main of the stream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he sailed to the place where the breach was made, and having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already said. But that which he chiefly set his heart upon was to repair the temple of Belas. This Xerxes destroyed in his return from Greece (as hath been above related,) and it had lain in its rubbish ever since. This he purposed to build again,¹ and in a more stately and magnificent manner than it had been before. In order whereto, in the first place, he commanded the ground where it stood to be cleared of its rubbish; but finding the Magians, to whom he had committed the care of the work, went on slowly with it, he employed his soldiers to assist them; and although ten thousand of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to leave it imperfect, the ground being still uncleared, so great were the ruins of the old building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the Jews, who then served Alexander among his Asian recruits, to labour in this work,² they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping hand to it; arguing, that their religion being against idolatry, it forbade them to do any thing toward the building of an idolatrous temple: and to this resolution they all firmly stood; so that, although several severe punishments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them could be brought to recede from it; whereupon Alexander, admiring their constancy, dismissed them his service, and sent them all home into their own country.

But the greatest part of the time that Alexander lay in Babylon was spent in gratifying himself in the pleasures and luxuries of the place, especially in drinking; which he carried up to the utmost excess, spending sometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drank himself into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the same manner as his favourite Hephestion had before him.

An. 323. Philip 1.]—This happened about the middle of the spring,³ in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, which fell in the year before Christ 323. At his death, there went a general report that he died of poison; and the same hath been said of other great princes, when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reason for it. He having sat out one long drinking bout, was immediately invited to another; at which there being twenty in company,⁴ he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again, and calling for the Herculean cup⁵ (which held six of our quarts,) he drank this full to Proteas, a Macedonian, who was one of the guests; and a little after pledged him again in the same. And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poison to kill any man living. Immediately after this last cup, he dropped down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever of which he died. However, that he died of poison was not only a transient report, but a fixed and lasting opinion among the Macedonians; and there were such strong reasons to make it believed, as rendered it very probable, that a poisonous liquor was also one ingredient of the cup that killed him. The sons of Antipater were charged to be the authors of this treason;⁶ and the common report was, that Cassandar the eldest of them brought the poison out of Greece, and that Iollas his brother, who was cupbearer to Alexander, gave it to him; and that he chose this time for it, that the excessive

1 Arrian. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

2 Arrian. lib. 7. Plut. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

3 Athen. lib. 10. c. 11. et lib. 12. c. 18.

4 Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Plut. in Alex.

5 Seneca, ep. 83. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 5. c. 21. Athen. lib. 11. c. 17.

6 Plut. in Alex. Arrian. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Just. lib. 12. c. 13, 14. Pausan. in Arcadicis. Q. Curt. lib. 10. c. 10. P. n. lib. 30. c. 16. Vitruvius, lib. 8. c. 3.

2 Sosephus contra Apionem, lib. 1.

quantity of wine which he then drank might cover this worse cause of his death. Alexander, a little before this time, having dismissed ten thousand of his veterans, who were past service, sent Craterus to conduct them into Greece, with commission to succeed Antipater in his government of Macedon, Thrace, and Thessaly; and ordered Antipater to come to him to Babylon, to take Craterus's place in the army. But Antipater being jealous, and not without good reason, that he was sent for to be put to death for the many mal-administrations he had been guilty of in his government, did, by the hands of his sons, execute this treason upon the life of Alexander, to save his own. And the death of Alexander happening so convenient to deliver him from this danger, made it the more believed that he was the author of it. And it is certain, Cassander could never after overcome the odium of it, but was detested for it by the Macedonians as long as he lived. Pausanias, in his *Arcadics*, tells us of a fountain in Arcadia called Styx,¹ whose waters are so exceedingly cold as to be poisonous. Some water of this fountain, they say, was mingled with the last cup that Alexander drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water distils from the rock Nonacris, out of which it proceeds in a small quantity, and is of so piercing a nature, that it breaks through all vessels into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in such a hoof from Greece to Babylon, for the executing of this villanous murder.

And here ending all the designs of this great and vain-glorious prince. Never had any man a greater run of success than he had for twelve years and a half together (for so long he reigned from the death of his father:) in that time he subjected to him all the nations and countries that lay from the Adriatic Sea to the Ganges, the greater part of the then known habitable world. And although most of his actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant rashness, yet none of them failed of success. His first attempt upon the Persians, in passing the Granicus with only thirty-five thousand men against an army above five times as many guarding the banks of the river on the other side, was what no man else that was well in his wits would have run upon, and yet he succeeded in it; and this success creating a panic fear of him through all the Persian empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterward obtained; for no army after that, though twenty times the number of his (as was that of Arbela,) would take courage enough to stand before him. He was a man of some virtues, but these were obscured with much greater vices. Vain-glory was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly steered him through all his actions. And the old Greek ballads, and the fables of their ancient heroes, were the patterns from which he formed most of his conduct. This made him drag Betis round the walls of Gaza, as Achilles had Hector round those of Troy. This made him make that hazardous expedition into India; for Bacchus and Hercules were said to have done the same. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken procession through Carmania on his return, which is above mentioned: for Bacchus was said to have returned that way in the same manner. And the same was the cause of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he assumed to himself to be called the son of Jupiter: for most of the Grecian fables, making their heroes the sons of some god or other, he would not be thought in this, as well as not in any thing else, to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his instrument, for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the prophet Daniel foretold concerning him, he did, by his providence, bear him through in all things for the accomplishing of it, and, when that was done, did cast him out of his hand; for he died in the prime vigour and strength of his life, before he had outlived the thirty-third year of his age.

¹ Curtius, by mistake, placeth this fountain in Macedon; but Vitruvius (lib. 8. c. 3.) Plutarch (in the life of Alexander,) and Strabo (lib. 8. p. 389.) put it in the same place where Pausanias doth; that is in the mountain Nonacris in Arcadia, and tells us, that Alexander was poisoned with the water of it in the same manner as he and others relate.

After his death,¹ there arose great confusions among his followers about the succession. But at length, after seven days' contest, it came to this agreement, that Aridæus, a bastard brother of Alexander's, should be declared king; and that if Roxana, who was then gone eight months with child, should bring forth a son, that son should be joined with him in the throne, and Perdicas should have the guardianship of both; for Aridæus, being an idiot, needed a guardian as much as the infant. After this, the governments of the empire being divided among the chief commanders of the army, all went to take possession of them, leaving Perdicas at Babylon to take care of Aridæus, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole empire. For some time they contented themselves with the name of governors; but at length took that of kings, as they had the authority from the first. As soon as they were settled in the provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguings and making war against each other, till thereby they were, after some years, all destroyed to four. These were Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus; and they divided the whole empire between them. Cassander had Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, and those parts of Asia as lay upon the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; Ptolemy, Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria; and Seleucus all the rest. And hereby the prophecies of Daniel were exactly fulfilled,² which foretold, that the great horn of the Macedonian empire, that is, Alexander, being broken off, there should arise four other horns, that is, four kings out of the same nation, who should divide his empire between them: and the manner how they did so, will, in the future series of this history, be fully declared.

Aridæus, being thus placed on the throne, they changed his name to that of Philip;³ and from hence the Philippian era hath its original, which the Egyptians computing from the first day of that year in which Alexander died, that is, from the first day of their Thoth preceding (which fell in the twelfth of our November,) Ptolemy the astronomer doth the same in his Canon, though contrary to the method hitherto observed by him: for, in all other descents preceding this, he begins the reign of the successor from the Thoth following, and not from the Thoth preceding, the death of the successor.

Sysigambis, the mother of Darius though she had borne with great patience the death of her father, her husband, and eighty of her brothers slain by Ochus in one day, and, since that, the death of her son, and the ruin of his family, yet could not bear the death of Alexander.⁴ He had shown great kindness to her, and, not knowing where to expect any more, she took his death to be the completion of her calamity, and therefore, on her hearing of it, refused to take any more sustenance, and famished herself to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that also of her two grand-daughters,⁵ Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the widow of Hephæstion: for Roxana having craftily got them into her power, by the concurrence of Perdicas, caused them both to be flung into a well and murdered. She fearing Statira might be with child; and, if that proved to be a son, it might disturb the settlement which was made in favour of her son, in case she bore one; and therefore thus made her away, to prevent it, and her sister with her. And,⁶ not long after, she was delivered of a son, who was called Alexander, and his name, with that of Aridæus, or Philip, was afterward joined in the government of the empire; though neither of them had any more than a name in it, the authority being wholly usurped by those who had divided the provinces among them.

An. 322. Philip 2.—In this division of the provinces,⁷ Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were assigned to Eumenes, who had been secretary of state to Alexander. But these had not yet been thoroughly subjected to the Macedonian

¹ Curtius, lib. 10. Diod. lib. 8. Plutarch, in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13. c. 1—4.

² Dan. vii. 6. viii. 8. 21. 22. xi. 4.

³ Justin. lib. 13. c. 3. Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Ptolemæus in Canone.

⁴ Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 13. c. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 8.

⁵ Plutarch, in Alexandro.

⁶ Arrian. in excerptis Photii. Pausan. in Atticis et Boeoticis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

⁷ Plutarch, in Eumene. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13. c. 4. Arrian. in excerptis Photii.

dominion; for Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, still held those countries, and Alexander, having been called out of those parts in the prosecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the possession of his kingdom, and he had continued in it ever since. And therefore, he being first to be conquered before Eumenes could be put in possession of this government, Perdiccas sent to Antigonus and Leonnatus for the effecting of it. The former of them had the government of Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and the Greater Phrygia; and the latter, that of the Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont. But they having both of them other designs in their heads for the promoting of their own interest, neither of them had any regard to what Perdiccas ordered. Leonnatus was then marching into Greece, under pretence of carrying assistance to Antipater, governor of Macedonia, who was then hard pressed by a confederacy of the Greeks against him, but in reality to seize Macedonia and Greece for himself; but he being slain in battle against those Greeks, this did put an end to all his designs. When Eumenes came to him with Perdiccas's order, he endeavoured to draw him into his measures, and in order hereto, communicated to him his whole scheme. But Eumenes, liking neither the man nor his project, refused to be concerned with him in it. Whereon Leonnatus would have put him to death for the concealing of the secret; which Eumenes being aware of fled to Perdiccas, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was, on other accounts, very acceptable unto him; for he was a very steady man, and had the best head-piece of Alexander's captains. And therefore Perdiccas, to gratify him, taking the two kings along with him, marched into Cappadocia, and having vanquished Ariarathes, and cut him off with all his family and kindred, settled Eumenes in quiet possession of his government, and afterward having subdued Isaurus and Laranda, two cities of Pisidia, that had slain their governors and revolted, he marched in Cilicia, and there took up his winter-quarters. While he lay there, he projected the divorcing of Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, in her stead. She had been wife to Alexander king of Epirus; but he having been slain in his wars in Italy, she had ever since lived a widow, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Thither Perdiccas sent Eumenes to propose the match, and court her to it: for she being in great credit and esteem with the Macedonians, as sister to Alexander both by father and mother, he proposed by this marriage to strengthen his interest with them, and then in her right to seize the whole empire. Antigonus, getting knowledge of this project, and that the cutting of him off, to make way for the success of it, was one part of the scheme, he fled into Greece, to Antipater and Craterus, who were then making war with the Ætolians, and discovered to them the whole plot; whereupon clapping up a peace with the Ætolians, they immediately marched to the Hellespont to watch these designs, and took Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, into confederacy with them, for the better strengthening of themselves against them. This Craterus was one of the most eminent of Alexander's captains, and of all of them the best beloved and esteemed by the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had sent him to conduct home into Macedonia ten thousand of his veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, disabled for farther service, with orders to take upon him the government of Macedonia and Greece, in the room of Antipater, whom he had called to Babylon, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of Alexander, these provinces having been assigned to him in joint authority with Antipater, he had accordingly taken on him the government of them in co-partnership with him, and very amicably associated with him in all his wars, as especially he did in this, which the discovery of Perdiccas's designs made it necessary for them to engage in. In the interim, Perdiccas sent Eumenes into his province, not only to put all things there in as good posture as he could, but also to have a watchful eye upon Neoptolemus, governor of Ar-

menia, which lay next him; for Perdiccas had some suspicion of him, and not without cause, as it will afterward appear.

An. 321. Philip 3.]—In the beginning of the next spring,¹ Perdiccas having assembled all his forces together in Cappadocia, deliberated with his friends whether he should march immediately into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or else into Egypt against Ptolemy. Should he march first into Macedonia, the fear was, that Ptolemy, who had made himself very strong in Egypt, should take the advantage to seize all the Greater Asia. For the preventing of this, it was resolved not to leave Ptolemy at his back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the war into Macedonia, and that, in the interim, Eumenes should be left with part of the army to guard the Asian provinces against Antipater and Craterus. For the executing of which resolutions, Perdiccas gave unto Eumenes the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, in addition to those he had before, and made him captain-general of all the countries from the Hellespont to Mount Taurus, ordering all the governors of them to obey his orders; and then, by the way of Damascus and Palestine, marched into Egypt, carrying the kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater countenance and authority to his actings in it.

Eumenes,² to make good his charge, lost no time in providing for himself an army to withstand Antipater and Craterus, who had passed the Hellespont to make war upon him. They, in the first place, made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their party, promising him the provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them; but he, being a steady man, would not, on any terms, be wrought upon to break his faith with Perdiccas. But they had better success with Alcetas and Neoptolemus: for they prevailed with the former, though the brother of Perdiccas, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to them: but, while he was on his march to join their army, Eumenes fell upon him, and having vanquished him in battle, took from him all his baggage; and Neoptolemus himself difficultly escaped, with three hundred horse only, to Antipater and Craterus, the rest of his forces, that were not cut off in battle, taking service under Eumenes. Whereon Antipater marched into Cilicia, from thence to pass into Egypt to the assistance of Ptolemy, if his affairs should require it; and sent Craterus and Neoptolemus, with the rest of the army, into Cappadocia, against Eumenes; where it coming to a battle between them, Craterus and Neoptolemus were both slain, and Eumenes gained an entire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battle: for, whereas the Macedonians generally had that love for Craterus, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, Eumenes ordered the matter so, that none of the Macedonians that were in his army knew that Craterus was with the enemy, till that he was slain, and the victory won.

In the interim Perdiccas entered Egypt,³ and there waged war against Ptolemy, but not with the same success. For Ptolemy, since his having entered on the government of Egypt, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the Egyptians, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of Greece and other countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a government; which added great increase to his strength; and the army of Perdiccas were so well affected to him, that they went with great unwillingness to make war against him, and many of them daily deserted to him: all which made against Perdiccas, and at last ended in his ruin: for having unfortunately endeavoured to pass a branch of the Nile, which made an island in it over against Memphis, he had one thousand of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13. c. 6. Corn. Nep. in Eumene. Arrian. in excerptis Photii.

² Plutarchus et Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diodorus Siculus lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13. c. 8. Arrian. in excerptis Photii.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Eumene. Arrian. in excerptis Photii. Pausan. in Attica.

evoured by the crocodiles of that river; which angered the Macedonians who followed him to that degree, that rising in a mutiny against him, they slew him in his tent; and most of his friends and confidants with him. About two days after came the news of Eumenes' victory. Had it been known two days sooner, it would have prevented the mutiny, and the revolution which afterward followed in favour of Ptolemy, Antipater, and those of their party. The next day after the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy passed over the Nile into his camp, and there so effectually pleaded his cause before the Macedonians, that he turned them all over to him; and when the news of Craterus's death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger, with which he saw them actuated for it, as to cause them, by a public decree, to declare Eumenes, and fifty others of that party by name, enemies to the Macedonian state; and, by the same decree, Antipater and Antigonus were appointed to make war against them as such. And whereas all were inclined to have conferred on him the guardianship of the kings, in the room of Perdiccas, he rather chose to keep where he was, recommending Pithon and Aridæus to this charge, and by his interest it was that they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted commander in the army of Alexander through all his wars, and followed the party of Perdiccas till his late misfortune at the Nile; when, in dislike of his conduct, he deserted from him, and went over to Ptolemy. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till, on the death of Alexander, he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length after two years' time spent herein, he carried the corpse in great solemnity from Babylon into Egypt, and there deposited it in the city of Memphis: from whence it was afterward translated to Alexandria. A prophecy having been given out, that, wherever Alexander should be buried, that place, of all others, should be the most happy and prosperous; this put the chief governors of provinces upon a strife which of them should have the body of this deceased prince, each of them desiring to make the chief seat of his government happy by it. Perdiccas, out of love to his country, would have it carried to Egæ in Macedonia, the usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings, and others elsewhere. But Ptolemy prevailed to have it brought into Egypt; where Aridæus having carried it not long before the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy, to gratify him for it, procured that he was chosen into this office. But Eurydice, the wife of king Aridæus (now called Philip,) putting in to have all affairs managed according to her direction, and the Macedonians favouring her in this pretence, they were so tired with the impertinency of this woman, that when they had led back the army to Triparadisus in Syria, they there resigned their charge, and it was conferred wholly on Antipater: who thereon made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and restored all the other party that had been dispossessed. In this new distribution Seleucus had the government of Babylon conferred on him: who, from this beginning, afterward grew up to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors, as will hereafter be related. Antipater, having thus settled affairs sent Antigonus to make war upon Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia, leaving his son Cassander, with Antigonus, in the command of general of the horse in his army, to be a spy upon him.

This year Jaddua, the high-priest of the Jews, being dead, Onias' his son succeeded him in that office, and lived in it twenty-one years.

An. 320. Philip 4.]—Early the next spring, Antigonus¹ marched out of his winter-quarters against Eumenes; and at Orcynium, in Cappadocia, it came to a battle between them, in which Eumenes lost the victory, with eight thousand of his men. This was caused by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal commanders of his horse, who, being corrupted by Antigonus, deserted to him in the battle. However, the traitor escaped not the punishment which he

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chron. Alex. Euseb. in Chronico.

² Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

deserved; for Eumenes, having taken him, caused him immediately to be hanged for it. After this, Eumenes shifted from place to place, till at length he was shut up in the castle of Nora, which was situated in the confines of Cappadocia and Lycania, where he endured the siege of a whole year.

In the mean time, Ptolemy,¹ finding how convenient Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, lay for him, both for the defence of Egypt, as well as for the invading from thence the island of Cyprus, which he had an eye upon, resolved to make himself master of these provinces. They were, in the first partition of the provinces of the empire, granted to Laomedon, the Mytelenian, one of Alexander's captains, and had been confirmed to him also in that second partition which was made by Antipater at Triparadius; and he had accordingly, from the death of Alexander to this time, being possessed of them, without any interruption or disturbance. Ptolemy, at first, thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vast sums for this purpose; but, not prevailing this way, he sent Nicanor, one of his captains, with an army into Syria, against him, while he with a fleet invaded Phœnicia. Nicanor, having vanquished Laomedon in battle, and taken him prisoner, thereon seized all the inland country, and Ptolemy had the same success on the maritime; so that hereby he made himself master of all those provinces, and Antipater being returned into Macedonia, and Antigonus otherwise engaged against Eumenes, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, though both disliked it.

But when all other parts of this country, after the vanquishing of Laomedon, readily yielded to Ptolemy,² the Jews alone refused to submit to this new master, and for some time stood out against him. For, having a just sense of the oath which they had sworn to the former governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till overpowered by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it. Whereon Ptolemy marched into Judea, and laid siege to Jerusalem. The place, being strongly fortified both by art and nature, might have held out long against him, but that the Jews had then such a superstitious notion for the keeping of their sabbath, that they thought it a breach of their law concerning it, even to defend themselves on that day: which Ptolemy having observed, made choice of their sabbath to storm the place; and then took it in the assault, because none of them would on that day defend their walls against him. Josephus, being unwilling to expose his nation to the contempt of the Greeks for so ridiculous a folly, tells the story otherwise in his Antiquities, as if Ptolemy were admitted into Jerusalem upon articles of composition, and seized the place in breach of them; but other historians,³ and those whom he himself quotes elsewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter: for it appears from the book of the Maccabees,⁴ that till Matathias, and those with him, made a decree to the contrary, it was the stated opinion of the Jews, that they were to do nothing on the sabbath-day, even for the saving of their own lives, against those that fought against them.

When Ptolemy⁵ had thus made himself master of Jerusalem, and all Judea, he did at first deal very hardly with the inhabitants; for he carried above one hundred thousand of them captives into Egypt. But afterward, reflecting on the steadiness with which they adhered to the fealty they had sworn to their former princes and governors, he thought them the most proper for the highest trust; and therefore, having chosen out of them thirty thousand of the strongest and best qualified for military service, he committed to them the garrisoning and keeping of those towns which were of the greatest importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the rest, at their desire, to be with them in the same places, to administer all necessaries to them. And whereas he had

1 Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Demet. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. Appian. in Syriaces. Pausan. in Atticis.

2 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. et contra Apion. lib. 1.

3 Agatharcides apud Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apion. Vide etiam Aristeam.

4 1 Maccab. ii. 41.

5 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. Aristeam.

lately brought under him Cyrene and Libya, he placed several of them there; and from them were descended the Cyrenian Jews, of whom was Jason,¹ who wrote the history of the Maccabees in five books (of which the second book of Maccabees, which we now have, is an abridgement,) and of whom also was Simon,² that bore Christ's cross, at his crucifixion, and others that are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.³

An. 319. Philip 5.]—Antipater, being worn out with age,⁴ died in Macedonia, and, at his death, appointed Polysperchon, who was the oldest of Alexander's captains then remaining, to be the guardian of the kings and governor of Macedonia, in his stead; which Cassander resented with great indignation; for he could not bear that his father should prefer any one before him in this trust; and therefore, he forthwith set himself to form a party against the new guardian, and seized as many places as he could within the verge of his government, both in Greece and Macedon, and purposed no less than the dispossessing him of all the rest. And, for the better carrying on of this design, he sent to Ptolemy and Antigonus, to engage them to be on his side in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own interest. The aim of the former was, to secure himself in the provinces he had gotten; and that of the other was, to possess himself of all Asia; and they thought, if the Macedonians were embarrassed by a war at home, they might both of them, with the greater ease, obtain their designs. For no sooner was Antipater dead, but Antigonus, finding himself possessed of the greatest power of all Alexander's captains then surviving, formed a project of making himself master of all: for he was left by Antipater generalissimo of all the Lesser Asia, with full authority over all the provinces in it, and had then under his command an army of seventy thousand men, besides thirty elephants: which was a force which no other power in the empire could then resist, and therefore he resolved to seize the whole. In order hereto, his first step was to make a reform in all the governments of the provinces within the verge of his power, by putting out all such governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their steads who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove Aridaeus out of his government of the Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont, and Clitus out of that of Lydia, and so proceeded to do the same in all the other provinces and cities of the Lesser Asia. But his greatest difficulty was to master Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and military skill, made him more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had then been for a whole year shut up and besieged by him in the castle of Nora. And therefore, he would make trial again to draw him over to him,⁵ and sent his countryman Jerome of Cardia, the famous historian of those times, to make proposals to him for this purpose; with whom Eumenes managed the treaty so wisely and craftily, that he got rid of the siege at the time when he was almost brought to the point of perishing by it, and without obliging himself to any thing that Antigonus intended by the composition. For an agreement being made, and the oath whereby Eumenes was to swear to it being according to the form sent by Antigonus, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Antigonus, he altered the form; putting it, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Olympias, and the kings, as well as to Antigonus, and then referred it to the Macedonians that lay at the siege, to judge which form was most proper; who, still retaining their affection for the royal family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore, Eumenes having sworn according to this form, they raised the siege, and departed. But when Antigonus had an account how this matter was managed, he was so displeased at it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and immediately despatched his orders to have the siege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in execution: for Eumenes, immediately on the raising of the siege, quitted the

1 2 Maccab. 1.

2 Matt. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26.

3 Chap. ii. 10. vi. 9.

4 Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. in Phocione.

5 Plut. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diod. Sic. lib. 18.

fortress, and with the five hundred men that bore the siege with him, marched into Cappadocia, and there got together of his old soldiers about two thousand more, and made all other preparations for the war which he knew would be again renewed against him.

In the interim,¹ the defection of Antigonus from the interest of the kings, and setting up for himself, being notorious, a commission was sent to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, from Polysperchon, their guardian, constituting him captain-general of all the Lesser Asia, with orders to Teutamus and Antigenes, commanders of the Argyraspides, to join with him, and, under his command, to make war against Antigonus. And those who had the keeping of the king's treasury were commanded every where to supply him with money for this war. And letters were sent every where from Olympias to the same purpose. Hereon Eumenes set himself with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations which might enable him successfully to execute all the orders he had received. But, before he could get together an army sufficient for it, Menander, one of Antigonus's captains, coming upon him into Cappadocia, with a great army, he was forced to march thence in haste with only three thousand men that he had then about him. But having, by long marches, gotten over Mount Taurus into the country of Cilicia, he was there met by the Argyraspides, who, according to the orders received from the kings, joined with him, they being in number about three thousand men. These were the remainder of the old soldiers of Alexander, by whom he had won all his victories; and he having given them,² when they marched with him into India, shields plated over with silver, as a mark of special honour to them, from hence they were called the Argyraspides, *i. e.* the silver-shielded (for so that name signified in the Greek language.) And they were eminent, above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being then spent, Eumenes could do no more at that time than enter into winter-quarters with them in that country.

An. 318. Philip 6.]—While he lay there,³ he sent his emissaries into all parts to raise him more forces; who, being plentifully supplied with money, executed their commission so successfully, that in the ensuing spring he took the field with an army of twenty thousand men, horse and foot, which did put all his enemies into no small fear of him. And therefore, Ptolemy, for the crushing of him, came with a fleet upon the coasts of Cilicia, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the Argyraspides from him; and Antigonus endeavoured the same by several emissaries sent into Eumenes' camp for this purpose. But both miscarried herein: for Eumenes carried himself with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with so much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his soldiers to him with so strong a link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to desert him.

And therefore, having his army thus firmly fixed to him,⁴ he marched with them into Syria and Phœnicia, to dispossess Ptolemy of these provinces, which, against all right, he had violently seized to himself. His intention hereby was to open a secure correspondence between him and Polysperchon by sea; for, could he have gotten the naval strength of the Phœnicians into his power, this, in conjunction with the fleet of Polysperchon, would have made them absolute masters of the seas, and they might then have sent and received succours to and from each other, according as their affairs should require: and had this design succeeded, they must have carried all before them. But the fleet of Polysperchon being, through the folly of Clitus, who commanded it, all broken and destroyed by Antigonus, this baffled the whole project. For Antigonus, immediately on the gaining of this victory, put himself upon the march with a great army to find out Eumenes, and fall upon him; of which Eumenes having re-

¹ Diod. Plut. et Corn. Nepos. in Eumene.

² Justin. lib. 12. c. 7. Quintus Curtius. lib. 8. c. 5.

³ Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene.

⁴ Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

ceived intelligence, and finding himself not strong enough to encounter so great a force as Antigonus was bringing against him, he durst not stay his coming; but forthwith withdrew out of Phœnicia, and marching through Cœle-Syria passed the Euphrates, and wintered at Carrhæ and Mesopotamia. This was the ancient Charan,¹ or Haran of the holy scriptures, where Abraham dwelt before he came into the land of Canaan, and where, after that Nahor, the brother of Abraham, and his posterity after him, had their habitation for several generations. And it was, in the histories of after-ages, rendered famous for the great battle there fought between the Romans and the Parthians,² wherein the former received that signal overthrow, in which Crassus, and most of their army under his command, were cut in pieces. The Turks now call it Harran,³ by the old name; and it was, in late ages, famous for being the prime seat of the Sabians,⁴ a noted sect in the east, of which I have spoken above. Hence those of this sect were called Harranites, as well as Sabians, in those parts.

An. 317. Philip 7.]—Eumenes, while he lay at Carrhæ,⁴ sent to Pithon, governor of Media, and Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to join with him, for the aiding of the kings against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings for this purpose to be communicated to them. Their answer hereto was, that they should be very ready to give all aid to the kings, but would have nothing to do with him who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great genius of Eumenes: for the intention of most of Alexander's commanders, who, after his death, had divided the governments and provinces of his empire among them, was to set up for themselves, and make themselves sovereigns, each in the country which he had seized; and it was with a view to this, that on the death of Alexander, they did set up an idiot and an infant to have the names of sovereigns after him, that, under so weak a government, they might the better ripen their designs for the usurpations they intended; and these measures they thought would be broken, if Eumenes got the ascendant; and therefore, all of them that were for these measures were against him. But, whether his purpose was to advance himself to the sovereignty, or preserve it to the family of Alexander, is uncertain. His professions always were for the family of Alexander; and whatever his secret intentions might be, none of his actions made any discovery to the contrary. But thus much is certain, that as he was the wisest and the most valiant of all Alexander's captains, so was he the most steady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falsified his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it; though he himself perished for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related.

From Carrhæ Eumenes marched, in the beginning of the spring, toward Babylon; in which march he had like to have lost all his army, by a stratagem of Seleucus upon him. For he having encamped on a plain near the Euphrates, Seleucus, by cutting the banks of the river, overflowed the place where he lay. But Eumenes, having immediately drawn off his army to an adjoining eminence, thereby saved them from the present danger, and the next day after, having found out a way to drain off the overflowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it: whereon Seleucus played truce with them, and permitted him safely to pass through his province to Susa, where he put his army into quarters of refreshment, and from thence sent messengers to all the governors of the upper provinces of Asia to call them to his assistance. He had before transmitted to them letters from the kings, which commanded them to join him for the support of the royal interest, and now he sent to let them know where he was, and to press upon them speedy execution of the royal command. And his messengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war against Pithon, governor of Media, which they had just then finished. For Pithon, playing the same game in those provinces

¹ Gen. xi. 31, 32. xii. 4. xxix. 4.

² Plutarch. in Crasso. Appian. in Parthiis. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 747.

³ Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 249, 250.

⁴ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

⁵ Ibid.

of the Upper Asia that Antigonus did in the Lower, had put Philotas to death to seize his province, and intended to have proceeded in the same manner with the rest, till he should have usurped all to himself; which being discerned, they all joined, under the command of Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, in a common war against him; in which having vanquished him in battle, they drove him out of Media, and forced him to fly to Babylon, to crave of Seleucus the protection of his life. And they were still encamped together after this victory, when Eumenes' messengers came unto them; whereon they immediately marched to Susa, and there joined him with all their forces, which consisted of about twenty-five thousand men, horse and foot. This reinforcement made him more than a match for Antigonus, who was then on his march after him; but the year being far advanced before he could reach the Tigris, he was forced to take up his winter-quarters in Mesopotamia, where Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next campaign.

In the interim a great change happened in Macedonia;¹ for Olympias, the mother of Alexander, having formerly fled out of Macedonia into Epirus, with Alexander her grandson, and Roxana his mother, for fear of Antipater, now after his death was again returned, and, having gotten the power of the kingdom into her hands, put Arideus, the nominal king (whom they call Philip,) to death, with Eurydice his wife, after he had borne the title of king six years and seven months; and with him she slew also Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents: which cruelty was retailed upon her the next year after; for then Cassander, coming upon her with an army, besieged her in Pydna, and, having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in prison, and afterward caused her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of Arideus, Alexander, the son of Roxana, alone bore the title of king, till at length he was also in like manner cut off by the treachery of those who usurped his father's empire. But almost all the time he bore this title alone, he bore it in a jail: for Cassander, after he had taken Pydna, shut up him and his mother in the castle of Amphipolis, till at length he murdered them both, to make way for himself to be king of Macedon; as will hereafter, in its proper place, be more fully related.

An. 316. Alex. Ægus I.]—Antigonus, in the beginning of the spring,² marched to Babylon, where, having joined the forces which Pithon and Seleucus had there got ready for him, he passed the Tigris to find out Eumenes; and, on the other hand, Eumenes was not wanting to put himself in a posture to encounter him, being now superior to him in the number of his forces, and much more so in the wisdom and sagacity of his conduct: not that the other was defective herein; for, next Eumenes, he was certainly the best general and the wisest politician of his time. But the great disadvantage which Eumenes lay under, was, he commanded a volunteer army, it being made up of the forces brought him by the several governors of provinces, who had joined him, and every one of these would have the general command; and Eumenes, not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, there was not one of them but thought himself, for this reason, preferable before him. To master this difficulty, he pretended that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a royal pavilion richly furnished with a throne in it, and told him, that, if they would sit in council there, he himself would be present to prosper all their consultations and undertakings upon which they should enter in his name; and, having wrought the superstition which they had for Alexander into a belief of this, he caused such a pavilion and throne to be erected as he pretended to have seen in his dream; and, placing a crown and sceptre in the throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in council, and consult together in common, under the presidency of Alexander, in the same manner as when he was alive, without owning any other superior; which quelled all farther strife about this matter: for

¹ Diodorus Siculus lib. 19. Justin. lib. 14. ² Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene

hereby a priority was yielded to none, and all pretences to it being still kept alive, were reserved to the opportunities which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However, the army had that confidence in the great abilities of Eumenes, that, in time of battle, and in all cases of danger, he was always called to the supreme command, and the soldiers would not fight till they saw him in it. And, by the wisdom of his management, he brought it to pass in all other cases, that though in outward show he seemed to waive all superiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And the royal command to all the keepers of the public treasuries being to give out unto Eumenes all such sums as he should think fitting to require, this command of the purse gave him the command of all things else; for hereby he was enabled constantly to pay his army, and also to give gratuities to the chief leaders among them; which had no small influence to engage them to him. And in this posture stood the affairs of both parties, when this years' war was begun, which was carried on with great vigour on both sides; and all Media and Persia became the field of it: for they ranged these countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other, and all manner of stratagems and trials of military skill were put in practice on both sides. But Eumenes having a genius much superior in all such matters, he did thereby, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable army, make the campaign end in his favour: for he had worsted Antigonus in two encounters, in which he had slain and taken a great number of his men; and, when winter approached, he secured the best quarters for himself in the province of Gabiena, and forced Antigonus to march northward, to seek for his in the country of Media, at the distance of twenty-five day's march from him.

An. 315. Alex. Ægus 2.—But the licentiousness of Eumenes' soldiers being such,¹ that they would not be kept together, but, for the sake of a more luxurious plenty, scattered themselves over the province, and quartered at so great a distance from each other, as would require several days for them again to embody; Antigonus, on his having an account hereof, took a march toward him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he should be able to get his army together, and thereby gain an absolute victory over him. But Eumenes, who was never wanting in any precautions necessary for his security, had his spies and scouts so well placed, and so well furnished with dromedaries, the swiftest of beasts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this march of Antigonus some days before he could arrive, and had time to defeat it by a stratagem, which saved the army, when all the other commanders gave it for lost: for getting up upon those mountains which lay toward the enemy, with such forces as were nearest at hand, he there caused them, the next night, to kindle fires in such manner as might represent the encampment of an army; which being seen by Antigonus's scouts at a great distance, and speedily notified to him, this made him believe that Eumenes was there with all his army ready to encounter him; and, therefore, not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a long march, with a fresh army, he stopped so long to refresh them, that Eumenes had gotten all his forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his designs in execution. However, not long after, this brought on a battle between them, wherein Eumenes got the victory; which would have proved decisive in his favour, but that he lost all the fruits of it, and himself too, by the treachery of his own men. For the battle being fought in a sandy field, the feet of the men and horses in the engagement raised such a dust, as involved all in a cloud, so that there was no seeing of any thing at the least distance: of which Antigonus taking the advantage, sent out a party of horse, that seized and carried off all the baggage of Eumenes' army, before they could be perceived; whereby he gained the main point though he lost the victory. For

Eumenes' soldiers, when returned from the pursuit of the enemy, finding their camp taken, and all their baggage, with their wives and children carried off, instead of using their swords against the enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their general; and, therefore, having seized and bound him, sold him to Antigonus, to redeem what they had lost, and then went all over to him; which absolutely determined the war for the interest of Antigonus; for immediately hereon he became master of all Asia, from the Hellespont to the River Indus. Eumenes, being thus fallen into his hands, he was for some time in a doubt how to dispose of him, he having been formerly his intimate friend, while they both served together under Alexander: the remembrance hereof did at first put the affection he had for him into a struggle with his interest for the saving of his life; and Demetrius his son became an earnest solicitor for him, being very desirous, out of the generosity of his temper, that so gallant a man should be kept alive. But at length, reflecting on his immovable fidelity to Alexander's family, how dangerous an antagonist he had in him on this account, and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with life, and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison: and thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of Alexander, but in every thing else far exceeded him; for he was truly valiant without rashness, and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of any thing that he undertook, but when disappointed by the treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battle which he fought with Antigonus in Cappadocia; and by this means only was it that he was at last undone in Gabiena. After his death Antigonus, with all his army, in the solemnist manner, attended his funeral-pile, and showed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his bones and ashes in a sumptuous urn of silver to his wife and children in Cappadocia. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However, it showed, that, even in the opinion of the worst of his enemies, he was a person of that eminent merit as deserved a much better fate.

Antigonus,¹ now looking on the whole empire of Asia as his own, for the better securing of it to him, made a reform through all the eastern provinces, putting out all such governors as he distrusted, and placing others, of whom he had greater confidence, in their stead, and such as he thought dangerous he cut off. Of this number was Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigonus, general of the Argyraspides: and he had marked out Seleucus, governor of Babylon, for the same destruction; but he, being aware of it, fled into Egypt, and there, under the protection of Ptolemy, saved his life. And as to the Argyraspides, who were those that betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province of the empire, giving it in charge to Sibertius, the governor of it, by all ways and means, to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into Greece. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the treachery which they had been guilty of toward their general, though he himself had the fruit of it.

In the interim, Seleucus being got safe into Egypt,² he so effectually represented to Ptolemy the formidable power of Antigonus, as he also did to Lysimachus and Cassander, by messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a league against him. Antigonus being aware that Seleucus, on his flight, might endeavour to engage those princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them ambassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastened out of the east into Cilicia; and, having there taken care for the recruiting and re-enforcing his

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis.

² Diodor. et Appian. *ibid.* Justin. lib. 15.

army, and ordered all things in the provinces of Lesser Asia, as best suited with his interest, he marched thence into Syria and Phœnicia.

An. 314. Alex. Ægus 3.—His intentions,¹ in entering into these provinces, were to dispossess Ptolemy of them, and making himself master of their naval force; for, finding that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated princes, and judging aright that, without making himself master of the seas, there was no managing of it with success against them, he found it necessary to have the Phœnician ports and shipping at his command; but he came too late for the latter of them, Ptolemy having carried away all the Phœnician shipping into Egypt before his arrival: neither did he easily make himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, held out against him. The two latter he soon reduced, but Tyre endured a siege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia in his power, he immediately set himself to the building of a fleet of ships in them, cutting down vast quantities of timber from Mount Libanus, and causing them to be carried to the several ports where the ships were building; in which work several thousands of hands were employed: and by this means he soon equipped such a number of ships, as did, with those sent him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and other confederated places, make up a fleet, which soon gave him the mastery of the seas. That which chiefly edged him on with so much speed to provide himself with this fleet, was an affront offered him by Seleucus: for while he lay encamped near Tyre, on the sea-shore, Seleucus came thither with one hundred sail of Ptolemy's fleet, and Antigonus, not having any shipping to encounter him, he passed by the coast where he was encamped, in contempt of him, within the sight of all his army; which very much disheartened his men, and raising a mean opinion of his power in such of his allies as were then present with him, for the remedy hereof, he called them all together, and did let them know, that even that very summer he would be on those seas with a fleet of five hundred sail, which no power of the enemy should be able to withstand; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

An. 313. Alex. Ægus 4.—But Antigonus finding that, while he was intent upon these affairs in Phœnicia, Cassander grew upon him in the Lesser Asia,² he marched thither with one part of his army, and left Demetrius, his son (then a young man, not exceeding the twenty-second year of his age,) with the other part, to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy. By this time Tyre was reduced to great extremities: for Antigonus's fleet, being now set to sea, barred all provisions from being carried to them; which soon brought them to a necessity of surrendering. However, they obtained terms for the garrison of Ptolemy to march safely thence with all their effects, and for the inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For Andronicus, who then commanded at the siege of Antigonus, was glad on any terms to gain so important a place, especially after being tired out with so long a siege; for it lasted (as I have already said) fifteen months. It was but nineteen years before that Alexander had destroyed this city in such a manner, as it might seem to require the length of ages for it again to recover itself; yet in so short a time it grew up again into a condition of enduring this siege for more than double the time of that of Alexander's. This shows the great advantage of trade: for this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the east and west did then centre, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.

Antigonus,³ on his coming into Lesser Asia, soon reduced the growing power of Cassander, and forced him to very mean terms of accommodation; but after he had made them, he repented of the agreement, and would not stand to it, but sent to Ptolemy and Seleucus for assistance, and went on with the war; which detained Antigonus longer in those parts than he intended, and, in the interim, gave Ptolemy the opportunity of gaining great advantages against him in the east.

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

² Ibid. Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis.

³ Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

An. 312. Alex. Ægus 5.]—For having with his fleet sailed to Cyprus,¹ he reduced most of that island to him, and from thence made a descent, first upon the Upper Syria, and next upon Cilicia; where having taken great spoils, and many captives, he returned with them into Egypt; and there having, by the advice of Seleucus, formed a design for the recovery of Phœnicia and Syria, he marched thither with a great army. On his coming to Gaza, he there found Demetrius ready to obstruct his farther progress. This brought on a fierce battle between them; in which Ptolemy gained the victory, having slain five thousand of Demetrius's men, and taken eight thousand captive; which forced Demetrius to retreat, first to Azotus, and from thence to Tripoly, a city of Phœnicia, as far back as the confines of the Upper Sysia, and quit all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Coele-Syria, to the victor. But, before he left Azotus, having sent to desire leave to bury the dead, Ptolemy not only granted him this, but sent him also all his equipage, tents, and furniture, with all his friends, family, and servants, without any ransom; which kindness Demetrius had the opportunity of returning, when, awhile after he got the like advantage of Ptolemy. All the other captives he sent into Egypt, to be there employed in his service on board his fleet; and then marching forward, had all the sea-coast of Phœnicia forthwith surrendered to him, excepting only Tyre; for Andronicus, who had lately taken that city after the long siege I have mentioned, having then the government of it, held it out for some time. But at length the garrison soldiers falling into a mutiny against him, delivered the place to Ptolemy, and him with it.

After these successes, Seleucus,² having obtained of Ptolemy one thousand foot, and three hundred horse, marched eastward with them to recover Babylon. With so small a force did he undertake so great an enterprise, and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, he brought all the Macedonians that were there in garrison to join with him. And as soon as he drew near to Babylon, great numbers of the inhabitants of that province flocked to him: for remembering his mild government, and disliking the severity of Antigonus, they were glad of his return, and desirous to see him reinstated in his former command over them; and therefore, on his approach to the city, he found the gates open to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon those who were of the party of Antigonus retired into the castle; but Seleucus, having now the possession of the city, and all the people on his side, soon made himself master of this fortress; and with it again received his children, friends, and servants, whom, on his flight into Egypt, Antigonus had there shut up in prison; and then applied himself to get together such an army as might enable him to keep what he had gotten; for he had not long been in possession of this city, ere Nicanor (who was governor of Media for Antigonus) put himself upon the march with an army to drive them thence. Seleucus, on his having received intelligence of it, passed the Tigris to meet him, and, having gotten him at a disadvantage, stormed his camp in the night, and put his whole army to the rout; whereon Nicanor, with some few of his friends, fled through the deserts to Antigonus, and all his forces that survived the rout, part through dislike of Antigonus, and part through fear of the conqueror, joined with him. Whereby having gotten a great army under him, he seized Media, Susiana, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his interest and his power in those parts, which he daily improved by the clemency of his government, and the justice, equity, and humanity, which he practised toward all that were under it; and by these means, from so low a beginning as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors.

From this retaking of Babylon by Seleucus,³ began the famous era of the

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch in Demetrio. Justin. lib. 15. c. 1. Hecataeus Abderita apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Appian. in Syriacis.

³ Vide Scaliger. Petavium, Calvisium, aliosque Chronolog. de hæc æra.

Seleucidæ, made use of all over the east, by heathens, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans. It is called by the Jews the *era of contracts*,¹ because, after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts, and other instruments of civil affairs; and it afterward grew so much in use among them, that, till a thousand years after Christ, they had no other way whereby to compute their time, but this *era of contracts* only; for it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the east, they continued in the eastern usage of computing by the *era of contracts* (as they called it;) but when, about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the east, and forced to remove into these western parts, and here settled in Spain, France, England, and Germany, they learned from some of the Christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The first year of this era, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the Julian period, 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to Scaliger's computation, was a hundred and eighty-nine years, and, according to others, two hundred and forty-nine years higher up than where this era of the Jews placeth it. However, the *era of contracts* is not at this time out of use among those people; for they continue still to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The Arabs call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, i. e. *The Era of the Two-horned*. The reason of this name some deduce from Alexander,² who is, in the Alcoran and other Arabic books, frequently called *The two-horned*. And he is often found with two horns on his coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the son of Jupiter Hammon; for that god of the heathens being usually represented with two ram's horns on his head, Alexander might cause himself to be so represented too, the better to make the fiction pass, that he was his son. But this era hath no relation to Alexander, although it hath been by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name, *The era of Alexander*: for Alexander was dead twelve years before it began, and its commencement only was from the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the origin of this Arabic name, *Taric Dilcarnain*, from Seleucus: and Appian gives us in him a sufficient reason for it;³ for he tells us, that Seleucus being a person of that great strength, that laying hold of a bull by the horn, he could stop him in his full career, the statuarios for this reason usually made his statues with two bull's horns on his head. And therefore, it is most likely that he, and not Alexander, was first meant by the *two-horned* in the Arabic name of this era: for it was from him, and not from Alexander, that it had its origin. It is, in the books of the Maccabees,⁴ called *The era of the kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But, whereas the first book of the Maccabees begins the years of this era from the spring, the second begins them from the autumn following, and so did the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, and all others that anciently did, or now do use, this era, excepting the Chaldeans. For they, not reckoning Seleucus to be thoroughly settled in the possession of Babylon, till the spring in which Demetrius made that retreat from thence, which we shall speak of in the next year following, they began not this era till from that spring, and for the same reason, reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that, whereas all other nations that computed by this era, began it from the autumn of the year before Christ 312, it had not its commencement among the Chaldeans till from the spring of the year next after following.

In the interim,⁵ Ptolemy having again made himself master of all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, sent Cilles, one of his generals, to take possession of the

¹ Vide Vorstii Zemach David, p. 61. et Dissertationem R. Azariz apud eundem in Observationibus ad Zemach David, p. 247; 248, &c.

² Vide Gollii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 57. 58. et Alfraganum ipsum, c. 1. s. de Aeris, p. 6.

³ In Syriacis editionis Tollianæ Amstelodamæ, p. 201.

⁴ 1 Maccab. i. 10.

⁵ Diodor lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

Upper Syria also, and drive Demetrius thence, who was then retreated thither. But Cilles, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and loosely, Demetrius, on his having an account hereof from his spies, by a long and speedy march came upon him before he was aware, and, surprising him in the night, got an absolute victory over him, taking his camp, and making him and seven thousand of his men prisoners of war; which equalling the defeat he had before received at Gaza, again balanced the matter between him and Ptolemy; and also put it in the power of Demetrius (for the sake of which he most valued this victory) to make a return to Ptolemy of the kindness he had before received from him: for, after this victory, he sent back unto him Cilles, and all his friends, without ransom, in the same manner as Ptolemy had before sent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had over him at Gaza.

Antigonus,¹ receiving an account at Celenæ, in Phrygia (where he then resided,) of this victory of his son's over Cilles, hastened thence into Syria, to prosecute there the advantages of it; and having passed Mount Taurus, joined his son in the Upper Syria: whereon Ptolemy, finding himself not strong enough to encounter the joint forces of the father and son together, dismantled Ace, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza, and retreated again into Egypt, carrying with him most of the riches and a great number of the inhabitants of the country. Whereon all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, returned again under the power of Antigonus.

The inhabitants of those countries,² whom Ptolemy carried with him into Egypt on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulsion; for he being a person of a very benign temper, and having always shown great clemency and humanity to all his government, this so far captivated the hearts of those people to him, that they rather chose to follow him into a strange country, than tarry the coming of Antagonus into their own (from whom they expected a contrary treatment;) and that especially since they had terms of great advantage offered them by Ptolemy to invite them to this removal: for his mind being then much set upon making of Alexandria to be the capital of Egypt, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and immunities to draw them thither. And here Ptolemy planted all those that followed him in this retreat; among whom were a great number of the Jews. Alexander had planted several of that nation there before;³ and Ptolemy after his first irruption into Judea, had brought from thence many more of them thither, where they enjoyed the benefit of a plentiful country, a secure protection, and many other advantages. The report whereof coming into Judea, excited in many others there a desire to follow them; and accordingly many did so on this occasion; for Alexander had, on his first building this city, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the same privileges and immunities with the Macedonians; and Ptolemy had continued the same to them. By which means the Jewish quarters in that city increased to the number of several thousands of families; and many Samaritans,⁴ as well as Jews, upon the like encouragement, became inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.

Among those that followed Ptolemy into Egypt on this occasion, one was Hezekias,⁵ a person of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief priests. Hecataeus, the historian, being then with Ptolemy, makes particular mention of him, as a person of great wisdom and prudence, a powerful speaker, and one that thoroughly understood the world, being then about sixty years old. And farther, he saith, that he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had frequent conferences together; and that in them he learned from him what was the religion, policy, and manner, of living of the Jews, wherein they differed from other nations; all which, he saith, this Hezekias had with

¹ Diodor. et Plutarch. lib. 19.

³ Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2.

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. et contra Apion. lib. 1. 2.

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1.

⁵ Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1.

him written in a book; which book, no doubt, was the book of the law of Moses. And I doubt not it was by this person that he was induced to have so favourable an opinion of the Jews and their religion, and that it was from him that he received the information of most of that which he wrote of them: for he composed a particular history of the Jews,¹ therein treating of them from Abraham down to his time; in which he speaks so honourably of them, and their religion, that Origen² tells us, Herennius Philo,³ a heathen writer, who flourished about the time of Trajan the Roman emperor, did for this reason raise a doubt, whether it were the genuine work of Hecateus, or no; making this inference from hence concerning it:—That either it was composed by some Jew under the name of Hecateus, or else, if he were the true author of it, he was corrupted to the Jewish religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (though I see no necessity for it,) the latter is as possible as the other. This Hecateus⁴ was of Abdera, a Grecian city in Thrace, which had been famous for the birth of Democritus, Protagoras, and other learned men. He was bred up with Alexander, and followed him in all his wars, and, after his death, put himself under the protection of Ptolemy, and lived with him in Egypt; where having, from the conversation which he had with this learned Jew, and others of that nation, who followed Ptolemy thither, fully informed himself of their laws, customs, and religion, he wrote that history of them which I have mentioned; out of which Josephus hath extracted several passages in his writings, especially in his first book against Apion. But the book itself is not now extant. There was another very noted historian of the same name; but he was a Milesian, and lived long before, in the time of Darius Hystaspes.

Josephus⁵ tells us of another Jew, called Mossollam, who, about this time, followed Ptolemy, and had listed himself a horseman in his army; and out of the same Hecateus, gives us a very remarkable story of him; the words of Hecateus are as follow:—"As I was travelling toward the Red Sea, there was in company with us a certain Jew, called Mossollam, one of a Jewish troop of horse that was sent to be our convoy, a very valiant man, and remarkable for his great skill in archery, in which he excelled even all the Greeks and barbarians of his time. As several of us were travelling on in this journey together, a certain soothsayer, who took upon him to foretell the fortune of our journey, bade us all stand still, and we did so. Whereon this Jew asked us what we stood for. Look ye, answered the cunning man, and showed him a bird. If that bird stands, said he, ye are to stand; and if he riseth and flies on, ye are to go forward too; but if the bird take its flight the contrary way, you must all go back again. The Jew hereat, without a word speaking, lets fly an arrow, and kills the bird; whereon the diviner, and some of the company, had great indignation, and fell on him in most outrageous terms. Why, certainly, said the Jew to them, are ye not all mad to make such a bustle about a foolish bird? How could that poor wretched creature pretend to foreshow us our fortune, that knew nothing of its own? If this bird could have foretold good or evil to come, it would have kept out of this place, for fear of being slain by the arrow of Mossollam the Jew." Thus far Hecateus, who, it is plain, tells this story of purpose to expose and condemn the superstition of the heathens, which then obtained concerning such matters, and to commend and extol the wisdom of the Jews, in rejecting and despising all those follies.

An. 311. *Alex. Ægus* 6.]—Antigonus, having thus recovered all Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, out of the hands of Ptolemy,⁶ sent Athenæus, one of his lieutenants, with an army against the Nabathæan Arabs. They, being a clan of thieves, had made inroads upon the countries now under his command, and carried off much plunder from them, and, to be revenged of them for it, Anti-

¹ Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. 9. Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 1. c. 8. et contra Apion. lib. 1. ² Contra Celsum, lib. 1.

³ Vide Vossium de Hist. Gr. lib. 2. c. 10.

⁴ Vide Vossium de Hist. Gr. lib. 1. c. 10.

⁵ Contra Apionem, lib. 1.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

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gonus sent these forces against them. The chief city of those Arabs was Petra: which, standing on a high rock in the deserts, was from thence called by the Greeks, Petra, by the Hebrews, Sela,¹ and by the Arabs, Hagar: for Hagar² signifieth the same in Arabic that Sela doth in Hebrew, and Petra in Greek, that is, *a rock*, and hence it is that St. Paul³ calls Mount Sinai Hagar; for that was all a rocky mountain, which, beginning at the Red Sea, runs a great way into Arabia; and on part of it the city of Petra was built. There being a certain mart at stated seasons held in the neighbourhood,⁴ the Nabathæans having left their wives, children, and aged, with their goods, under a guard at Petra, were gone to this mart. Athenæus craftily laying hold of this opportunity, by long marches, got to Petra in their absence, and having surprised the place, slew the guards, and carried off all the plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much speed as he came; and when he had gotten at such a distance, that he thought himself out of the reach of the enemy, he stopped to refresh his men with rest, now tired out with so long a march; but, not taking sufficient care to secure his encampment, the enemy having gotter early notice of what he had done, made a speedy pursuit after him, and falling upon him in the night, while his men were all drowned in sleep and weariness, they cut off all of them, excepting only fifty horsemen that escaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this, returning to Petra, they from thence wrote letters to Antigonus in the Syriac language, accusing Athenæus of the wrong he had done them. To which Antigonus, temporizing with the present necessity, returned such an answer as disowned the enterprise of Athenæus, and allowed the revenge as just which they had taken of him. But, as soon as he had gotten more forces ready, he sent his son Demetrius⁵ with them to execute that vengeance upon those robbers which the other failed of. Who, having received his orders, marched with all the haste he could, hoping to be upon them before they should know of his coming. But his march being discovered, notice was given of it by fires all over the country; which immediately brought them all together to Petra, where they having left a strong garrison, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the deserts, driving all their flocks and herds with them. So that Demetrius, on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with those people upon the best terms he could, and returned; and, after a march of three hundred furlongs (which is about thirty-six of our miles,) he came to the Lake Asphaltites, and there encamped. This was also called by some the Sea of Sodom, by others the Dead Sea, and in scripture the Salt Sea.⁶ It was called the Sea of Sodom, because there Sodom once stood; the Dead Sea, because it is stagnated water without any motion, and in which no living creature is said to be found, because of its exceeding saltness; and Asphaltites, from the Greek word Asphaltus, which signifieth bitumen;⁷ which it produceth in great quantities, and the best that can any where be found. And this last is the name by which the Greeks and Latins called it. At present, the adjacent inhabitants call it the Lake of Lot.⁸ It extends,⁹ from north to south, about seventy of our miles in length, and is about eighteen miles over in the broadest place. On the east side of it anciently lay the land of Moab, and on the west side that part of the land of Canaan which was the portion of the tribe of Judah; and, toward the south, it abutted upon the land of Edom. The Rivers Jordan and Arnon run into it at the north end, and are there lost. For nothing runs out of it again; but, like the Caspian Sea, it receives brooks and rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the sea or lake of Tiberias (called the Sea of Galilee,¹⁰ and the Lake of Genezaret,¹¹ in the Gospels,) on which our Sa-

1 Isa. xvi. 1. 2 Kings xiv. 7.

2 Vide Bocharti Geograph. Sacram. part 1. lib. 4. c. 27.

3 In the Epistle to the Galatians, ch. iv. ver. 25.

4 Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

5 Plut. in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

6 Gen. xiv. 3. Numb. xxxiv. 3. 12. Deut. iii. 17. Josh. iii. 16.

7 Plin. lib. 5. c. 16.

8 Baudrandi Geographia, sub voce Asphaltites.

9 See Maundrel's Journey to Jerusalem, p. 83, 84. Thevenot's Travels, part 1. book 2. c. 41.

10 Matt. iv. 18. xv. 29. Mark i. 16. John vi. 1.

11 Luke v. 1.

viour was so conversant; for that, as it receiveth the River Jordan at one end, so emits it again at the other. But when it falls from thence into the Lake Asphaltites, it is there absorbed, and no more heard of. Demetrius, on his encamping on this lake,¹ observing the nature of it, and that a good revenue might be made of the bitumen which it yielded, gave Antigonus an account of it on his return. Antigonus, though no way pleased with the peace which he had made with the Nabathæans, whom he sent him to destroy, yet applauded him for the discovery he had made of a way for the augmenting of his revenue by the bitumen of this lake, and immediately sent thither Jerome the Cardian to take care of it. But when he had, according to his instructions, gotten ready several boats fit for the purpose, and was gathering into them all the bitumen of the lake to carry it all to one place, there to be disposed of for the benefit of Antigonus, the Arabs, to the number of six thousand men, fell upon him, and, having destroyed his boats, and slain most of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this project. This Jerome,² being a fellow-citizen of Eumenes, followed his party to the time of his death; but, being then taken prisoner by Antigonus, he after that entered into his service, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this, he was governor of Syria for Antiochus Soter,³ the son of Seleucus: for he lived to a great age,⁴ being one hundred and four years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs, both of the camp and cabinet, recommended him to the favour and first respects of the princes under whom he served. He wrote the history of Alexander, and his successors, and their posterity down to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and beyond it; but though he had lived long in Syria and Phœnicia, first under Antigonus, and afterward under Seleucus, and Antiochus his son, and therefore was well acquainted with the state and affairs of the Jews, and had many occasions in his history to make mention of them; yet he passed them over in a total silence, not speaking as much as one word of them; for which he is faulted by Josephus,⁵ as if his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy toward those people.

Antigonus, receiving an account from Nicanor of the successes of Seleucus in the east,⁶ sent Demetrius his son with an army to Babylon to drive him thence, and recover that province out of his hands. In the interim, he himself marched toward the maritime parts of Lesser Asia, to suppress the power of the three confederated princes, which was there growing against him, and appointed a time for his son to come thither to him, after he should have executed the commission on which he sent him to Babylon. Demetrius, according to his father's order, having gathered his forces together at Damascus, marched thence to Babylon; and Seleucus, being then absent in Media, he entered that city without opposition. For Patrocles, whom Seleucus had left his lieutenant in that place, finding himself not strong enough to encounter Demetrius, had retreated with those forces he had with him into the fens; where, being surrounded with rivers, ditches, and morasses, he there protected himself by the inaccessibility of the place, and ordered all the rest to flee out of the city; whereof some passing the Tigris and others retreating into the deserts, and others in other places of safety, thereby saved themselves till the enemy was again retreated. Demetrius, finding the city deserted, laid siege to the castles: for there were two of them in that city, well garrisoned, and of large extent. These were the two palaces which I have described; of which one stood on the one side of the Euphrates, and the other on the other side, just over against it. One of these he took, and having expelled the garrison of Seleucus, placed one of his own in it of seven thousand men. The other held out till the time limited to him by his father for his return. And therefore, leaving Archelaus, one of his principal commanders, with one thousand horse and five thousand foot to con-

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

² Vide Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 1. c. 11.

³ Josephus contra Apion. lib. 1. Where observe, the translators here put Antigonus instead of Antiochus, by a wrong variation from the Greek text.

⁴ Lucianus de Longævis.

⁵ Lib. 1. contra Apion.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. 10. Plutarch. in Demet.

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tinue the siege he marched back with the rest of his army into Lesser Asia, to the assistance of his father, having first plundered the whole province of Babylon of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he absolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from Antigonus, and firmly united them to Seleucus, and his interest ever-after. For even those who had till then been for Antigonus, concluding that his forces would never have used them so, had there been any intentions for their returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a declaration of their resolutions to desert them for the future; and, therefore, they made their peace with Seleucus, and all went, without any farther reserve, entirely over to his interest. So that, on his returning to Babylon, after the retreat of Demetrius, he soon expelled the forces he had there left, recovered the castle he had garrisoned, and thenceforth settled his interest in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more shaken. And therefore from this year the Babylonians began the epocha of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already observed.

Demetrius,¹ on his return into Lesser Asia, having raised the siege of Halicarnassus, which was besieged by Ptolemy, this brought on a treaty of peace between the confederated princes and Antigonus; in which it was agreed, that Cassander should have the command of all in Macedonia, till Alexander the son of Roxana, should be grown up; that Lysimachus should have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt, and the adjacent parts of Lybia and Arabia; and Antigonus all Asia; and that all the Grecian cities should enjoy their liberties. But this agreement did not last long; for many infractions of it being pretended on both sides, as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the war. But the true reason was the great power of Antigonus; and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

An. 310. Alex. Ægus 7.]—Alexander, the son of Roxana, being grown up to the fourteenth year of his age, Cassander² thought it not consistent with his ambitious designs to let him live any longer: for, he being resolved to seize the kingdom of Macedon for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true heir; and, therefore, sent to the castle of Amphipolis, where he had for several years shut up him and his mother, and caused them both to be there privately murdered. However, Ptolemy, in his Canon, continues to reckon the years of his reign in the same manner as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the empire of Alexander among them, after having long usurped the regal authority, took also the regal style, and declared themselves kings, each in the particular countries which they had taken possession of.

Polysperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, hearing of the death of Roxana and her son, laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against Cassander for the fact,³ accusing him every where for the villany of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the Macedonians against him. All this he pretended to do out of his zeal and affection for the house of Alexander; and, to make the greater show hereof, he sent for Hercules, the other son of Alexander, which he had by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and having gotten him and his mother to him from Pergamus, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the Macedonians the instating of him into his father's kingdom; which very much terrifying Cassander, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own terms; and when he had gained those terms, having obtained all that he proposed for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by Cassander to cut off this son of Alexander's also. And therefore, the next year following, he caused him and his mother to be put to death in the same villanous manner, as Cassander had the other son and his mother before. And thus each acted his part in destroying the heirs, that

¹ Diodor. in Demet. Plutarch. lib. 19.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Pausania in Bæoticiis.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Pausanias in Bæoticiis.

after their death, they might, with the better safety, share the inheritance between them.

Ptolemy¹ having renewed the war against Antigonus, for the reason I have mentioned, took by his lieutenants several cities from him in Cilicia and elsewhere. But Demetrius soon dispossessed him again of all in Cilicia; and other of Antigonus's lieutenants had the same success against him in other places. Only in Cyprus, Ptolemy having, by cutting off of Nicocles, king of Paphos, extinguished all the interest that Antigonus had in that island, thereby secured it wholly to himself.

This year Epicurus,² being thirty-two years old, first began to poison the world with his impious philosophy. He first taught it at Mitylene in the isle of Lesbos, and afterward at Lampsachus on the Hellespont, and after that at Athens, of which city he originally was. He returned thither in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and there kept his school in a garden, till the sixty-third year of his age, in which he died. According to him, all things were first made, and have ever since subsisted, by chance. For he denied that the world was created by the power of God, or is at all governed by his providence. He held also, that there is no future state; but that this world is every man's all, and that the highest felicity attainable here, is the highest good that man is capable of; and this he placed in indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, though our modern infidels build their impious doctrines upon Epicurus's philosophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way whereby to attain that indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, in which, according to this scheme, the highest felicity of man doth consist, it must certainly be every man's highest wisdom to practice it. Out of this impious school have sprung the Sadducees of the Jews, the Zendichees of the Arabs, and the deists of the present age. The first of those, it is to be acknowledged, went no farther, than to the denial of angels, spirits, and a future state: for they acknowledged the world to be created by the power of God, and to be governed by his providence; and therefore, they received the law of Moses, but with the expectation of none other, than of temporal blessings for the reward of keeping it; but the other two go thorough-stitch with the whole of this impious scheme, excepting only that part of it which recommends a virtuous life.

An. 309. Alex. Ægus 8.—Ptolemy, to make himself amends for his losses in Cilicia, invaded Pamphylia and Lycia,³ and other maritime parts of Asia, and divested Antigonus of Phaselis, Caunus, Mindus, and several other cities which he before held on those coasts.

An. 308. Alex. Ægus 9.—And then,⁴ sailing into the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago, he took in the island of Andrus; and from thence passing to the continent, there possessed himself of Sicyon, Corinth, and several other places. While he was in those parts, he entertained a correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. She was the same that was married to Alexander king of Epirus, at the time when her father Philip was slain, and had ever since the death of her husband (who fell in his wars in Italy) lived a widow, and, for several years past, had her residence at Sardis in Lydia; but being there ill used by Antigonus, under whose power that city was, Ptolemy took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him hoping to make her presence with him turn to his advantage in his war with Antigonus. But, when she had put herself upon the journey to go to him, Antigonus's lieutenant, who governed for him at Sardis, stopped her on the road; and having brought her back thither again, caused her, a little after, by the order of Antigonus, privately to be put to death. Whereon Antigonus coming himself to Sardis, condemned to death those women of her retinue by

1 Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

2 Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

3 Laertius in Vita Epicuri. See Stanley's History of Philosophy, part 13.

4 Ibid.

whose hands the murder was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead lady in a very solemn and sumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact; whereas such hypocritical devices do most in the end prove those facts which they are contrived to disown, and rather increase than prevent the detestation that is due to the authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy built their interest upon the clemency and justice of their government, whereby they established to themselves lasting empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But Antigonus, being a man of a quite contrary disposition, acted all by violence, sticking at nothing that he thought would promote his interest, how wicked and vile soever; and therefore, according to his rule of proceeding, every thing and every person was to be removed, that stood in the way of his designs, without any regard had either to justice or humanity; and thus he proceeded to support himself by force only, till, at length, that failing, he lost both his empire and his life with it: and may such be the fate of all others that follow the same courses.

An. 307. Alex. Ægus 10.—Ophellas, prince of Lybia and Cyrene,¹ being slain by Agathocles king of Sicily, Ptolemy again recovered these provinces. Ophellas was a soldier of Alexander's, and, after his death, followed the fortune of Ptolemy, and went with him into Egypt. From thence he was sent by him to reduce Lybia and Cyrene to his obedience, these being provinces assigned to Ptolemy, as well as Egypt and Arabia, on the division of the empire; in which expedition having succeeded, and being thereon made governor for Ptolemy of these countries, he seized them for himself; and Ptolemy's other engagements against Antigonus and Demetrius not giving him leisure to look that way, he continued undisturbed in the possession of them till this year. But Agathocles being now in Africa, making war against the Carthaginians, and finding he wanted more strength to carry it on, invited Ophellas into an alliance with him, promising him no less than the empire of all Africa for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily swallowed by Ophellas; and therefore, having gotten together an army of twenty thousand men, after a long march, he joined Agathocles with them in the territories of the Carthaginians. But the wicked tyrant, when strengthened by so great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherously cut off Ophellas, and used his army only for his own interest. How this succeeded with him, I shall not here relate. All that is to my purpose is, to show how Ptolemy after this again recovered the provinces of Lybia and Cyrene: for Ophellas, being thus slain, and this ill-projected expedition having drained those countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of Ptolemy, without opposition, and he and his successors continued to hold them as provinces of the kingdom of Egypt for several ages after. And, under the protection of those princes, the colony of the Jews, which had been there planted by this first Ptolemy (as hath been above mentioned,) increased, and grew to a great number. For in the time of Vespasian,² no fewer than three thousand of them were put to death in that country for one mutiny; and yet, within a few years after,³ under the reign of Trajan, they mastered the whole province, and slew of the other inhabitants of it above two hundred thousand persons; which could not have been done, had not they been a great number that effected it. This Ophellas⁴ had for his wife Eurydice, a fair Athenian lady, of the descendants of Miltiades. On the death of her husband, she returned to Athens, where Demetrius, meeting her the next year after, fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

An. 306. Alex. Ægus 11.—For Demetrius⁵ came thither in the beginning of that year, to restore, as he pretended, the liberties of that and the other cities of Greece; but in reality to expel thence the garrison of Cassander, and de-

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 22. c. 7.
⁴ Plut. in Demetrio.

² Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. 7. c. 31.
⁵ Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plut. in Demet.

³ Xiphilin. in Trajane

press his power in those parts, which having fully effected by driving Demetrius Phalereus out of that city, he returned again to his father.

This Demetrius Phalereus¹ had governed Athens under Cassander ten years. And never were the Athenians under a more just government,² or enjoyed greater peace and happiness than while he presided over them; and, in acknowledgement hereof, they erected him as many statues in that city³ as there were days in the year; and than this a greater honour was never done to any citizen of that place; and of all this and much more was he well deserving: for he was not only a learned philosopher, but also a person of great wisdom, justice, and probity, and these virtues he exercised in a very eminent degree through all the acts of his government. On his now being dispossessed of it, he retired to Cassander, and, after his death, went into Egypt to Ptolemy, and is said there to have had the chief management of Ptolemy's library,⁴ and to have procured for it that translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek which we now call the Septuagint; of which we shall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we shall have occasion to speak more of him.

Demetrius, on his return from Athens,⁵ was sent by his father with a great fleet and army to dispossess Ptolemy of the island of Cyprus; and therefore, sailing thither, he made a descent upon it at Carpasia; and, having taken that city and Urania, he marched to Salamine, the capital of the whole island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who was then chief commander for him in Cyprus, being at that time with most of his forces in Salamine, went forth on his approach to that place, and gave him battle; but being overborne by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the city, with the loss of one thousand of his men slain, and three thousand taken prisoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a siege. From whence Ptolemy, having an account sent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and sailed thither for his succour. This brought on a great fight at sea between the contending princes; in which Demetrius having obtained the victory, Ptolemy was forced to take his flight back into Egypt with eight ships only, leaving all behind him in the power of the conqueror; whereon the whole island of Cyprus, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, that Ptolemy had therein, fell into his hands. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. Menelaus, the brother, and Leontiscus, the son of Ptolemy, being among the captives, Demetrius sent them both home, with their friends and dependants, without ransom, in remembrance of the like kindness shown him by Ptolemy after the battle of Gaza. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces; so that hereby he very much increased his military strength, both by sea and land, as well as enlarged his father's dominions, by adding this large and rich island to them.

Antigonus, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth assumed the title of king,⁶ and wore a crown, and sent another crown to Demetrius, and gave the title of king to him also; and from this time they both used it in all their epistles, orders, decrees, and other writings; which the Egyptians hearing of, that Ptolemy, to whom they bore great affection, might not seem lessened by his misfortunes, they gave him also the same title. This example being followed by Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, they also about the same time assumed the title of kings, each in their respective territories; in which they had all along before usurped the regal authority.

An. 305. Alex. Ægus 12.—By this time Seleucus was grown very great in the east.⁷ For having slain Nicanor in battle, who was sent against him by Antigonus, he not only secured to himself hereby Media, Assyria, and Babylon,

¹ Laertius in Vita Demet. Phalerei. Diod. Sic. lib. 18.

² Cic. de Legibus, lib. 2. et in Oratione pro Rabirio. Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 3. c. 17.

³ Laert. ibid. Plin. lib. 34. c. 5. Strabo, lib. 9. Corn. Nep. in Miltiade. Plut. in Libro de Republica gerenda Preceptis.

⁴ Arist. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2.

⁵ Plut. in Demet. Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 2.

⁶ Plutarch. in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 2. 1 Maccab. i. 9.

⁷ Appian. in Syriacis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19, 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4.

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but, carrying his arms farther, reduced under him Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the other provinces on this side the Indis, which Alexander had before made himself master of.

Antigonus, to pursue the blow which Demetrius had given Ptolemy in Cyprus,¹ drew together into Syria an army of near one hundred thousand men for the invading of Egypt, hoping there to get as easy a victory over him as he had at Cyprus, and so dispossess him of that country also. While he marched thither with his bulky army, Demetrius his son coasted him with as great a fleet at sea, till they came both at Gaza; where, having concerted matters between them, Demetrius sailed to make a descent upon the country at one of the mouths of the Nile, while Antigonus invaded it by land. It was not without great difficulties that Antigonus passed the deserts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, and when he was arrived in Egypt, he found much greater. And Demetrius met with no less at sea; for storms had much shattered his fleet, and Ptolemy had so well guarded all the mouths of the Nile, that he could find no access to put on shore at any of them; neither could Antigonus make any better progress with his army at land: for Ptolemy had so carefully provided against him in all places, and so strongly guarded all passes and avenues, that he could make no impression upon him any where, and (what afflicted him most) great numbers of his men daily deserted from him to the enemy. For Ptolemy having sent boats to several places on the river, where Antigonus's soldiers came for watering, caused it there to be proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from Antigonus's army, if he were a common soldier, he should have two minas,² and if a commander, a talent:³ whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private soldiers, especially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to Ptolemy; for Antigonus being a crabbed old man,⁴ and very haughty, morose, and severe, Ptolemy, by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his humane and courteous carriage, to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. Antigonus, therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the outskirts of Egypt, till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on Ptolemy, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that country, was forced to return back into Syria with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful expedition. Hereon Ptolemy wrote to Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, of his success; and having renewed his league with them against this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore, Ptolemy, the astronomer, here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckonef the years of it in his chronological canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of Alexander Ægus, though he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn, in favour of Ptolemy, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new epocha after that to go by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of November, nineteen years after the death of Alexander.

An. 304. Ptolemy Soter I.]—The Rhodians⁵ subsisting chiefly by their trade with Egypt, for this reason adhered to the interest of Ptolemy; and when sent to by Antigonus for the assistance of some of their shipping in the Cyprian war they refused to aid him with any for that undertaking. Antigonus, therefore as soon as the Egyptian expedition was over, sent Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to reduce that island to his obedience. But, after a year's time spent in the siege of Rhodes, the chief city in it, not being able to take the place, he

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Pintarch. in Demetrio.

² About six pounds five shillings of our money.

³ About one hundred and eighty-eight pounds of our money.

⁴ He was now about eighty years old.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Pintarch. in Demetrio.

was content to make a peace with them upon the terms, that they should associate with Antigonus in all his wars, except only against Ptolemy. For it being chiefly by the assistance of Ptolemy that they were enabled to sustain so long a siege, and were at length so happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which should oblige them to act any thing against him; and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having, for the greater solemnity, first consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon about it, they consecrated unto him a grove, and, for his greater honour, made it a very sumptuous work, for, it being a furlong square, they surrounded it with a most stately portico on every side, and, from his name, called it the Ptolemeum; and there, according to the impious flattery of those times, they paid divine honours unto him: and, in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war, they gave him the additional name of Soter, that is, the Saviour; by which he is commonly called by historians, to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies, that after reigned in that country.

An. 303. Ptolemy Soter 2.—Seleucus, having secured himself in the possession of all the countries from the Euphrates to the River Indus,² made war upon Sandrocottus for the making of himself master of India also. This Sandrocottus³ was an Indian by birth,³ and of a very mean original: but giving out that he would deliver his country from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence, got together an army, and by degrees, having increased it to a great number, took the advantage, while Alexander's successors were engaged in war against each other, to expel the Macedonians out of all those Indian provinces which Alexander had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these provinces, Seleucus marched over the Indus: but, finding that Sandrocottus had by this time brought all India under his power, and from the several parts of it drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, and had in it a vast number of elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power; and therefore, coming to a treaty with him, he agreed, that on his receiving from Sandrocottus five hundred of his elephants, he should, on that consideration, quit to him all his pretensions in India; and on these terms peace was made between them. And Seleucus, having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western parts to make war against Antigonus; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastened this peace with Sandrocottus.

An. 302. Ptolemy Soter 3.—For Demetrius,⁴ after he had ended his war with the Rhodians, sailed a second time with a great fleet and army into Greece, under the same pretence of freeing the Grecian cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of Ptolemy and Cassander in those parts, and there dispossessed Ptolemy of Sicyon, Corinth, and most of the other places which he held in Greece; and pressed so hard upon Cassander, that he was forced to sue to him for a peace. But when he found that none could be had, but upon the terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of Antigonus, he and Lysimachus, having had consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, with a representation of the case; by which it being made appear, that the designs of Antigonus were to suppress all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him, for the bringing down of his overgrowing power. And therefore Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastened Seleucus out of India back again into Assyria, there to provide for the war. The first operations of it began on the Hellespont. For Cassander and Lysimachus, having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that, while the former remained in Europe to make a stand against De-

1 Pausan. in Atticis.

2 Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4. Appian. in Syriacis.

3 Justin. Diodor. Appian. ibid. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5.

4 Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demet. Justin. lib. 15. c. 4.

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metrius in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared from both their territories, should make an invasion upon the provinces of Antigonus in Asia. And accordingly Lysimachus passed the Hellespont with a great army; and partly by force, and partly by desertions and revolts, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the countries from the Propontis to the River Meander, under his power. Antigonus was at Antigonía, a new city built by him in the Upper Syria, and was there celebrating solemn games which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this invasion was first brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his sports, and, dismissing the assembly, forthwith set himself to prepare for a march against the enemy; and, as soon as he had gotten all the forces together which he had in those parts, he hastened with them over Mount Taurus into Cilicia; and having at Quinda, in that province, taken out of the public treasury (which was there kept) what money he thought necessary, he therewith recruited and augmented his forces to a number sufficient for his purpose, and then marched directly against the enemy, retaking in his way many of those places which had revolted from him. Lysimachus, not finding himself strong enough to encounter Antigonus, stood upon the defensive only, till Seleucus and Ptolemy should come up to his assistance; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both sides were forced to go into winter-quarters.

An. 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.]—In the beginning of the next year, Seleucus,¹ having gotten together a great army at Babylon, marched hence into Cappadocia, for the pursuing of the war against Antigonus. Of which Antigonus having notice, sent for Demetrius out of Greece to his assistance; who, immediately obeying his father's orders, transported himself to Ephesus, and recovered again that city to Antigonus, and many other adjacent places, which, on the coming of Lysimachus into Asia, had revolted from him.

Ptolemy, on Antigonus's leaving Syria, took the advantage of his absence to invade that country, and soon recovered again all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, excepting only Tyre and Sidon, which, being well garrisoned, held out against him for Antigonus. For the reduction of them, he first laid siege to Sidon; but, as he was carrying of it on, being informed that Antigonus had beaten Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was marching against him for the relief of the place, he suffered himself to be imposed on by this false report; and therefore, forthwith making a truce with the Sidonians for five months, raised the siege, and returned into Egypt.

In the mean time, the forces of the confederated princes being got together, under the command of Seleucus and Lysimachus on the one hand, and Demetrius having joined Antigonus on the other, the controversy between them was soon brought to a decisive issue in a fierce battle, wherein they engaged with their whole forces against each other, near a city in Phrygia called Ipsus; in which Antigonus being slain, and his army broken and defeated, the confederates gained an absolute victory. Antigonus was past eighty years old, some say past eighty-four, when he thus fell. Demetrius, finding the battle lost, and his father slain, made his escape to Ephesus, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, which were all the remains which he could pick up of near ninety thousand men, with which he and his father entered the field of battle. With these he went on board his fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of Greece; and, shifting from place to place, sometimes met with good fortune and sometimes with bad; and although he still retained some territories in Greece and elsewhere, and afterward, for some years, reigned in Macedonia, yet he could never recover his father's empire; but for the seventeen years which he afterward lived, met with disappointments in all attempts which he made toward it, till at length, falling into the hands of Seleucus, he died in the

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis.

prison which he confined him to. Among the territories which he retained for some time after this battle, were Tyre and Sidon, and the island of Cyprus.

After the death of Antigonus,¹ the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them; and hereby the whole empire of Alexander became parted, and settled into four kingdoms. Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine; Cassander, Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other of the provinces beyond the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; and Seleucus all the rest. And these four were the four horns of the he-goat mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet Daniel,² which grew up after the breaking off of the first horn. That first horn was Alexander,³ king of Grecia, who overthrew the kingdom of the Medes and Persians; and the other four horns were these four kings,⁴ who sprung up after him, and divided the empire between them. And these also were the four heads of the leopard,⁵ spoken of in another place of the same prophecies. And their four kingdoms were the four parts, into which, according to the same prophet, the "kingdom of the mighty king (*i. e.* of Alexander) should be broken, and divided toward (*i. e.* according to the number of) the four winds of heaven," among those four kings, "who should not be of his posterity," as neither of the four above-mentioned were. And therefore, by this last partition of the empire of Alexander, were all these prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into provinces among governors, under the brother and son of Alexander. But this last only was a partition of it into kingdoms, among kings; and therefore, of this only can these prophecies be understood. For, it is plain, they speak of the four successors of Alexander, as of four kings,⁶ where they are represented by four horns, they are expressly called so;⁷ and where they are represented by four heads,⁸ the very symbol speaks them so. For who are heads of kingdoms, but the kings that reign over them? the leopard in that prophecy was the empire of the Macedonians, and the four heads were the four kings that after Alexander divided it into four kingdoms, and as kings reigned over them. But none of Alexander's successors were kings, till about three years before this last division of his empire was made. At first, indeed, there were five kings of these successors: but Antigonus, not being king above three years, and his kingdom being absolutely extinguished in his death, for this reason, these prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the succession of the great horn to these four only who conquered him. And it is farther to be observed, that though Antigonus and the other four called themselves kings three years before the battle of Ipsus, which produced this last partition, yet it was till then only a precarious title, which each assumed by his own authority only. But, after this battle, there being a league made between the four survivors who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their dominions set out to them into so many kingdoms, and each of them were authorized by the consent of all to govern them as kings independent of all superiors; from this time only can their respective divisions be truly and properly reckoned as kingdoms, and they as kings to preside over them. And in all their contests, which they or their successors afterward had about the limits of their several kingdoms, they always appealed to this league, as the original charter by which they held their kingdoms, and that regal authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore, from the making of this league only, can they properly and in the truest sense be called kings; and they were four only, that is, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, that were so by virtue of it. And to these four do the prophecies refer.

An. 300. *Ptolemy Soter* 5.]—Onias, the first of that name, high-priest of the Jews, being dead, he was succeeded in the high-priesthood by Simon, his son,⁹ who from the holiness of his life, and the great righteousness which shone

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 5. ² Dan viii.

³ Ibid. viii. 21. xi. 3.

⁴ Ibid. viii. 22. xi. 4.

⁵ Ibid. vii. 6.

⁶ Ibid. viii. 21, 22. xi. 4.

⁷ Ibid. viii. 21.

⁸ Ibid. vii. 6.

⁹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2. Chron. Alex. Euseb. Chron. Syncellus ex Africano.

forth in all his actions, was called Simon the Just. He was the first of that name that was high-priest, and lived in that office nine years.

Seleucus, after his victory over Antigonus, having seized the Upper Syria,¹ there built Antioch on the River Orontes, which afterward for many ages became the queen of the east. For here the Syrian kings had the seat of their empire; and here the Roman governors who presided over the affairs of the east had their residence; and, when Christianity prevailed, it became the see of the chief patriarch of the Asian churches. It was situated on the River Orontes, at the distance of about twenty miles from the place where it falls into the Mediterranean Sea. It is reckoned to be in the midway by land,² between Constantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, and to be about seven hundred miles distant from each. He called it Antioch, some say, from the name of his father, others from the name of his son, and others from that of both. For Antiochus was the name of his father, as well as of the son that succeeded him in his kingdom. He built sixteen other cities, which he called by the same name, whereof one was in Pisidia, of which mention is made in scripture.³ But Antioch on the Orontes was the most remarkable of them. Antigonus had not long before built a city in the neighbourhood,⁴ which, from his name, he called Antigonia, and intended to have made it the chief seat of his empire. This Seleucus razed to the ground, and having employed the materials to build this new city, transplanted all the inhabitants thither. These cities having both stood on the Orontes, and very near each other, the benefit of the river, and the smallness of the distance, made the transportation the more easy. He built also several other cities in that country,⁵ whereof there were three of especial note; one of them he called Seleucia, from his own name; another Apamia, from Apama his wife, the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; and the third, Laodicea, from Laodice his mother. Apamia and Seleucia stood upon the same river with Antioch; the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea; and upon the same coast toward the south lay Laodicea. For the sake of these four cities, the country in which they stood had the name of Tetrapolis, *i. e.* the country of the four cities: not but that there were several other cities in it; but these being of more eminent note, and making four distinct governments, on which all the rest were dependents, from hence they gave occasion for the name to that country; and, indeed, it was no more than an occasional name given it for this reason. The true name of it was Seleucis: this Seleucus gave it from his own name; and it extended southward as far as Cœle-Syria: for Syria was divided into three parts, Syria properly so called, Cœle-Syria, or the Hollow Syria, and Syria Palestina. The first of these, which I call the Upper Syria, contained Commagena, Cyrrhestica, Seleucis, and some other small districts, and extended from the mountain Amanus on the north to the mountain Libanus on the south, and was afterward called Syria Antiochena. The second reached from Libanus to Anti-Libanus, including Damascus and its territories, which consisting mostly of deep valleys between high mountains, it was for this reason called Cœle-Syria, *i. e.* the Hollow Syria, from Anti-Libanus to the borders of Egypt was Syria Palestina: and the maritime parts of the two latter, from Aradus to Gaza, was that which the Greeks called Phœnicia. But not only Seleucus, but Antioch itself, was also called Tetrapolis; but from another reason, that is, because it consisted of four quarters, as of so many cities: the first of them only was built by Seleucus; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian empire; the third by Seleucus Callinicus; and the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes. Each of these quarters had its proper wall, whereby it was separated from the rest, and was also enclosed by one common wall encompassing the whole. The place where it stood was very liable to earthquakes, and it often

¹ Johan. Antiochenus Malela. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 749, 750, &c. Appian. in Syriacis, Just. lib. 15. c. 4. Dio. Sic. lib. 20. Julian. in Misopogone.

² Baudrandi Geographia de Antiochia Magna.

³ Acts xiii. 14.

⁴ Strabo, et Dio. Sic. lib. 20.

⁵ Strabo, ibid.

suffered exceedingly by them. However, it continued for near sixteen hundred years to be the chief city of the east, till at length,¹ A. D. 1265, it was taken from the western Christians by Bibars, sultan of Egypt, and utterly destroyed by him. Since that, Aleppo hath succeeded in its stead, to be the metropolis of those eastern parts. All the walls are still remaining,² that is, the walls of each quarter, as well as those which surround the whole; but all being desolated within, excepting some few houses, which make only a small and contemptible village, those four quarters of the city look only as so many fields within their enclosures. It is now called Anthakia, but is remarkable for nothing else but its ruins. The patriarchal see³ which once adorned it, hath since its desolation been translated to Damascus. But he that hath at present the title of Patriarch of Antioch in that place scarce reacheth the figure formerly borne by the meanest deacon of that church: to so low a condition is the state of Christianity now sunk in those parts.

Daphne was reckoned a suburb of this city,⁴ though at the distance of about four or five of our miles from it. There Seleucus planted a grove which was ten miles in compass, and in the middle of it built a temple, and consecrated both to Apollo and Diana, making the whole an asylum. This was the same to Antioch that Baie was to Rome, and Canopus to Alexandria; that is, the place where the inhabitants resorted for their pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted. For it had most delicious fountains and rivulets of the best water,⁵ most pleasant walks of cyprees trees in the grove, and the purest air, and every thing else that nature could afford for pleasure and delight; which being farther improved by all the arts of luxury, whatsoever could any way administer to a voluptuous enjoyment, was there to be had in the utmost excess;⁶ and the Antiochians, as their corrupt inclinations led them, there resorted for it. So that though the place had been consecrated to Apollo and Diana; it was by the Antiochians in reality wholly devoted to Bacchus and Venus; which made it so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, i. e. *to live after the manners of Daphne*, grew into a proverb, to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living; and all that had any regard to their reputation for virtue and modesty avoided to go thither. And Cassius the Roman general, on his coming to Antioch, by public proclamation, prohibited all his soldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being cashiered, that they might not be corrupted by the luxuries and debaucheries of it. It was so noted a place, that to distinguish this Antioch, near which it lay, from the many other cities that were of the same name elsewhere, as it was sometimes called Antioch on the Orontes, so was it as often called Antioch,⁷ *ἡ ἐν Δαφνῇ*, i. e. Antioch near Daphne.

[An. 299. Ptolemy Soter 6.]—Lysimachus, to strengthen himself in his kingdom,⁸ made a strict alliance with Ptolemy, and, for the firmer cementing of it, took to wife Arsinoe, one of his daughters, and some time after married another of them to Agathocles his son. Seleucus, following this example, contracted the like alliance with Demetrius, and married his daughter Stratonice, which he had by Phila the sister of Cassander. She being a very beautiful lady, Seleucus, on the fame of it, desired her in marriage; and Demetrius, being then in a low condition, was glad of so potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the proposal, and forthwith sailing from Greece, where he had still some towns, carried her, with the whole fleet that he had then remaining, into Syria. In his way thither, he made a descent upon Cilicia, which was then held by Plistarchus, brother of Cassander, by the gift of the four kings after the death of Antigonus. Hereon Plistarchus went to Seleucus to complain of the wrong, and to expostulate with him for making an alliance with the common enemy, without consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the league that was made between them. Demetrius, having intel-

1 Goltii Nonte ad Afraganum, p. 281.

4 Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750.

7 Strabo, lib. 15. p. 719.

2 Ibid. p. 280.

5 Procopius Persicorum, lib. 2.

8 Plut. in Demet.

3 Goltius, p. 280.

6 Chrys. Sermo in Babylon Martyreza.

ligence hereof, marched immediately to Quinda, where the public treasury of the country was kept, and having seized all the money he found in it, which amounted to twelve hundred talents, hastened back to his fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, sailed to Orassus, a maritime town in Syria, where he met Seleucus, and delivered to him his bride; and after some days there spent in nuptial feasts and mutual treats, and entertainments, he sailed back again into Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province, and then sent Phila, his wife to Cassander her brother, to excuse the matter.

An. 298. Ptolemy Soter 7.]—By this means the power of Demetrius began again to grow in those parts. For he had there on this acquisition all the province of Cilicia, the whole island of Cyprus, and the two strong and wealthy cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia; which making Seleucus jealous of his neighbourhood,¹ he would have bought him out of Cilicia for a large sum of money, which he offered him for the purchase. But Demetrius not accepting the bargain, he would have picked a quarrel with him about Tyre and Sidon, demanding them of him, in great anger, as cities belonging to Syria, of which he was king. To which Demetrius returned as angry an answer, telling him, that though he should be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never buy a son-in-law at such a rate; and immediately hereon sailed to both those cities, and having strengthened the garrisons he had in them with more forces, and furnished them with all things necessary for their defence, he defeated for the present the design which Seleucus then had of taking them from him. So that Seleucus got nothing hereby but an ill name: for he was generally blamed and reflected on for his insatiable greediness, in that having so large an extent of dominion, as reached from the River Indus to the Mediterranean Sea, he would not let his father-in-law quietly enjoy these poor remains of his broken fortunes.

About this time flourished Megasthenes,² who wrote a history of India. For he was a confidant of Seleucus's; and having been employed by him in his transactions with Sandrocottus, king of India,³ and resided with him some time in that country, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up those materials out of which he afterward composed his book. Some fragments of it are preserved by Josephus⁴ and Eusebius,⁵ wherein he makes mention of Nebuchadnezzar, and the greatness of his power: and he is often quoted by Strabo,⁶ and other ancient writers, as Athenæus, Arrian, Cicero, Pliny, and Solinus. But the book itself is not now extant. Annianus, a lying monk of Viterbo in Italy, who was born Anno 1437, and flourished toward the end of that century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were Manetho, Berosus, and Megasthenes, whom he called Metasthenes, out of a mistake, which he was led into by Ruffinus's Latin version of Josephus; and this first gave occasion for the discovery of the cheat. Those books he published with a comment upon them, and for some time they went for the genuine works of the authors whose names they bore; but are now exploded every where as fictions, framed of purpose to impose a cheat upon the world. And of the same stamp are Inghiramius's Etruscan Antiquities, and Jeffrey of Monmouth's British History. For all these are none other than the fictions of the first editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication: and they have truly done so; for they are still remembered for it; but no otherwise than under the style of infamous impostors.

Cassander,⁷ having governed Macedon from the death of his father nineteen years, died of a dropsy, leaving behind him, by Thessalonice his wife, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great, three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander:

¹ Plut. in Demet.

² Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 11.

³ Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5. et de Rebus Indicis.

⁴ Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

⁵ Præp. Evan. ex Abydeno, lib. 9.

⁶ Lib. 15. p. 687. where he quotes out of Megasthenes the same passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar (whom he calls Navocodrosor) that Josephus doth.

⁷ Dexippus et Porphyrius in Chronico Eusebii, p. 57. 59. 63.

Philip, who succeeded him in the kingdom, dying soon after, left the crown to be contested for between his two brothers that survived.

An. 297. Ptolemy Soter 8.]—Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus,¹ being in Egypt, there married Antigone out of Ptolemy's family. He, having been kept out of his kingdom by Neoptolemus, a usurper, followed Demetrius in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cause in the battle of Ipsus, and after that continued with him till the marriage of Seleucus with Stratonice. Then, by the interposition of Seleucus, peace and reconciliation having been made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, Pyrrhus was delivered to Ptolemy as a hostage, on the part of Demetrius, for the performance of the articles, and carried by him into Egypt; where having, by his generous and noble deportment, gained much upon the favour of that prince, he gave him in marriage Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, his best beloved wife. Ptolemy had another wife called Eurydice, who was the daughter of Antipater, and sister to Cassander. When Antipater sent this lady into Egypt to be married to Ptolemy, he sent with her for a companion Berenice, she being then the widow of one Philip, a Macedon, newly deceased, by whom she had this Antigone. On her arrival in Egypt, she soon grew so much into the liking of Ptolemy, that he had married her also, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore, on Pyrrus having married her daughter, she prevailed with Ptolemy to assist him with a fleet and money; by means whereof he recovered his kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the most eminent person of the age in which he lived.

An. 296. Ptolemy Soter 9.]—Demetrius from Tyre made an inroad upon the Samaritans, and wasted Samaria; so saith Eusebius,² and it is certain that at this time Demetrius was in possession of Tyre and Sidon; but it is more likely that this was done by Demetrius's lieutenants in those parts, than by Demetrius himself in person: for, according to all other histories, Demetrius's wars in Greece detained him there all this year, and also the next.

An. 295. Ptolemy Soter 10.]—For the Athenians having revolted from Demetrius,³ after the reduction of the Messenians (which had been the work of the former year,) he employed a whole year in the siege of Athens, and, at length, by famine, forced them to a surrender.

After Demetrius had settled his affairs at Athens,⁴ he formed a design for the subduing of the Lacedemonians, and, having overthrown them in two battles, would certainly have succeeded in the enterprise, but that when he was going to make an assault upon the city of Lacedemon, and must in all likelihood have taken it, a message came to him, that Lysimachus having with a great army invaded his territories in Asia, and had taken from him all the cities which he had in those parts; and immediately after that another, that Ptolemy had made a descent upon Cyprus, and taken from him all that island, except only the city of Salamine, into which his mother, his wife, and children, were retired, and that he pressed that place with a hard siege. All these grievous tidings coming one upon the back of the other, drew back Demetrius from Lacedemon to look after his other affairs, when he was just ready to have taken that city. And not long after he had an account that Salamine was also lost. But Ptolemy was so generous, that on his mastering the place, he sent him his mother, and his wife and children, without ransom, with all the persons, equipage, and effects, that belonged to them, adding also several magnificent presents, and all manner of honour at their dismission. And when Ptolemy had thus made himself master of Cyprus, then most likely was it that Tyre and Sidon fell into his hands also, it not being possible, that after the loss of Cyprus, Demetrius could any longer keep them.

At the same time, it seems most likely, Demetrius also lost Cilicia to Seleucus: for from this time we find the latter only in the possession of this province and all the cities in it: and no time seems more proper for Seleucus to ha

¹ Plutarch. in Pyrr. Pausan. in Atticis.

² In Chronico.

³ Plut. in Demet.

⁴ Ibid.

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seized it, than when this declension of Demetrius's fortunes in those eastern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it against him.

An. 294. Ptolemy Soter 11.]—The contest¹ going on between Antipater and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, about the kingdom of Macedon, and Thessalonice, the mother of both, favouring the youngest son, this so exasperated Antipater, the eldest of them, against her, that, in an impious rage, he fell upon her, and slew her with his own hands, notwithstanding she earnestly supplicated to him, by the breasts with which she had nourished him, to spare her life. This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes of Demetrius. For Alexander, the other brother, to be revenged on Antipater for this horrid fact, called in Demetrius to his assistance; which opened him a way to the throne of Macedon. For the wicked parricide of Antipater, in murdering his mother, having created a general detestation of him, by the time Demetrius had with his army reached the borders of Macedon, he was deserted of all men, and forced to fly into Thracia, where he soon after perished in banishment. Alexander, being thus rid of his brother, desired to be rid of Demetrius also; in order whereto he laid a design to cut him off; which Demetrius having notice of, was beforehand with him, and first cut off Alexander, by slaying him at an entertainment, in the same manner as Alexander had laid the plot to have slain him, and thereon got the kingdom of Macedon in his stead, where he reigned seven years, till another cross turn of fortune threw him again out of that kingdom, and a while after he was cast out of every thing else that he had been possessed of.

By the death of Thessalonice and her two sons, the whole royal family of Philip king of Macedon was utterly extirpated, as that of Alexander had been before in the death of Alexander Ægus and Hercules his sons. And so these two kings, who by their oppressive and destructive wars had made many tragedies in other princes' families, had them all at length, by the just ordination of Providence, brought home to their own, both Philip and Alexander, their wives, and all that were descended of them, dying violent deaths.

An. 293. Ptolemy Soter 12.]—About this time Seleucus built Selucia on the Tigris,² at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It was placed on the western side of that river, over against the place where now Bagdad stands on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For Pliny³ tells us it had in it six hundred thousand inhabitants, and there are not much above one hundred thousand more in London, which is now (waiving the fabulous account which is given of Nankin in China) beyond all dispute the biggest city in the world. For, by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, the country near Babylon being drowned, and the branch of that river which passed through the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendered unnavigable, this made the situation of Babylon by this time so very inconvenient, that when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the Euphrates, and the place of his residence, whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as Antioch was for the other provinces which were on this side that river, for the sake of these advantages, the Babylonians in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to Seleucia. And, besides Seleucus having called this city by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other cities of the east, the better to make it answer this purpose; and these were a farther invitation to the Babylonians to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of Seleucia, Babylon became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore Pliny⁴ tells us, "That it

¹ Plut. in Demetrio et Pyrrho. Just. lib. 16. c. 1. Pausan. in Boeot.

² Strabo. lib. 16. p. 733. 743. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation, by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there on purpose for this end." And Strabo¹ saith the same, as doth also Pausanias in his *Arca-*
dicus, where he tells us, "That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun
 ever saw, had in this time (*i. e.* about the middle of the second century)² no-
 thing left but its walls." These remained long after. For the space within
 being made a park by the Parthian kings, for the keeping of wild beasts in it for
 their hunting, the walls were kept up to serve for a fence to the enclosure; and in
 this state it was in Jerome's time, who lived in the fourth century. For he tells
 us,³ "That excepting the walls, which were repaired for the enclosing of the wild
 beasts that there were kept, all within was desolation:" and in another place,⁴
 "That Babylon was nothing else, in his time, but a chase for wild beasts, kept
 within the compass of its ancient walls, for the hunting of the king," that is, of
 Persia. For, after the Parthians, there reigned in Jerome's time, over those coun-
 tries, a race of Persian kings, and continued there to the time of the Saracen em-
 pire, by whom they were extinguished. When or how those walls became demol-
 ished is no where said, no writer for several hundred years after Jerome's time
 speaking any more of this place. The first after him that makes mention of it is
 Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navarre, who, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote
 near six hundred years since (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173,) tells
 us, that he was upon the place where this old city formerly stood, and found it
 then wholly desolated and destroyed: only he saith,⁵ "Some ruins of Nebuchad-
 nezzar's palace were then still remaining, but men were afraid to go near to them,
 by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that were then in the place." ⁶
 Texeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his *Travels from India to Italy*,
 tells us, "That there was nothing then remaining of this old and famous city,
 but only some few footsteps of it; and that there was no place in all that country
 less frequented than that tract of ground whereon it formerly stood." And
 Rauwolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574,
 tells us the same thing. His words are as follows:⁷ "The village of Elugo lieth
 on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldea, did stand.
 The harbour lieth a quarter of a league off, whereunto those used to go that in-
 tend to travel by land, to the famous city of Bagdad, which is situated farther
 to the east, on the River Tigris, at a day and a half's distance. This country
 is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have
 doubted very much whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the
 most stately and famous one in the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful
 country of Sinar) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation,
 and several ancient delicate antiquities, that still are standing hereabout in great
 desolation. First, by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof
 there are some pieces and arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and so
 strong that it is admirable.—Just before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon
 the castle did stand, in a plain, whereon you may still see some ruins of the
 fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty
 near to it, did stand the tower of Babylon. This we see still, and it is half a
 league in diameter, but it is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of vene-
 nous reptiles, that have bored holes through it, that one may not come near it
 within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not
 out of their holes. Among these reptiles, there are chiefly some, in the Persian
 language called *egro* by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous; they are bigger
 than our lizards," &c. All which ruins, here mentioned by Rauwolf, are no
 doubt the same which Benjamin of Tudela saith were the ruins of the palace
 of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the old palace, which stood on the eastern side of

1 Lib. 16. p. 738.

2 For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antonius Pius. Vide Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2. c. 14.

3 Comment. in Esaiæ, cap. xiv.

4 Ibid. cap. xii.

5 Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 76.

6 Cap. 8.

7 See Mr. Ray's edition of these Travels in English, part 2. chap. 7.

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the river; for it is of that only that Benjamin and Rauwolf speak. Of the ruins of Babylon on the western side, where the new palace stood which Nebuchadnezzar himself built, neither of them do take any notice. All this put together shows how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that which the prophet Isaiah prophesied of this place. For his words concerning it are as follow: (Isaiah xiii. 19—22.)—"And Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah; it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there: neither shall the shepherds make their folds there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the wild beast of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces; and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." Thus far Isaiah: and besides this, there are several other prophecies in the other prophets to the same purpose, which have been already taken notice of. It must be acknowledged, that there is mention made of Babylon, as of a city standing long after the time where I have placed its desolation, as in Lucan,¹ Philostratus,² and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find Babylon spoken of as a city in being after the time of Seleucus Nicator, it must be understood, not of old Babylon on the Euphrates,³ but of Seleucia on the Tigris. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old Babylon, so also did it in its name. At first it was called Seleucia Babylonica, that is, the Babylonian Seleucia, or Seleucia of the province of Babylon, to distinguish it from the other Seleucias which were elsewhere, and after that Babylonica simply,⁴ and at length Babylon.⁵ That Lucan, by his Babylon, in the first book of his *Pharsalia*, means none other than Seleucia, or the new Babylon, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the Parthian kingdom, where the trophies of Crassus were hung up after the vanquishing of the Romans at Carrhae; which can be understood only of the Seleucian or new Babylon, and not of the old. For that new Babylon only was the seat of the Parthian kings, but the old Babylon never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this Babylon, (*i. e.* book vi. 50,) he describes it as surrounded by the Tigris in the same manner as Antioch was by the Orontes: but it was the Seleucian or the new Babylon, and not the old, that stood upon the Tigris. And as to Philostratus, when he brings his Apollonius (the Don Quixote of his romance), to the royal seat of the Parthian king, which was at that time at Seleucia, then called Babylon, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the old Babylon; and therefore,⁶ in the describing of it, he gives us the same description which he found given of old Babylon, in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other writers. But it is no unusual thing for romancers often to make blunders and mistakes in geography of the places where they lay the scenes of their fables; and that the whole story of Apollonius Tyaneus, as written by Philostratus, is no more than a romance, and a fable, is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of Babylon to Seleucia was that which gave rise to the present vulgar error, that Bagdad is now situated in the very place where formerly old Babylon stood. For when Bagdad was first built, it truly was upon the same plat of ground where formerly Seleucia or new Babylon stood.⁷ For as old Babylon was exhausted by Seleucia, so

¹ Lib. 1. v. 10.

² Lib. 1. c. 17—19.

³ Plutarch, indeed, in the life of Crassus, speaks of Babylon and Seleucia, as of two distinct cities then in being. For in a political remark, he reckons it as a great error in Crassus, that, in his first irruption into Mesopotamia, he had not marched directly on to Babylon and Seleucia, and seized those two cities. And Appian, in his *Parthians*, says the same thing. But Plutarch was mistaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names, then given one and the same place, that is, Seleucia. For as to old Babylon, it appears from the authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of Crassus. And as to Appian, he doth no more than recite the opinion of Plutarch; for he writes word for word after him as to this matter.

⁴ Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

⁵ Stephanus Byzantinus in *Byzantium*.

⁶ Lib. 1. c. 13.

⁷ Bocharti *Geographia Sacra*, part 1. lib. 2. § 8. Goli Notæ Alfraganum, p. 121, 122. *Sionita Descriptio Bagdad* ad *Calcem Geographiæ Nubiensis*, c. 2.

afterward was Seleucia by Ctasephon and Almadayen, and these two again by Bagdad; it being the humour of the princes of those ages, to build new cities to be the monuments of their names, and to desolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means, Seleucia, being reduced to a desolation, as well as Babylon, at the time when Abu Jaafar Almansur, caliph or emperor of the Saracens, began his reign (which was in the year of our Lord 754,) it had nothing upon it but the cell of a Christian monk, called Dad, and a garden adjoining it: from whence it had the name of Bagdad, that is, in the language of that country, the garden of Dad. And upon this place was the city first built,¹ which hath ever since been called by this name of Bagdad. For the same Almansur being resolved, out of dislike to Hashemia, where his predecessor before resided, to build a new city, to be the capital seat of his empire, chose that place for it where this garden lay; and there, in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly Seleucia had stood, on the west side of the Tigris. But, not long after, it was translated over to the other side, and there it at present stands, about three miles above the place where Ctasephon was formerly situated on the same side of the river, that is, on the eastern side; and that which was first built on the western side is now no more than a suburb to it. This city, from the reign of Almansur, was for many years the capital of the Saracen empire, and still remains a place of great note in the east. But they are much mistaken who think it the same with old Babylon; for that was upon the Euphrates, but Bagdad is upon the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from the place where that old city stood.

Seleucus built many other cities, both in the Greater and Lesser Asia; sixteen of which he called Antioch,² from the name of Antiochus his father; nine Seleucia, from his own name; six Laodicea, from the name of Laodice, his mother; three Apamea, from Apama, his first wife; and one Stratonicea, from Stratonice, his last wife; in all which he planted the Jews,³ giving them equal privileges and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, especially at Antioch in Syria; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city as they were at Alexandria. And from hence it was that the Jews became dispersed all over Syria and the Lesser Asia. In the eastern countries beyond the Euphrates they had been settled before, ever since the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was Seleucus Nicator that first gave them settlements in those provinces of Asia, which are on this side the Euphrates. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and other trusts and interests, he for this reason gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely that they were the Babylonish Jews that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the Jews of Palestine being under Ptolemy, were not in a capacity to be serviceable to him. But Babylon being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power, and the Jews in those parts being as numerous as the Jews of Palestine, if not more, it is most likely that there they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it; and that for this reason he ever after showed so much favour to them: and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterward gave to all of that nation.

An. 292. Ptolemy Soter 13.]—Simon the Just, high-priest of the Jews, dying after he had been nine years in that office,⁴ left behind him a son called Onias; but he being an infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the high-priesthood, Elaezer, the brother of Simon,⁵ was substituted high-priest in his stead.

1 Elmacini Hist. Saracenicæ, sub anno Heg. 145. Abul Pharagii Hist. Dynastiarum, editionis Pocockianæ p. 141. Eutychii Annales, tom. 2. p. 399. Geographia Nubiensis, p. 204.

2 Apianus in Syriacis, p. 201. editionis Tolliani.

3 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 3. et contra Apionem, lib. 2. Euseb. in Chronico.

4 Euseb. in Chronico. 5 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2.

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This Simon, as he had by the uprightness of his actions, and the righteousness of his conversation, both toward God and man, merited the surname of the Just, so also was he in all respects a very extraordinary person: which the character given of him in the fiftieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus sufficiently shows. There, many of his good works, for the benefit both of the church and state of the Jews, are mentioned with their due praise. But his chiefest work was the finishing of the Canon of the scriptures of the Old Testament. What was done herein by Ezra hath been before related. The books afterward added, were the two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi. That these could not be put into the Canon by Ezra is plain; for four of those books are, upon just grounds, supposed to have been written by himself (that is, the two books of Chronicles, and the books of Ezra and Esther,) and the book of Nehemiah was written after his time, and so most likely was the book of Malachi also: and therefore a latter time must be assigned for their insertion into the Canon, and none is more likely than that of Simon the Just, who is said to have been the last of the men of the great synagogue.¹ For what the Jews call the great synagogue were a number of elders amounting to one hundred and twenty, who, succeeding some after others, in a continued series, from the return of the Jews again into Judea, after the Babylonish captivity, to the time of Simon the Just, laboured in the restoring of the Jewish church and state in that country; in order whereto, the holy scriptures being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and study was to make a true collection of those scriptures, and publish them accurately to the people. Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue that lived in his time, completed the work as I have said. And as to what remained farther to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time where those men of the great synagogue ended that were employed therein, that is, in the time of Simon the Just, who was the last of them? And that, especially since there are some particulars in those books which seem necessarily to refer down to times as late as those of Alexander the Great, if not later. For, in the third chapter of the first book of Chronicles, we have the genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel, carried down for so many descents after him, as may well be thought to reach the time of Alexander: and in the book of Nehemiah, chap. xii. ver. 22, we have the days of Jaddua spoken of, as of days past; but Jaddua outlived Alexander two years. I acknowledge these passages to have been interpolated passages, both put in after the time of Ezra, and after the time of Nehemiah (who were the writers of those books,) by those who completed the Canon. To say they were inserted by those holy men themselves who wrote the books, the chronology of their history will not bear: for then they must have lived down beyond those times which those passages refer us to; but this is inconsistent with what is written of them. And to say that they were put in by any other than those, who, by the direction of the Holy Spirit of God, completed the Canon of the scriptures, will be to derogate from their excellency; and, therefore, we must conclude, that, since Simon the Just was the last of those that were employed in this work, it was by him that the last finishing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his presidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the Canon of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, by which we now receive them, was perfected, and finally settled in the Jewish church. And thus far having brought down this history through the scripture times, till the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament was fully perfected, I shall here end the first part of it. After this followed the Mishnical times,² that is, the times of traditions. Hitherto the scriptures were the only rule of faith and manners which God's people studied:

¹ See Maimonides and the rest of the Rabbins, who all say, that the men of the great synagogue were a hundred and twenty persons, and that Simon the Just was the last of them.

² See David Gantz in Zemach David, and the rest of the Jewish writers, by whom all those, who, living after the men of the great synagogue, are quoted in the Mishnah for any tradition, are called the Mishnical doctors.

but thenceforth traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God itself, as we find in our Saviour's time. The collection of those traditions they call the Mishnah, that is, the second law, and those who delivered and taught them were styled the Mishnical doctors. From the death of Simon the Just their time began, and they continued to be known by that name, till Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh collected all those traditions together, and wrote them into the book which they call the Mishnah; which was done about one hundred and fifty years after Christ, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flourished, till the time of Christ, shall be the subject of the second part of this history.

VOL I.—54

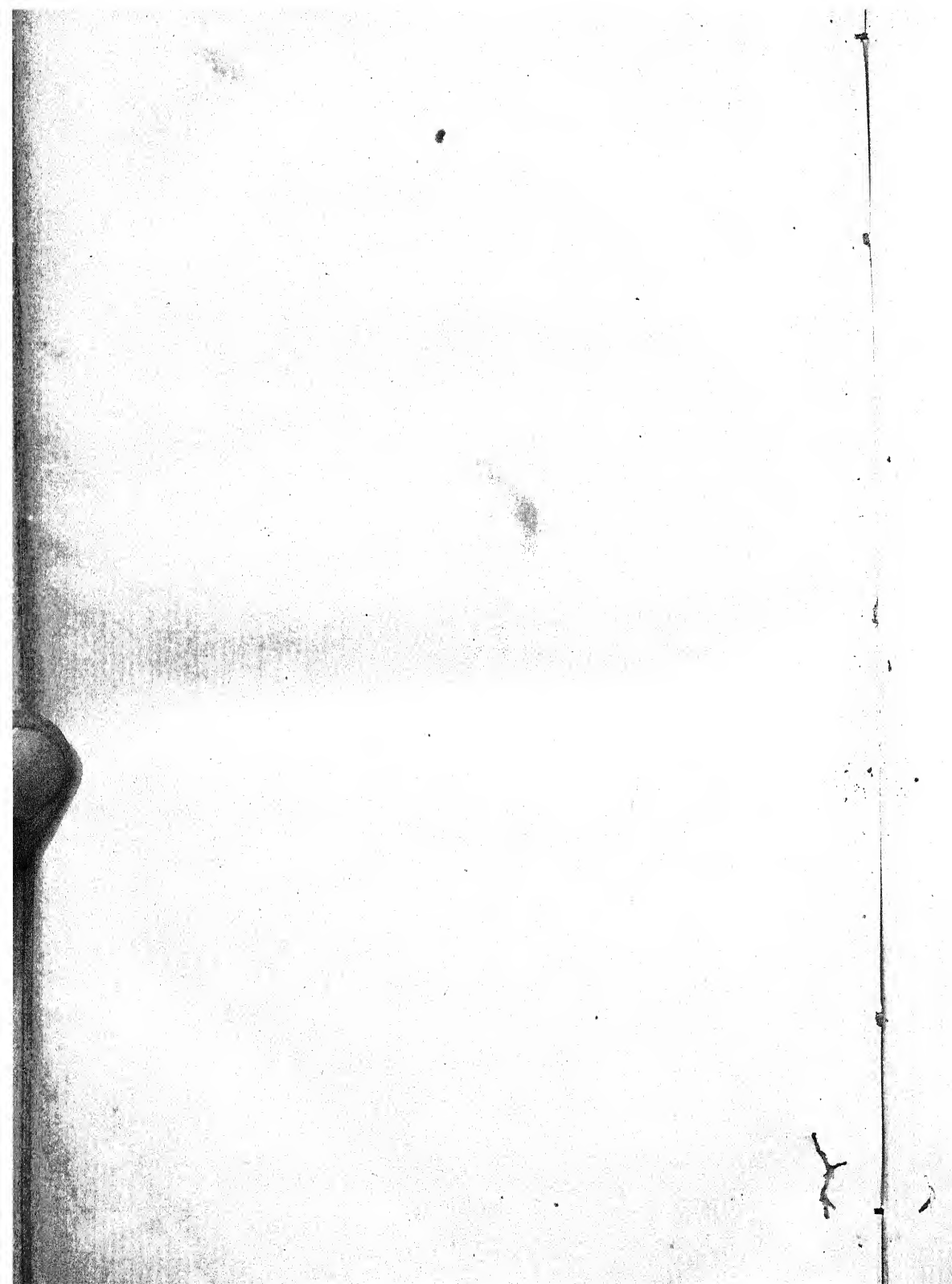
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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO THE
FOREGOING HISTORY.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	
3967	747	13	1	1	The beginning of the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon.
3968	746	12	2	2	
3969	745	11	3	3	
3970	744	10	4	4	Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel, make war against Ahaz, and besiege Jerusalem, but without success.
3971	743	9	5	5	Ahaz vanquished, and Judah greatly oppressed by Rezin and Pekah.
3972	742	8	6	6	Ahaz calls in Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, to his help, who slays Rezin, and leads part of Israel into captivity.
3973	741	7	7	7	Ahaz revolts from God, and wholly suppresseth his worship in Judah. Pekah slain by Hoshea.
3974	740	6	8	8	
3975	739	5	9	9	
3976	738	4	10	10	
3977	737	3	11	11	
3978	736	2	12	12	
3979	735	1	13	13	
3980	734	0	14	14	
3981	733	10	15	15	
3982	732	9	16	16	
3983	731	8	17	17	
3984	730	7	18	18	
3985	729	6	19	19	Tiglath Pileser dies, and is succeeded by Salmanezer.
3986	728	5	20	20	Salmanezer invadeth Palestine, and maketh Samaria tributary to him.
3987	727	4	21	21	Ahaz dies, and is succeeded by Hezekiah. Sabacon, or So, the Ethiopian, made king of Egypt.
3988	726	3	22	22	Hezekiah restored the true worship of God in Judah and Jerusalem.
3989	725	2	23	23	
3990	724	1	24	24	Salmanezer lays siege to Samaria.
3991	723	0	25	25	
3992	722	10	26	26	Salmanezer took Samaria, and extinguished the kingdom of Israel. Tobit led into captivity, at the end of the sixth Jewish year of the reign of Hezekiah.
3993	721	9	27	27	Salmanezer maketh war upon Tyre, and besiegeth it five years.
3994	720	8	28	28	Sevechus succeedeth So in the kingdom of Egypt.
3995	719	7	29	29	
3996	718	6	30	30	
3997	717	5	31	31	
3998	716	4	32	32	
3999	715	3	33	33	Salmanezer dieth, and is succeeded by Sennacherib.
4000	714	2	34	34	Sennacherib invadeth Judea. Hezekiah's sickness.
4001	713	1	35	35	Merodach Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah. Sennacherib invadeth Egypt.
4002	712	0	36	36	
4003	711	10	37	37	
4004	710	9	38	38	Sennacherib, on his return from Egypt, invadeth Judea, and looseth all his army, it being smitten by the hand of God.
4005	709	8	39	39	
4006	708	7	40	40	
4007	707	6	41	41	The Medes revolt from Sennacherib, and make Deioeces king.

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Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Media.	Kings of Egypt.	Notes.
8	706	22	4	1	14	4	Sennacherib, being slain, is succeeded by Esarhaddon his son.
9	705	23			15	5	Tirhakah succeedeth Sevechus in the kingdom of Egypt.
4010	704	24			16	6	
1	703	25			17	7	
2	702	26			18	8	
3	701	27			19	9	
4	700	28			20	10	
5	699	29			21	11	
6	698	30			22	12	Hezekiah being dead, is succeeded by Manasseh his son.
7	697	31			23	13	
8	696	32			24	14	
9	695	33			25	15	
4020	694	34			26	16	
1	693	35			27	17	
4022	692	36			28	18	
3	691	37			29	19	
4	690	38			30	20	
5	689	39			31	21	
6	688	40			32	22	
7	687	41			33	23	On the death of Tirhakah ended the reign of the Ethiopian kings in Egypt, and an interregnum of two years succeeded.
8	686	42			34	24	
9	685	43			35	25	Twelve princes seize the kingdom of Egypt, and govern it by a joint confederacy fifteen years.
4030	684	44			36	26	
1	683	45			37	27	
2	682	46			38	28	
3	681	47			39	29	
4	680	48			40	30	Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, is made king of Babylon.
5	679	49			41	31	
6	678	50			42	32	
7	677	51			43	33	Esarhaddon invadeth Palestine; planteth a colony of foreigners in Samaria; takes Manasseh prisoner, and carries him in chains to Babylon.
8	676	52			44	34	Manasseh is restored, and the Cutheans in Samaria are infested with lions.
9	675	53			45	35	
4040	674	54			46	36	
1	673	55			47	37	
2	672	56			48	38	
3	671	57			49	39	
4	670	58			50	40	Psammitichus, one of the twelve confederated princes of Egypt, having destroyed the rest, seizeth the whole kingdom to himself.
5	669	59			51	41	
6	668	60			52	42	
7	667	61			53	43	Esarhaddon, being dead, is succeeded by Saosduchus in the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms.
8	666	62			54	44	
9	665	63			55	45	
4050	664	64			56	46	
1	663	65			57	47	
2	662	66			58	48	
3	661	67			59	49	
4	660	68			60	50	
5	659	69			61	51	
6	658	70			62	52	
4057	657	71			63	53	Deioces killed in battle by the king of Babylon and Assyria.
8	656	72			64	54	Phraortes his son succeeds him.
9	655	73			65	55	Holofernes invadeth Judah, and is slain by Judith.
4060	654	74			66	56	
1	653	75			67	57	
2	652	76			68	58	
3	651	77			69	59	
4	650	78			70	60	
5	649	79			71	61	
6	648	80			72	62	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
7	647		1	24	10	
8	646		2	25	11	
9	645		3	26	12	
4070	644		4	27	13	
1	643	Ammon.	5	28	14	Manasseh, being dead, is succeeded by Ammon his son.
2	642		6	29	15	
3	641		7	30	16	Ammon is murdered by his servants.
4	640	Josiah.	8	31	17	He is succeeded by Josiah his son.
5	639		9	32	18	
6	638		10	33	19	
7	637		11	34	20	
8	636		12	35	21	
9	635		13	36	22	Phraortes besieging Ninevah, is there slain.
4080	634		14	37	23	Cyaxares his son succeeds him.
1	633		15	38	24	Josiah's first reformation of religion in Judea.
2	632		16	39	25	The Scythians invade the Upper Asia.
3	631		17	40	26	
4	630		18	41	27	
5	629		19	42	28	Josiah's second reformation of religion in Judea.
6	628		20	43	29	Jeremiah first called to the prophetic office.
7	627		21	44	30	
8	626		22	45	31	Nabopolassar rebels against the king of Assyria, and makes himself king of Babylon.
9	625		1	46	32	
4090	624		2	47	33	
1	623		3	48	34	Josiah's third reformation of religion in Judea.
2	622		4	49	35	
3	621		5	50	36	
4	620		6	51	37	
5	619		7	52	38	
6	618		8	53	39	
4097	617		9	54	40	Psammitichus, king of Egypt, dies.
8	616		10	55	41	Is succeeded by Nechus his son, called Pharaoh Necho in the holy scriptures.
9	615		11	56	42	
4100	614		12	57	43	
1	613		13	58	44	Ninevah destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians.
2	612		14	59	45	
3	611		15	60	46	Josiah slain in battle by Necho king of Egypt.
4	610		16	61	47	
5	609		17	62	48	
6	608	Jehoiakim.	18	63	49	First, Jehoahaz, and after him Jehoiakim succeeds in his stead.
7	607		19	64	50	
8	606		20	65	51	1 Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem; from whence begin the seventy years' captivity of the Jews.
9	605		21	66	52	2 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, dies, and is succeeded by Nebuchadnezzar his son.
4110	604		22	67	53	3 Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Jehoiakim rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.
1	603		23	68	54	
2	602		24	69	55	
3	601		25	70	56	
4	600		26	71	57	Darius the Median born.
5	599		27	72	58	Cyrus born. Jehoiakim slain.
6	598	Zedekiah.	28	73	59	
7	597		29	74	60	1 Jeconiah carried into captivity, and Zedekiah made king in his stead.
8	596		30	75	61	
9	595		31	76	62	
4120	594		32	77	63	5 Ezekiel called to the prophetic office. Pharaoh Hophra king of Egypt.
1	593		33	78	64	
2	592		34	79	65	7 Zedekiah confederates with Pharaoh Hophra.

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Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	Captivity of Jeconiah.	
3	591	8	16. 14	4	4	16	8	And rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.
4	590	9	17. 15	5	5	17	9	Nebuchadnezzar besiegeth Jerusalem.
5	589	10	18. 16	6	6	18	10	Forceth Pharaoh Hophra to retreat, who came to relieve it
6	588	11	19. 17	7	7	19	11	Takes the city, and utterly destroys it, with the temple.
4137	587		20. 18	8	8	20	12	Returns to Babylon, and erects the golden image in the place of Dura.
8	586		21. 19	9	9	21	13	Comes again into Palestine, and besiegeth Tyre thirteen years.
9	585		22. 20	10	10	22	14	The remainder of the Jews and Israelites, carried away by Nebuchadnezzar.
4130	584		23. 21	11	11	23	15	
1	583		24. 22	12	12	24	16	
2	582		25. 23	13	13	25	17	
3	581		26. 24	14	14	26	18	
4	580		27. 25	15	15	27	19	
5	579		28. 26	16	16	28	20	
6	578		29. 27	17	17	29	21	
7	577		30. 28	18	18	30	22	
8	576		31. 29	19	19	31	23	
9	575		32. 30	20	20	32	24	
4140	574		33. 31	21	21	33	25	The Egyptians revolt from Pharaoh Hophra.
1	573		34. 32	22	22	34	26	Tyre taken, and Egypt invaded by Nebuchadnezzar.
2	572		35. 33	23	23	35	27	Nebuchadnezzar ravageth Egypt.
3	571		36. 34	24	24	36	28	Appoints Amasis king, and returns to Babylon.
4	570		37. 35	25	25	37	29	Pharaoh Hophra slain by Amasis.
5	569		38. 36	1	26	38	30	Nebuchadnezzar distracted.
6	568		39. 37	2	27	39	31	
7	567		40. 38	3	28	40	32	
8	566		41. 39	4	29	41	33	
9	565		42. 40	5	30	42	34	
4150	564		43. 41	6	31	43	35	
1	563		44. 42	7	32	44	36	Nebuchadnezzar restored to his senses.
2	562		45. 43	8	33	45	37	Dies in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity.
3	561			1	9	34	46	Jehoiachin released and advanced.
4	560			2	10	35	47	Evilmerodach slain by a conspiracy against him, and Astyages dies in Media.
5	559			1	11		48	Neriglissar succeeds in Babylon, and Cyaxares (the Darius Medus of the scriptures) in Media. Cyrus comes to the aid of the Medes against the Babylonians.
6	558			2	12	2	49	Great preparations made by the Medes and Babylonians for war against each other.
7	557			3	13	3	50	
8	556			4	14	4	51	Cyrus being general of the Medes and Persians under Cyaxares, slays Neriglissar in battle. Laborsorarchod succeeds, and is slain.
4159	555			1	15	5	52	Nabonadius (the Belshazzar of the scriptures) succeeds Laborsorarchod.
4160	554			2	16	6	53	Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, chap. viii.
1	553			3	17	7	54	
2	552			4	18	8	55	
3	551			5	19	9	56	Belshazzar goes into Lesser Asia, and there hires a great army against Cyrus, of which Cresus takes the command.
4	550			6	20	10	57	Cyrus sends a spy into Cresus's army, by whom he hath intelligence of all there done.
5	549			7	21	11	58	Cyrus vanquisheth Cresus at the River Halys, pursues him to Sardis, and takes the city, and Cresus in it.
6	548			8	22	12	59	
7	547			9	23	13	60	Cyrus brings all the Lesser Asia under his dominion.
8	546			10	24	14	61	
9	545			11	25	15	62	
4170	544			12	26	16	63	Cyrus having settled all affairs in the Lesser Asia, subdues Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.
1	543			13	27	17	64	
2	542			14	28	18	65	Cyrus marcheth into the Upper Asia, and reduceth all there under his obedience.
3	541			15	29	19	66	Cyrus returns into Assyria, and lays siege to Babylon.
4	540			16	30	20	67	
5	539			17	31	21	68	Cyrus takes Babylon, and slays Belshazzar.
6	538			1	32	22	69	Cyrus placeth his uncle Darius on the throne at Babylon, and makes an expedition into Syria.
7	537			2	33		70	Darius dies at Babylon, and Cyrus succeeds in the whole empire.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
8	536	1	34		1	1	Cyrus restores the Jews, and puts an end to their captivity, after seventy years.
9	535	2	35		2	2	The Jews return to Jerusalem, and begin to rebuild the city and temple.
4130	534	3	36		3	3	The Samaritans obstruct them in it.
1	533	4	37		4	4	The Samaritans corrupt the officers of Cyrus to discourage the work.
2	532	5	38		5	5	
3	531	6	39		6	6	
4	530	7	40		7	7	Cyrus dies, being seventy years old.
4185	529	8	41	1	8	8	Cambyzes his son succeeds in the empire.
6	528	9	42	2	9	9	
7	527	10	43	3	10	10	
8	526	11	44	4	11	11	He invadeth Egypt.
9	525	12	45	5	12	12	Vanquisheth Psamminitus, who newly succeeded Amasis his father in the kingdom, and conquereth the whole kingdom.
4190	524	13	46	6	13	13	Makes an expedition against the Ethiopians, and returns with loss.
1	523	14	47	7	14	14	Slays the Egyptian god Apis, and commits many outrages among them.
2	522	15	48	8	15	15	Returns into Syria, and there dies. The Magians seize the kingdom.
3	521	16	49	9	16	16	The Magians slain, and Darius Hystaspis chosen king.
4	520	17	50	10	17	17	The rebuilding of the temple resumed by the Jews.
5	519	18	51	11	18	18	The Samaritans again disturb them, till a decree was obtained for the going on with the work.
6	518	19	52	12	19	19	Which decree is brought to Jerusalem, and there executed.
7	517	20	53	13	20	20	The Babylonians, revolting from Darius, are besieged by him.
8	516	21	54	14	21	21	Babylon taken by Darius after a siege of twenty months.
9	515	22	55	15	22	22	The temple rebuilt and dedicated.
4200	514	23	56	16	23	23	The Jews obtain sentence from Darius against the Samaritans about the tribute of Samaria.
1	513	24	57	17	24	24	Darius passeth the Bosphorus and the Danube, to make war against the Scythians, and returns with the loss of half his army.
2	512	25	58	18	25	25	Subdues Thrace, and returns to Susa.
3	511	26	59	19	26	26	
4	510	27	60	20	27	27	The Scythians ravage Thrace, and drive Miltiades out of Chersonesus.
5	509	28	61	21	28	28	Darius sends Scylax with a fleet down the Indus to discover India.
6	508	29	62	22	29	29	
7	507	30	63	23	30	30	Scylax returns by the way of the ocean and the Red Sea, and gives Darius an account of his discoveries.
8	506	31	64	24	31	31	Darius invades and conquers India.
9	505	32	65	25	32	32	
4210	504	33	66	26	33	33	
4211	503	34	67	27	34	34	The Persians, under the command of Aristagoras of Miletus, makes an attempt upon Naxos, and miscarry in it. Tyre restored.
2	502	35	68	28	35	35	Aristagoras and the Ionians revolt from Darius.
3	501	36	69	29	36	36	The Athenians enter into a confederacy with the Ionians against Darius.
4	500	37	70	30	37	37	They burn Sardis, which gave the first rise to the Persian war against the Greeks.
5	499	38	71	31	38	38	The Persians prevail against the Ionians. Aristagoras flees into Thrace. Hestæus Milesius returns into Ionia, and joins the revolt-ers.
6	498	39	72	32	39	39	Aristagoras slain in Thrace.
7	497	40	73	33	40	40	Miletus taken; the Ionians reduced, and an end put to that war.
8	496	41	74	34	41	41	Hestæus taken by the Persians, and crucified.
9	495	42	75	35	42	42	The Persians reduce the Hellespont and Thracian Chersonesus, and force Miltiades to fly to Athens.
4220	494	43	76	36	43	43	Mardonius being sent by Darius to make war against the Greeks, miscarries in the expedition, and returns with great loss.
1	493	44	77	37	44	44	Darius sends heralds to demand earth and water of the Greeks.
2	492	45	78	38	45	45	Two other generals sent against the Greeks in the place of Mardonius Zoroastres appears at the Persian court.
3	491	46	79	39	46	46	The Persians invade Attica, and are defeated at Marathon.
4	490	47	80	40	47	47	Darius makes great preparations to invade Greece in person.
5	489	48	81	41	48	48	
6	488	49	82	42	49	49	
7	487	50	83	43	50	50	The Egyptians revolt from Darius.
8	486	51	84	44	51	51	Darius declares Xerxes his successor, and dies.
9	485	52	85	45	52	52	Xerxes confirms to the Jews all their privileges.
4230	484	53	86	46	53	53	Reduceth Egypt.
1	483	54	87	47	54	54	Resolves on a war with the Greeks, and makes great preparations for it
2	482	55	88	48	55	55	Enters into a league with the Carthaginians against the Greeks.
3	481	56	89	49	56	56	Comes with a prodigious army to Sardis, and there winters.
4	480	57	90	50	57	57	Passeth the Hellespont, marcheth into Greece, loseth the battle of Salamis, and returns with disgrace to Sardis. The Carthaginians vanquished in Sicily by Gelo.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Years before Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
5	479	7	53	5	The Persians vanquished at Platæa and Mycale on the same day.
6	478	8	59	6	Xerxes destroys the temple of Bel at Babylon.
7	477	9	60	7	Xerxes pursues the war against the Persians.
4238	476	10	61	8	Pausanias and Aristides pursue the war against the Persians.
9	475	11	62	9	Pausanias suspected of treason by the Lacedæmonians, is recalled.
4240	474	12	63	10	Still carries on the treason for the betraying of Greece to Xerxes.
1	473	13	64	11	Is tried for it, and acquitted for want of full evidence.
2	472	14	65	12	Full discovery being made of his treason, he is put to death for it.
3	471	15	66	13	Themistocles being accused by the Lacedæmonians of the same treason, is acquitted of it at Athens.
4	470	16	67	14	Themistocles being banished Athens for ten years, is again accused of the same treason by the Lacedæmonians before the states of Greece, and thereby forced to fly into Persia.
5	469	17	68	15	Cimon, general of the Athenians, gains two victories over the Persians near the River Eurymedon, on the same day; the first by sea, and the second by land.
6	468	18	69	16	He makes many other conquests for the Athenians on the Hellespont and elsewhere.
7	467	19	70	17	Xerxes discouraged by so many defeats, gives over the Grecian war.
8	466	20	71	18	Xerxes slain by the treason of Artabanus.
9	465	21	72	19	Artaxerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther) succeeds, and slays Artabanus.
4250	464	22	73	20	He conquers his brother Hystaspes, and thereby becomes thoroughly settled in the throne.
1	463	23	74	21	Hereon he makes a great feast for all his nobles, and divorceth Vashti his queen.
2	462	24	75	22	A collection of virgins made for the king, of which Esther was one.
3	461	25	76	23	Esther pleaseth the king, and becomes his concubine. The Egyptians revolt, and make Inarus their king.
4	460	26	77	24	Achæmenes, brother of the king, being sent against the Egyptians, is vanquished and slain, and the remainder of his army besieged in Memphis.
5	459	27	78	25	Ezra sent to be governor of Judea. Esther is made queen.
6	458	28	79	26	Ezra separated the Jews from their strange wives. Mordecai discovers the treason of Bigthan and Teresh.
7	457	29	80	27	Artabazus and Megabyzus raise the siege of Memphis, defeat Inarus, and besiege him and his Athenian auxiliaries in the island Prosopitis.
8	456	30	81	28	They force Prosopitis, take Inarus prisoner, drive the Athenians out of Egypt, and again reduce all that country under the Persian king.
9	455	31	82	29	Where he beats the Persians both by sea and land, and then dies at Cytium. Artaxerxes makes peace with the Athenians.
4260	454	32	83	30	Inarus crucified, and Megabyzus rebels.
4261	453	33	84	1	Megabyzus defeats the first army sent against him.
2	452	34	85	2	He defeats the second army sent against him, and is reconciled to the king.
3	451	35	86	3	He defeats the second army sent against him, and is reconciled to the king.
4	450	36	87	4	Nehemiah sent governor to Judea, and rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem. Megabyzus banished to Cyrtæ on the Red Sea.
5	449	37	88	5	Nehemiah repeoples Jerusalem, and proceeds to reform church and state in Judah.
6	448	38	89	6	Ezra publisheth his edition of the Hebrew scriptures.
7	447	39	90	7	Megabyzus returns to the Persian court.
8	446	40	91	8	
9	445	41	92	9	
4270	444	42	93	10	
1	443	43	94	11	
2	442	44	95	12	
3	441	45	96	13	
4	440	46	97	14	
5	439	47	98	15	
6	438	48	99	16	
7	437	49	100	17	
8	436	50	101	18	
9	435	51	102	19	
4280	434	52	103	20	
1	433	53	104	21	Nehemiah goes from Jerusalem to the Persian court.
2	432	54	105	22	Moto begun his cycle.
3	431	55	106	23	The Peloponnesian war began. A great plague broke out in the east.
4	430	56	107	24	It came to Athens, and grievously afflicted that city.
5	429	57	108	25	About this time flourished Malachi the prophet.
6	428	58	109	26	Nehemiah comes again to Jerusalem, with a new commission. Plato the philosopher born.
7	427	59	110	27	Nehemiah goes on farther to reform the Jewish church and state.
8	426	60	111	28	The plague again broke out at Athens, which produced a law there for polygamy.
9	425	61	112	29	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.		
4200	424	Darius	113	30	Artaxerxes dying, Xerxes his son succeeds. He is slain by Sogdianus, and Sogdianus by Ochus, who with the crown assumes the name of Darius.	
1	423		114	31	Darius (commonly called Darius Nothus) begins his reign.	
2	422		115	32	Vanquisheth Arsites his brother, and puts him to death.	
4203	421	Darius Nothus.	116	33		
4	420		117	34		
5	419		118	35		
6	418		119	36		
7	417		120	37		
8	416		121	38		
9	415		122	39		
4300	414		123	40	Pisutnes rebels against Darius in Lesser Asia, and is vanquished and put to death by Tissaphernes, one of Darius's lieutenants.	
1	413		124	1	The Egyptians revolt from Darius, and make Amyrtaeus their king.	
2	412		125	2	Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, governors of Lesser Asia for Darius.	
3	411		126	3		
4	410		127	4		
5	409		128	5	The last act of reformation by Nehemiah, forty-nine years after it had been begun by Ezra, where end the first seven weeks of Daniel's prophecy.	
6	408		129	6	The temple on Mount Gertzim began to be built by Manasseh.	
7	407		130	7	Cyrus the younger son of Darius sent to govern in Lesser Asia.	
8	406		131	8		
9	405		132	9	Cyrus recalled to the Persian court. Darius dies, and Artaxerxes Mnemon succeeds him.	
4310	404	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	133	10	Athens taken, and the Peloponnesian war ended. Cyrus sent back again to his government in Lesser Asia.	
1	403		134	11	He designeth war against his brother, and lists forces for this purpose.	
2	402		135	12		
3	401		136	13	He marcheth toward Babylon, is vanquished in battle and slain.	
4	400		137	14	Thimbro sent by the Lacedemonians into Lesser Asia to make war against the Persians. Xerophon brings home the Greeks that followed Cyrus, and joins him.	
5	399		138	15	Dercyllidas succeeds Thimbro, [Socrates put to death by the Athenians.]	
6	398		139	16	And vigorously carries on the war against the Persians.	
7	397		140	17		
8	396		141	18	Agésilas passeth into Asia, to carry on the war there against the Persians.	
9	395		142	19	Vanquisheth Tissaphernes, who is thereon put to death by Artaxerxes.	
4320	394		143	20	Agésilas called home to defend his country against a confederacy of the Greeks against them. Conon wins the victory of Cnidus.	
4321	393		144	21	Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, and again restores that city.	
2	392		145	22	The Lacedemonians renew the war in Asia against the Persians, but without success.	
3	391		146	23	Artaxerxes makes great preparations for war against Cyprus.	
4	390		147	24		
5	389		148	25	The Athenians send Chabrias to the assistance of Eucorides king of Cyprus, who reduceth the whole island to him.	
6	388		149	26	The peace of Antalcidas made between the Lacedemonians and the Persians.	
7	387		150	27	The Persians invade Cyprus with three hundred thousand men.	
8	386		151	28	And make an absolute conquest of that island.	
9	385		152	29	Artaxerxes invades the Caducians with ill success. Aristotle born.	
4330	384		153	30		
1	383		154	31		
2	382		155	32		
3	381		156	33		
4	380		157	34		
5	379		158	35		
6	378		159	36		
7	377		160	37	Artaxerxes resolves on a war to reduce Egypt.	
8	376		161	38	Pharnabazus appointed general for this war.	
9	375		162	39	He makes great preparations for it.	
4340	374		163	40	Invades Egypt, and is forced to return with ill success.	
1	373		164	1		
2	372		165	2		
3	371		166	3		
4	370		167	4	The Lacedemonians beaten at Leuctra by the Thebans.	
5	369		168	5		
6	368		169	6		
7	367		170	7		
8	366		171	8		
9	365		172	9	Johanan, high-priest of the Jews, kills his brother Jeshua in the temple, for which the Persian governor lays a mulct upon the Jews for seven years.	
4350	364		173	10		

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	Events
1	363	42	174	11	1	The battle of Mantinea between the Lacedemonians and the Thebans, in which the former lose the victory, and the latter their general Epaminondas.
2	362	43	175	12	2	Agesilaus goes into Egypt with an army to assist Tachos.
3	361	44	176	13	3	He deserts Tachos, and makes Nectanebus king.
4	360	45	177	14	4	He vanquisheth the enemies of Nectanebus.
5	359	46	178	15	5	And fully settles him in the kingdom of Egypt. [Artaxerxes dies.]
6	358	47	179	16	6	He returns homeward, and dies in the way on the coasts of Africa. Great revolts in the Persian empire on the succession of Ochus.
7	357	48	180	17	7	Alexander the Great born at Pella in Macedonia.
8	356	49	181	18	8	
9	355	50	182	19	9	
10	354	51	183	20	10	The Cyprians and Phœnicians revolting from Ochus, are again reduced Sidon taken, and destroyed by Ochus.
11	353	52	184	21	11	
12	352	53	185	22	12	
13	351	54	186	23	13	Ochus invades Egypt, expels Nectanebus, and reduceth the whole country.
14	350	55	187	24	14	Mentor made governor of Lesser Asia. Memnon his brother enters into the Persian service. Plato the philosopher dies.
15	349	56	188	25	15	
16	348	57	189	26	16	
17	347	58	190	27	17	Bagoas the eunuch poisoneth Ochus, and maketh Arogas or Arsēs king in his stead.
18	346	59	191	28	18	
19	345	60	192	29	19	
20	344	61	193	30	20	Philip, king of Macedon, after the victory of Chæronea, made general of Greece against the Persians.
21	343	62	194	31	21	Bagoas poisons Arogas, and Pausanias slays Philip king of Macedon. Darius succeeds the former, and Alexander the latter.
22	342	63	195	32	22	Darius puts Bagoas to death. Alexander destroys Thebes, and is appointed general of the Grecians against the Persians in the place of his father.
23	341	64	196	33	23	
24	340	65	197	34	24	
25	339	66	198	35	25	Alexander passeth into Asia, and wins the battle of Granicus.
26	338	67	199	36	26	He reduceth all Lesser Asia, and wins the battle of Issus.
27	337	68	200	37	27	He destroys Tyre and Gaza, and conquers Egypt.
28	336	69	201	38	28	He passeth the Euphrates and the Tigris, wins the battle of Arbela, and takes Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, and the provinces belonging to them.
29	335	70	202	39	29	Darius slain by Bessus. Alexander subduces the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Arians, and several other nations. Puts Philotas and Parmenio to death.
30	334	71	203	40	30	He subdues the Bactrians and Sogdians, and puts Bessus to death.
31	333	72	204	41	31	
32	332	73	205	42	32	
33	331	74	206	43	33	He marries Roxana, passeth into India, and conquers all to the River Indus.
34	330	75	207	44	34	He passeth the Indus, vanquisheth Porus, and subdueth all as far as the River Hyphasis.
35	329	76	208	45	35	He puts his army on board his fleet, and saileth down the Indus, conquering several nations in his way.
36	328	77	209	46	36	Having passed down to the mouth of the Indus, he sends Nearchus with his fleet through the ocean to Babylon, and marcheth thitherward with his army by land.
37	327	78	210	47	37	He conquers the Cosseans, and enters Babylon.
38	326	79	211	48	38	And there dies. Aridaeus his brother made nominal king, and the commanders of the army divide the provinces of the empire among themselves.
39	325	80	212	49	39	Perdiccas and Eumenes make war against Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy. Eumenes vanquisheth Craterus, and slays him in battle. Perdiccas is slain by his own soldiers in Egypt. Aristotle dies.
40	324	81	213	50	40	
41	323	82	214	51	41	
42	322	83	215	52	42	Antigonus being sent against Eumenes, vanquisheth him in battle. Ptolemy seizeth Judea, Phenicia, and Cole-Syria, and taketh Jerusalem.
43	321	84	216	53	43	
44	320	85	217	54	44	
45	319	86	218	55	45	Antipater being dead, Cassander seizeth Macedon, and Antigonus all Lesser Asia, and shuts up Eumenes in the castle of Nora.
46	318	87	219	56	46	Eumenes being got out of Nora, passeth into Cilicia, and having there gotten together an army, marcheth into Syria, and from thence into Mesopotamia.
47	317	88	220	57	47	Eumenes marcheth to Susa, and is there joined by the governors of the eastern provinces. Aridaeus slain by Olympias.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
6	316	1	221	6			Antigonus marcheth into the east against Eumenes.
9	315	2	222	7			Eumenes betrayed into the hands of Antigonus by his own soldiers and put to death. Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus confederate against Antigonus.
4400	314	3	223	8			Antigonus dispossesseth Ptolemy of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea.
1	313	4	224	9			Antigonus leaveth Demetrius his son with part of his army in Phœnicia, and marcheth with the other against Cassander.
4402	312	5		10	1	1	Ptolemy seizeth Cyprus, beats Demetrius at Gaza, and again recovers Syria and Phœnicia, and loseth them all again by the defeat of Cilles his Lieutenant. Seleucus seizeth Babylon.
3	311	6		11	2	2	Demetrius marcheth to Babylon against Seleucus, and returns without success.
4	310	7		12	3	3	Cassander slays Alexander Ægus with Roxana his mother. Epicurus first teacheth his impious philosophy.
5	309	8		13	4	4	Ptolemy takes several cities from Antigonus in Lesser Asia.
6	308	9		14	5	5	He takes the isle of Andros, and Corinth, Sicyon, and several other cities on the continent of Greece.
7	307	10		15	6	6	Ophellus slain by Agathocles, and Ptolemy recovers Lybia and Cyrene.
8	306	11		16	7	7	Demetrius gains a great victory over Ptolemy at Cyprus, and dispossesseth him of that whole island. Antigonus hereon takes the title of king.
9	305	12		17	8	8	Antigonus invadeth Egypt, and is repulsed with loss.
4410	304			18	9	9	Demetrius besiegeth Rhodes without success.
1	303			19	10	10	Seleucus having made himself master of all the provinces of Alexander's empire beyond the Euphrates, invadeth India, and maketh peace with Sandrocottus.
2	302			20	11	11	Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, confederate against Antigonus.
3	301			21	12	12	They vanquish and slay him at Ipsus in Phrygia.
4	300			22	13	13	After this victory Ptolemy had Judea, Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria; and Seleucus the Upper Syria, where he builds Antioch.
5	299			23	14	14	Demetrius gives his daughter Stratonice in marriage to Seleucus, and seizeth Cilicia.
6	298			24	15	15	Cassander dies in Macedonia.
7	297			25	16	16	Pyrrhus marries Antigone the daughter of Berenice, Ptolemy's best beloved wife, and by his assistance recovers his kingdom of Epirus.
8	296			26	17	17	Samaria wasted by Demetrius's soldiers from Tyre.
9	295			27	18	18	Ptolemy recovers Cyprus from Demetrius.
4420	294			28	19	19	Demetrius made king of Macedonia, and there reigns seven years.
1	293			29	20	20	Seleucus builds Seleucia on the Tigris.
2	292			30	21	21	Simon the Just, high-priest of the Jews, dies, and is succeeded by Eliezar his brother.

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